

4 November 1974

TO: Secretariat

Comrades,

Enclosed is a document we are using in this District to unfold the struggle outlined in the Organizational Bulletin. As it turns out, a similar struggle was already developing within this District, so that comrades are clearly able to see the different lines in reality.

Our view is that the Secretariat should have provided more guidance to Districts on the unfolding of this struggle, the period of time suggested, etc. This is important so that the struggle can be unfolded uniformly in all Districts. As it is, it is more than likely that Districts will proceed at varying paces with varying levels of depth - most of which could have been avoided with proper guidance.

One particular point that should have been made in the documents is that the basic error of an organization - right or left - must be determined by the central task of that period, not by other tasks. Stalin points this out clearly in Vol 8, p1 THE FIGHT AGAINST ULTRA LEFT AND RIGHT DEVIATIONS. At the same time, the other readings will be helpful to cadre. We introduced the struggle in the District with two political points. First, that a correct understanding of how to handle contradictions among the people is critical, and that second, this struggle is a good thing, and that the twists and turns of two line struggle are what propel the struggle of Marxism against Revisionism forward. Particularly excellent was the recent article in Peking Review on "History Develops in Spirals," which is being carefully studied.

The purpose of this letter is to inform the CC that we are opposed to waiting for a few weeks to call a central comm meeting.

We are clear that a CC cannot be held until each District has the opportunity to unfold this struggle and sum up the situation with cadre. On the other hand, with what we assume to be one of the largest Districts, we are able to do that in two weeks, and cannot really understand how it could take much longer in other Districts - unless comrades have not taken the proper steps to unfold the struggle or do not politically grasp the importance of this struggle. At the same time, to wait till the end of the month means that for one more month this organization is without united leadership. It is like a ship without a helm. And, it is our view that this has been the case for some time. With the rising level of class struggle in this country, the movement of the bourgeoisie toward fascism, the dangers of these documents being opened up to the RU, etc, we feel that to wait is to ~~highlyxexxexxexxexx~~ let the organization drift around aimlessly without leadership, and this should not happen.

Consequently we would like an explanation from the CC as to why the CC meeting has been put off for so long. To this date we still do not have a definite time for the meeting. We realize that we are not even on the CC, but that is no reason for us not to raise our view. In fact, because no comrades from this part of the country have had close contact with the CC is part of the reason for the distance that now exists between this District and the Center.

We repeat, that we feel strongly that to wait more than a couple of weeks for the CC would be an error for the organization as a whole, For this reason, we request a WRITTEN RESPONSE to this matter within a matter of days. An explanation as to why there will be no CC soon, and exactly what is the situation of leadership in this organization now.

We emphasize a written response because our experience in the past has been that the particular or general needs of this District, in regard to even simple responses, has been ignored. Rather than the slogan of Everything for the cadre, the relationship between the Secretariat and this District has been everything for the Secretariat.

Anotherwards, our view is that democratic centralism has not been working between this District and the Secretariat for months - and that this is clearly and without exception the responsibility of the Center.

For these reasons - which we will spell out in detail later - we request a written response. If we do not receive such a response soon, we will have no other course but to conclude that democratic centralism is no longer functioning in this organization, and consequently, no longer binding on this District. At which time, we would have to discuss what we take to be the appropriate action within the organization.

We do not take such a step lightly at all, but are unanimous on the District Committee that it is not only required, but perhaps overdue.

We want to state clearly that we intend to go all out to unfold this struggle in our District and unite the entire organization - at the same time that we will not stop the daily mass work we are doing, we will not hold back on the building of factory nuclei, we will not hold back on recruitment, and we will not hold back on our relations with other organizations. These are all the more reasons why this organization must be united as soon as possible around leadership that is willing and capable of upholding democratic centralism and the political line of our organization.

In line with this, we request that the Secretariat, in the future, rely on mail and NOT on the telephone, except in true emergencies. The constant use of the telephone to this District is both a mis use of funds and a constant breach of security - for which there has been no justification in the past.

Comrades, we are encouraged by the struggle which is now unfolding and confident that if handled correctly will lead the BWC still further on the path to the Party. As we point out in our plan for political mobilization, the outcome of this struggle must be determined by cadre and carried out by cadre. The Secretariat must ensure that this happens.

There is one other matter to raise, and that is the item in the bulletin about US China work. To begin with, we were surprised to see this and ~~xxxxxxx~~ frankly, not even in agreement with it. It is clear ~~that~~ the comrade you talked with was much too liberal - as we sum up now - and did not crit the comrades on the Secretariat for a number of items in the conversation. This will be forthcoming. However, we certainly do not feel it is our aim to change the principles of unity, without some political base in the organization first. Moreover, it is

completely incorrect to state that in a document like this which will go out to so many cadre. For if this were ever to fall into the hands of the RU, it would certainly mean that our work in the Association would be next to impossible. We will send a letter on this question in about a week or less. There are many problems with this statement, such as that it does not even state "who" will fight to change the principles, cadre or the comrades in the association whose tasks it is? Most important, the statement is so skeletal that it does not even explain to comrades the general purpose of our work in the Association, what kind of work we are doing, etc. Anotherwards, there is no basis among cadre to understand the political foundations of our work in the Association - which would have been the first step in such a bulletin, not just laying out 4 tasks.

Comrades, we look forward to hearing from the Secretariat soon.

AWAY WITH ALL GHOSTS AND DEMONS

LET THE STRUGGLE UNFOLD

CADRE DECIDE EVERYTHING

District Committee
4 November 1974

THE TWO LINE STRUGGLE IN THE ORG.

INTRODUCTION:

A struggle has been taking place in our organization for the past 3 months over which is the main deviation that characterizes the development-of our org.--a left deviation or a rite deviation. The 2 lines in a recent document were characterized in this way:

After studying these 2 positions various Marxist works, and our internal documents, we believe that a contradiction exists in our basic line. Neither of these 2 positions accurately reflect this contradiction which boils down to two lines on party building. One line holds that the party grows in relation to our ability to practically build the United Front and the revolutionary struggle of the working class/organization is key. Whether consciously presented or not this line is based on a incorrect estimation of the stage of development of the BWC and the communist movement as a whole. The other line holds that the party grows in relation to our ability to work out a correct line on these questions(UP and rev. struggle of class) and others/theoretical struggle is key. Likewise, this understanding of party building also is based on a more correct understanding of the present period we are in. Clearly, the minority position holds to the first understanding of how the party will come into being and what are our tasks. The majority position reflects some aspects of the correct line on party building in that it calls for more sum up, investiagtion and criticism, all of these being part of theoretical struggle over line. Yet, the position does not consciously grasp a correct understanding of the present period, and therefore, still holds that we must carry out our strategic tasks.

In this paper, we plan to expose the contradiction in our p.b. line point ot the correct line on p.b. that does exist within our general line, try to deepen the presentation of this line, and identify the main deviation in the organization and its roots.

Before procceding, we need to make one thing clear. We started writing this paper holding the line that -- our line on party building is vague and this has allowed a incorrect line to emerge. We took the appraoch that the only way to understand something in its present state is to trace its development. In the process of tracing the development of the 2 line in our documents, we drew conclusions and began to formulate a line that seemed most correct to us. We are putting forward that understanding in this paper. But, this paper should be seen only as a starting point for a much deeper and broader discussion among comrades. We hope that this paper can help to unfold and deepen the struggle in the spirit of unity, struggle, unity.

PERIOD WE ARE IN

We feel that the foundation these two lines rest on and reflects are two different estimations of the present period we are in. In other words, both lines reflect two different ideas of the state of the objective and subjective factors. Our understanding of the present period, is extremely important because it is the basis on which we formulate our tasks. Only by laying this foundation can we arrive at a Marxist-Leninist understanding of our tasks.

Lenin, in "Preface to Tasks of Russian Social Democrats" talks about the different periods of the Russian Social Democratic movement and the different tasks that flow from the periods. For example;

"..In the second period, in contrast to the three, we see no disagreements among the Social Democrats themselves. At that time Social Democracy was ideologically united, it was made to achieve the same unity in practice, in organisation. At that time the main attention of the Social Democrats was not centred on clearing up and deciding various internal Party questions (as was the case in the third period), but on the ideological struggle against opponents of Social Democracy on the one hand and on the development of practical Party work on the other".

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This quote was not picked in order to draw any analogies to the period we are in. The importance of this passage is that it points out that the tasks we lay down are based on an assessment of the period we are in. Likewise today, our estimation of the period we are in determines our tasks. Two different estimations have emerged within our organisation whether these two estimations are consciously stated or not is not key. But the fact is that certain tasks reflect a certain assessment of our present situation. We would like to explain our views of this period, with the understanding that this viewpoint is still very narrow and should be seen only as a basis for discussion among comrades in order to arrive at a deeper understanding.

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1. "Despite the desperate efforts of the world imperialists, headed by the US and Soviet Union, to find a peaceful way out of their crisis, the outstanding feature of the situation in the world today is not peace but chaos. The world is in chaos." (Black lib., prol. rev. pam.)

The liberation struggle of the oppressed people of Africa, Asia and Latin America for freedom, independence and revolution has mortally wounded the imperialist system. It has deepened the general crisis of capitalism and has shaken the system to its foundation (also from 1st pamphlet)

Moreover, the revolutionary workers movement operating in the main and vital centers of the capitalist system of world imperialism has played and continues to play a major role in the world revolution. It has extended a powerful influence on all revolutionary processes of other continents. By dealing a direct blow to imperialism in its rear, the European and North American revolutionary movements have made it easier for peoples of other countries to fight for national liberation and social emancipation and has sped up the latter's victory over imperialism and reaction. REVOLUTION IS THE MAIN TREND IN THE WORLD TODAY.

2. But this is only one side of the European and North American workers and communist movement. History has gone to prove that besides being the main bastion of capitalism and world imperialism, these countries are at the same time the cradles of opportunism and revisionism within the international workers movement. (see Europe is Pregnant with Revisionism, Albania)

Opportunism in the labor movement is an inevitable feature of imperialism, when, economically, the disintegration of a stratum of the labor aristocracy to the bourgeoisie has matured and become an accomplished fact.

3. Thus the history of the labor movement will now inevitably develop in the struggle between two tendencies:

"On the one hand, there is a tendency of the bourgeoisie and the opportunist to convert a handful of very rich and privileged nations into eternal parasites on the body of the rest of mankind, to rest on the laurels of the exploitation of Negroes, Indians, etc., keeping in subjection with the aid of the excellent weapon of extermination provided by modern militarism. On the other hand, there is the tendency of the masses, who are more oppressed than before and who bear the whole brunt of imperialist wars, to cast off this yoke and to overthrow the bourgeoisie." (Imperialism & the Split in Socialism, Lenin)

The outcome of the struggle between Marxism and opportunism in the labor movement is decided in the subjective factor.

4. Today this struggle has become more bitter than ever. Owing to the fact that the leaders of many communist and workers parties in the USSR, Europe and North America have slipped into positions of opportunism and revisionism, that they have departed from Marxism Leninism and have embarked on the road to social democracy--MODERN REVISIONISM HAS TODAY BECOME THE GREATEST DENANCE EVER RECORDED IN THE HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

The great danger of this revisionism lies in the fact that it has manifested itself in the oldest and most influential party in the world, in the Communist Party founded by Lenin, that it has infected the first and most powerful socialist country in the world, the Soviet Union, and that holding the reins of state power in their hands, the revisionists use all the means of the socialist state to further their aims.

11. In the USA

In the past twenty years, we have seen many changes in this country since the mid 1950's, turbulent eruptions have taken place in the Black liberation movement. This movement, starting out as a civil rights movement, developed into a militant storm in the 1960's. In the late 60's, it began to sink its roots in the working class, and today continues to exert an extremely important influence on all movements in this country. The struggle of Black people helped to point the way and gave impetus to many other movements in this country. We can see the growth and development of struggle for equality and freedom among most all of the national minorities in our country-among Puerto Ricans, Chinese, Native Americans, Chicanos etc. The struggle of women to end discrimination and oppression has also developed. The recent peace movement can be traced back to the impetus of the Black liberation movement. Likewise, students and GI's have taken up the struggle against imperialist acts at home and abroad. Most recently, we can see the struggle of the working class becoming more militant and taking on a political character. In other words, in the past ten years or so we have seen the growth and development of many anti-imperialist movements.

Alongside the development of these movements, we have seen the spread of communist ideas, among intellectuals, class conscious workers, and national minorities. But at the same time, it is very clear that the objective developments of these spontaneous movements moves much faster than the ability of communists to give it leadership.

However, the principal contradiction that we face isn't our inability to give the spontaneous movement a conscious character, though, quite clearly, this is one contradiction. The principal problem we face is the ideological disunity in our own movement. One of the main things lacking is a clear line on the way forward, a Marxist-Leninist line on party building. Many organisations have "lines" on this question, but at this point no one line has been able to unite communists to move towards the party. Not only is this general formulation lacking, but there is confusion and differences over many of the key questions that a party programme will include.

In summary, it is clear that before and in order that Marxist-Leninists can give leadership to the movement of the people we have to overcome our own disunity

the issue of Marxism-Leninism has not been resolved within the vanguard of the proletariat-and as a result we are still without a party.

Based on this general understanding of the present period, we can look at what Stalin wrote to help us to gain a deeper and broader outlook on our situation. In 'Political Strategy and Tactics', he spoke of two general tasks in the Russian Revolution "a) to win the vanguard of the proletariat to the side of Communism (e.g. build up cadres, ^{work out a party programme, work out the principles of strategy and tactics} create a Communist Party) propaganda is the chief form of activity; b) 'To win broad masses of workers to the side of the vanguard" (pages 82 and 83).

Of these two general periods, it is clear that we are in the first period and need to accomplish those tasks that Stalin has laid out. Our general tasks are to build up cadre, work out a party programme, strategy and tactics, and based on this, create a Communist Party.

The Correct and the Incorrect Line-What they Are and Where They Come From

In the absence of a conscious analysis of the periods we must go through, an unconscious incorrect assessment of the period we are in has been made. The incorrect assessment says that we are in the period where Stalin says the tasks are: "To win the broad masses of the workers and the toilers generally to the side of the vanguard (to bring the masses up to the fighting positions). Chief form of activity-practical action by the masses as a prelude to decisive battles." (Stalin vol. 5 Political Strategy and Tactics page 83). This is incorrect because it skips a stage, the period where our tasks are "To win the vanguard of the proletariat to the side of communism (i.e., to build up cadres, create a Communist Party, work out a programme, the principles of tactics). Propaganda as the chief form of activity" (ibid). Following from the incorrect assessment comes the analysis that our task is now to lend the spontaneous movement a conscious character, even though we do not have a correct line and programme to guide our actions. *(And without this line, our actions will be Revisionist)*

This incorrect assessment was the basis for an incorrect line on party-building to emerge alongside the correct line. This line is manifested in the form of the three strategic tasks.

So exactly what is our line on the three strategic tasks, and why do we say it is incorrect? Before we came into the organisation, one of our main questions was why we held this line on the three strategic tasks (which was formulated by the RU). When we asked about this we were directed to "Introducing the Communist" by Mao and the article "The Vanguard of the Revolution and Socialist Construction" By the Albanians. In Mao's article we find the following quote: "The Party's failures or successes, its retreats or advances, its contraction or expansion, its development and consolidation are inevitably linked up with its relations with the bourgeoisie and with armed struggle. When the party takes a correct political line on the question of forming a united front with the Bourgeoisie)

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or of breaking it up when forced to do so, our Party moves a step forward in its development, consolidation and bolshevization; but when it takes an incorrect line on its relations with the bourgeoisie, then our Party moves a step backward. Similarly, when our Party handles the question of revolutionary armed struggle correctly, it moves a step forward in its development, consolidation and bolshevization; but when it handles the question incorrectly it moves a step backward. Thus, for eighteen years, the building and bolshevization of the Party have been closely linked with its political line, with the correct or incorrect handling of the questions of the united front and armed struggle." So if our line on the three strategic tasks is based on this, we would have to say that our ability to build the Party grows or weakens in relationship to our ability to ^{practically go about} building the united front and the mass revolutionary armed struggle of the proletariat and its leadership in the united front. The Albanian article says " In as much as every strategic task is equally important, it is impossible to solve the one or the other separately, detached from the simultaneous solution of all the strategic tasks. As a result, all these tasks, the key task included, can be correctly and fully solved only in organic connection with on another" (pg 6 of previously mentioned article). This further confirms that we think the Party can only get built as we accomplish the practical tasks of building the united front and the mass revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

Now we are not about to say that the questions of the struggle of the proletariat and who its allies are aren't the crucial overall questions to solve, but in this period our ability to build the Party does not grow in its relationship to our ability to practically accomplish these things ^{lines + practical accomplish} but in relationship to our ability to develop correct lines on these questions.

How do we go about developing correct lines? This means struggle throughout the communist movement as it

exists, and ^{with} advanced workers that are drawn into it over lines on all the important questions (Trade unions, women fascism etc. We don't know what they all would be. The four lines that we have identified as key will probably be some of them, but this needs a lot more study, investigation and struggle). The point of this struggle is to come up with correct lines, as opposed to revisionist lines. We are talking about the same kind of struggle that went down around the Black National Question (we think we have the rudiments of a correct line on this question, although this too must be deepened and applied to the present day U.S. This struggle in the Communist movement will be the basis of a party programme, and is at the same time the struggle against revisionism in the theoretical sphere. Communists must see carrying out this theoretical struggle as their main task. We want to stress that this struggle must have the participation of all communists, we have to break with the practice of a few "experts" cooking up a "correct" line for everybody else to accept.

What we are trying to point to here is that our basic line has a contradiction in it; one line which says that the main aspect of party-building is theoretical, (this line is found as the main task under party-building) and one which says that building the party is mainly related to our ability to practically build the united front and the mass armed revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and its leadership in the united front, (this line is manifested in the three strategic tasks).

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HOW THE LINE "ORGANISATION IS KEY" FLOWS FROM THE INCORRECT
LINE ON PARTY BUILDING, AND WHY THIS LINE IS "LEFT"

The line that "organisation is key" follows directly out of our line on the three strategic tasks. Stalin said that "After the correct political line has been laid down, organisational work decides everything" (Stalin On Organisation page 3-4). By saying that we must practically carry out the tasks of building the united front and the armed revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, we are assuming a correct political line has been laid down on these broad questions. If this were the case, organisation would be key. But this is not the case. Thus to say that we have the correct line and organisation is key is a "left" line because it skips the stage of ideological struggle. One of the characteristics of "leftists" is that they want to skip stages in the revolution (for example, the trots want to skip the stage of "New Democracy in oppressed nations; the "left" line in the Chinese Communist Party also wanted to skip New Democracy. (For more study on this see the articles Our Study and the Current Situation appendix-resolution on Some Questions in the History of Our Party by Mao, Present-Day Revolutionary Movement and Trotskyism from Albania Today, and The Objective and Subjective Factors in the Revolution from Albania Today).

HOW WE ARRIVED AT AN INCORRECT ASSESSMENT OF THE PERIOD WE
ARE IN AND THE INCORRECT LINE FLOWING FROM IT

How did we arrive at this incorrect assessment of the

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period we are in and the incorrect line resulting from it? We thing we have done it by disregarding several very important things Stalin has to say about strategy and tactics.

"9) The general principles of communist strategy and tactics. There are three such principles:

a). The adoption, as a basis, of the conclusion arrived at by Marxist theory and confirmed by revolutionary practice, that in capitalist

countries the proletariat is the only completely revolutionary class, which is interested in the complete emancipation of mankind from capitalism and whose mission it is, therefore, to be the leader of all the oppressed and exploited masses in the struggle to overthrow capitalism. Consequently, all work must be directed towards the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

b) The adoption, as a basis, of the conclusion, arrived at by Marxist theory and confirmed by revolutionary practice, that the strategy and tactics of the Communist Party of any country can be correct only if they are not confined to the interests of 'their own' country, 'their own' fatherland, 'their own' proletariat, but, on the contrary, if, while taking into account the conditions and situation in their own country, they make the international proletariat, the interests of the revolution in other countries, the cornerstone, i.e., if, in essence, in spirit, they are internationalist, if they do 'the utmost possible in one (their own) country for the development, support and awakening of the revolution in all countries'.

c) The adoption, as a starting point, of the repudiation of all doctrinarism (Right and Left) when changing strategy and tactics, when working out new strategic plans and tactical lines (Lautsky, Axelrod, Bogdanov, Bukharin), repudiation of the contemplative method and the method of quoting texts and drawing historical parallels, artificial plans and lifeless formulas (Axelrod, Plekhanov); recognition that it is necessary to stand by the point of view of Marxism, not to 'lie down on it', that it is necessary to 'change' the world, not 'merely to interpret' it, that it is necessary to lead the proletariat and be the conscious expression of its will.

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conscious process, and not 'contemplate the proletariat's rear' and drag at the tail of events (see Lenin's 'Spontaneity and Consciousness' and the well-known passage in Marx's Communist Manifesto to the effect that the Communists are the most far-sighted and advanced section of the proletariat)."

Stalin vol. 5 page 81-82 Political Strategy and Tactics

We have been doctrinaire, taking what Mao and the Albanians have to say and drawing historical parallels with our situation, with no analysis of the difference between the period we are in the the period they were in.

We also have not proceeded from Stalin's analysis of theory, programme, and strategy.

- 2) The Marxist theory, which primarily studies objective processes in their development and decline, defines the trend of development and points to the class or classes which are inevitably rising to power, or are inevitably falling, which must fall.
- 3) The Marxist programme, based on deductions from the theory, defines the aim of the movement of the rising class, in the present case the proletariat, during a certain period in the development of capitalism, or during the whole of the capitalist period (the minimum programme and the maximum programme).
- 4) Strategy, guided by the programme, and based on a calculation of the contending forces, internal (national) and international, defines the general route, the general direction, in which the revolutionary proletarian movement must be guided with a view to achieving the greatest results under the incipient and developing relation of forces. In conformity with this it outlines a plan of the disposition of the forces of the proletariat and of its allies on the social front (general disposition). 'Outlining a plan of the disposition of forces' must not be confused with the actual (concrete and practical) operation of disposing, allocating the forces, which is carried out jointly by tactics and strategy. That does not mean that strategy is limited to defining the route and outlining a plan of the disposition of the fighting forces in the proletarian camp; on the contrary, it directs the struggle and introduces corrections in current tactics during the whole period of a turn, making skilful use of the available reserves, and manoeuvring with the object of supporting the tactics."

Stalin Political Strategy and Tactics
page 63-64 vol 5

So we see that strategy must be guided by the theory and programme of Marxism. We have never given a thorough theoretical analysis of the objective and subjective conditions facing us, i.e., a class analysis of the U.S., and analysis of the communist movement and questions of this sort. This analysis would have to include an analysis of the period we are in. Coming off of a lack of this, we have not been clear on the need for, or how to go about creating, a party programme. So without the theory or programme of Marxism as applied to the U.S., we jump right into laying out what our strategic tasks are. This is not the way that Stalin has told us to proceed. Given the fact that our tasks are not based on a correct theory, or any theory for that matter, they are bound to be wrong.

We also put forward three immediate tasks under the central task of Party building. They are: 1. Deepen our grasp of Marxism-Leninism through the study to solve the practical problems of the revolution and through ideological struggle against the various lies and distortions. 2. Unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninists on the basis of a correct political line, using ideological struggle to arrive at clarity and unity among comrades. 3. That we must deepen our ties with the working class, going down deeper and deeper in order to win the most advanced to the cause of communism. Generally, the first one has been held to be the key one, although the others have been held to be key at different times. We do not have any big gripes with this formulation, but first, they are not based on any sound understanding of the period we are in, second, there has never been any explanation of why these three versus four or six, and third, when the key task has changed, there has never been any Marxist-Leninist explanation of why.

TRACING THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE CORRECT AND INCORRECT
LINES ON PARTY-BUILDING THROUGH OUR ORGANISATIONAL
DOCUMENTS

In this section, we will go through all the organisational documents we have, and show how both of these lines on party-building have coexisted since the break with the R.U. We will also show some of the unclarities that this has led us to.

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In relation to the following section we would like to point out some things from ON CONTRADICTION by Mao. "As can be seen from the articles written by Soviet philopophers criticizing it, the Deborin school maintains that contradiction appears not at the inception of a process but only when it has developed to a certain stage. If this were the case, then the cause of the development of the process before that stage would be external and not internal. Deborin thus reverts to the metaphysical theories of external causality and of mechanism. Further, " Contradiction is universal and absolute, it is present in the process of development of all things and permeates every process from beginning to end." And finally, " The fundamental contradiction in the process of development of a thing and the essence of the process determined by this fundamental contradiction will not disappear until the process is completed; but in a lengthy process the conditions usually differ at each stage. The reason is that, although the nature of the fundamental contradiction in the process of development of a thing and the essence of the process remain unchanged, the fundamental contradiction becomes more and more intensified as it passes from one stage to another in the lengthy process. In addition, among the numerous major and minor contradictions which are determined or influenced by the fundamental contradiction, some become more intensified, some are temporarily or partially resolved or mitigated, and some new ones emerge; hence the process is marked by stages. If people do not pay attention to the stages in the process of development of a thing, they cannot deal with its contradictions properly."

We want to show that: one, the two lines on party-building and the struggle between them have coexisted since the break with the RU. The incorrect line was not introduced at a later stage, but has existed since the inception of our present line. Secondly, we want to show how and at what stage the two lines came more sharply into contradiction, and how and at what stage the incorrect aspect gained dominance.

The documents

We will start with the pamphlet The Black Liberation Struggle The Black Workers Congress and Proletarian Revolution, concentrating on the section "Why We Need a 'New' Communist Party and the Role of a Black Communist

Overall, the pamphlet, and this section in particular is good. At this point we made the break with the RU on the basis of putting forward the need for theory and party building as the central task. But on page 33, at the very beginning of the article it says, "The working class has three main strategic tasks... These tasks are as follows:

First-build a genuine Communist Party

Secondly-Building a revolutionary United Front uniting all who can be united against our common enemy.

Thirdly-Building the mass revolutionary struggle of the working class (political and military) and its leadership in the united front.

All of these tasks are equally important in the sense that if all are not accomplished the strategic objective (final goal) of proletarian revolution cannot be reached. All must be carried out simultaneously (our emphasis). However, at different times one of these tasks is singled out or emphasized as the central or main task which must be concentrated on and which will move forward all three and insure the success of the revolution. Today we say that the central or main task of "Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers, is building a genuine Communist party based on "Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse Tung Thought that fights revisionism, Trotskyism, and all forms of opportunism." On Page 37 it says:

" And what does building the party mean? It means gathering together and uniting the genuine revolutionary forces into one revolutionary party on the basis of a correct political line and the fundamental principles of "Marxism-Leninism, and waging a bitter struggle against confused opportunist theories current in the US. It means setting a clear 'line of demarcation' between the revolutionary and opportunist wing of the movement. It means ideological preparation and theoretical training as well as practical training."

So we are saying that party building is the central task, and that this party must be based on the correct political line. At the same time as we are fighting for this correct line we must simultaneously be carrying out our other two strategic tasks, that is, putting this correct line into practice, even though we don't have it yet. This is ridiculous. If we don't firmly break with revisionism in the theoretical sphere first, we are going to have an opportunist line guiding our practice.

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Even the correct line on party building as it is put forward here is not strong enough. It says we need ideological, theoretical and practical training without specifying which is primary. It doesn't say we need to be developing correct lines on different questions to form the basis of a party programme. It is pointed out later on that we need open polemics among communists which is good, but the scope of our theoretical tasks is not recognized. The proof of this is the statement on page. 38 "This is not the place for a definitive proposal on how we see the party coming into being. This is a process that the whole communist movement must be involved in, not just one communist group." If we were clearer, we could put forward how we see a party coming into being, although of course it wouldn't be the final word on the question. We are not clear because we have two opposing lines.

Detroit Statement

This is not an organisational document, but a statement of the Detroit Circle (ex RU). It says, "1) Party building is our central task, which must determine the nature of all our work. Party building is characterised on the one hand by the need for ideological clarity and on the other by the necessity to go deep into the class, sinking our roots deep into the proletariat.

2). The struggle for theoretical clarity on LINE (emphasis in original) is the main aspect of party building. The theoretical struggle is the main form of struggle in the communist movement at this time. Among communists this means study and ideological struggle are of paramount importance. The correct LINE is key. Thus party building is primarily a question of demarcating the bourgeois line from the proletarian line, through theoretical struggle. It is not primarily an organisational question. We must struggle for every inch of unity, short of the party, never failing to unite all Marxist-Leninists. We will avoid a sectarian style of dismissing organisations, circles or individuals on any other basis than that of political line, with differences revealed through struggle.

3) Work among the masses: A) we must bring the science of

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Marxism-Leninism to the advanced section of the proletariat. By advanced we mean class conscious. The most advanced are the most class conscious. In this way we can best deepen our ties with the class.

We must condemn as deviations anything which places the emphasis of our work on any class other than the proletariat, or says that our work in the proletariat does not mainly consist of winning the most advanced workers to the cause of communism, and the task of party building. Propaganda, in all its forms, is the chief form of activity. C) We recognize that revisionism is the main danger, and the main obstacle in our path towards unity, we also recognize the possibility of making dogmatist and sectarian errors, which we regard as secondary danger. D) We will conduct mass agitation and engage in mass action when subjective, as well as objective, conditions permit. We will not submerge ourselves in the mass movement, and jump into every spontaneous struggle that comes up. We will choose our battles carefully. What mass work we do engage in will be done in a careful, well planned manner. WE RECOGNIZE THE ABSOLUTE NECESSITY TO MAKE A SHARP BREAK WITH THE GREAT TENDENCY TO BOW TO SPONTANEITY."

We think this is the best statement on party building of all the documents. The incorrect line does not come out here. The weakness is that it does not talk about the periods and the period we are in. It also leaves out the mention of a programme as the aim of the theoretical struggle.

BWC*PRRWO Study Guide.

This study guide was a big step in the right direction. We should recognize that it is not a libe on how to build the party but a good explanation of why we need a party, the importance of theory and the need to combat spontaneity. However, the two lines can be found once again. The correct line is most clearly stated in the section entitled "Build a Genuine Party-A Party of a New Type" where it says, "This required that the fundamental aspect of Party building be based on the fight for the clarity of M-L-M-T as it applies to the specific conditions of any given country. In other words, line is the key factor". The incorrect line is found mainly in the section en-

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titled "Strategy and Tactics". It says,

"Given our central task in the U.S. what will our tactics consist primarily of: First of all, internally it will mean developing the most thorough Party style of work. Concretely this means HARD STUDY AND A LOT OF THEORETICAL WORK, sum up everything we do, efficient practical work, with the aim in mind of training professional revolutionaries. And of course, nothing we do is isolated from the working class and the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie, therefore all of the above is done in order to equip every proletarian, but especially the vanguard, to FIGHT FOR THE CLARITY OF MARXISM-Leninism Mao Tse Tung Thought as it applies to the concrete conditions of the U.S. Second, and by no means second in regards to priority, is the concrete meaning of our tactics externally. This will entail the establishment of every propaganda to the advanced and anti imperialist elements it will mean developing our ability to agitate on all the important issues that face the masses and the revolutionary movement by sharpening and training professional agitators who can 'blow' the mass line 'for real', in other words, some good 'Rap Brown and Otis Hyde' type brothers and sisters. It will mean establishing the proper forums and platforms from where we can influence the ideological direction of the movement as a whole. And finally, it will entail making some decidedly good breakthroughs in several places around the country in regards to practice and mass work.

First off, we reduce theoretical work to a tactic of party building. In the previous paragraph Stalin is quoted on the question of tactics: "Lastly, there are times when tactical successes must be ignored and even when tactical disadvantages and losses must be deliberately incurred in order to insure strategic advantages in the future." We go on to say "Yes comrades, there are times right now, even in the present situation where the political leadership will have to pass up some campaign that could be easily won, but in so doing would hamper the overall work, there will be times when it will be necessary to swallow a compromise so that we can keep on pushing etc." So if the

theoretical struggle against revisionism is a tactic, we could decide tomorrow that we should either suffer a defeat in the theoretical struggle against revisionism, or drop theoretical struggle as the main form and switch to another way of building the party in order to secure strategic success.

This is a clear case of not grasping the critical importance of the ideological struggle. Secondly, while it does make a good statement on the fight for clarity, in the next breath it says that "developing our ability to agitate etc. to equally

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important. This is impossible. Only one of these things can be the number one priority. We are putting forward the theory of equilibrium here.

Finally we will make the point again that we can't make big breakthroughs in regards to mass work without a correct line to guide us.

Introductory outline for A Discussion Towards Developing An Organisational Strategy on Party Building

This document came out at the time that we were politically uniting with CL. It is a plan to move forward, but it is weak, reflecting a weak understanding of what we needed to do. The two lines are there, but do not come out all that clearly. The correct line is reflected on the one hand where we say on page two that some of the main obstacles on the road to the party are the theory of spontaneity, the revisionist line on the national question and goes on to state that "...finally, there appears to have been not nearly enough ideological struggle and polemics on all the burning questions in order to clearly draw the line between the proletarian line and the bourgeois line." All this is good, but clearly the document does not grasp the scope and importance of the ideological struggle it call for. What this shows is that at this point in the struggle between the two lines, the correct line is not gaining the upper hand. The document never clearly spells out how to go about the task of waging ideological struggle among communists, and what the key questions are. In fact, this question of waging struggle, which in our opinion is the main one, from which all the rest of the document should follow, is not singled out for attention. This is left up to the continuations committee, but it should have been obvious that we needed to get many more Marxists-Leninists involved in the theoretical struggle than were involved in the continuations committee. So for the "Three Roads" to the party that are outlined in this document (unite with other Marxists, deepen the grasp of Marxism within the BWC and join the Continuations Committee), none of them address the scope of the task we have ahead of formulating the theory and programme of Marxism through struggle.

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All in all, while the document talks of the need for more ideological struggle and polemics, it doesn't grasp the importance of it. This is all the more clearly demonstrated by the fact that we talk of establishing the Party by September or December. How could we possibly fight and win the theoretical struggle against revisionism in four to six months?

Before we continue with the documents we would like to point to one more thing from "On Contradiction".

As we have said, one must not treat all the contradictions in a process as being equal but must distinguish between the principle and secondary contradiction, and pay special attention to grasping the principal one. But, in any given contradiction, whether principal or secondary, should the two contradictory aspects be treated as equal? Again, no. In any contradiction the development of the contradictory aspects is uneven. Sometimes they seem to be in equilibrium, which is however, only temporary and relative, while unevenness is basic. Of the two contradictory aspects, one must be principal and the other secondary. The principal aspect is the one playing the leading role in the contradiction. The nature of a thing is determined mainly by the principal aspect of a contradiction, the one ~~of~~ which has gained the dominate position."

In relation to this we wanted to say that in the documents we have gone through so far, the two lines existed side by side and seemed to be in equilibrium. In the documents that immediately follow, the ones right before and after the central committee meeting in July, the contradiction becomes sharper. By the time the first issue of the Communist came out, the incorrect line had clearly become the leading aspect of the contradiction.

The Political and Economic Situation in the United States
(dated 6/25/74)

Under the section entitled "The present Situation and Our Tasks", the contradiction comes out. we say on page six that political work in the working class is decisive, and a paragraph later we say our chief task is ideological. So it is decisive verses ~~is~~ chief. To say our chief task is ideological is a reflection of the correct line on party building, while to say

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that our political work in the working class is decisive comes from the line which holds that our party will grow in relationship to our ability to build the mass revolutionary armed struggle of the proletariat and the united front.

Another way the incorrect line manifests itself is in the way we talk about 'left' and right. 'Left' and right mean different things in different periods. For instance if we say that one of the characteristics of 'left' is that it skips stages in the revolution, for us in this period being 'left' means skipping the period of ideological struggle. But to repeat, left and right have to be judged in relation to the period we are in, and our central task. In this document we judge whether an organization is 'left' or right on the basis of their relationship to the mass movement. This is clearly not understanding the period we are in. For example it says, "Left opportunism finds expression, in regards to party building, in isolating this activity from ~~the~~ and counterposing it to the mass movement." (page 5). So we would say that CL is 'left' because it is isolated from the masses/. This is incorrect, CL is 'left' because of their line (i.e., a trot line on the international situation and on the dictatorship of the proletariat, and saying there can be no united front with the petty bourgeoisie.), and because they want to skip the stage of ideological struggle and form the party without it. Would it make them better, their line any less 'left' if they were out among the masses putting forward their trot, 'leftist' line? The way 'left' and right are talked of in this document is dangerous, because it caused us to say, "Let us guard against 'leftism' by making sure we don't isolate ourselves from the masses", rather than "Let us guard against 'Leftism' by making sure we do not skip the stage of ideological struggle and try to lead the masses as our main activity before we are prepared to". It should also be noted that we say that right opportunism is manifested in a rejection of the leading role of the party, whereas the Albanians in the article "Objective and Subjective Factors in the Revolution" say that 'leftists' also reject the leading role of the party (this is mentioned on page 21 of this article).

Overall Plan for building "Party of a New Type- Bolshevik Communist Party (Dated July 13, 1974)

Whereas the other document dealing with a plan for building

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the party corresponded to the period in the 'Continuations Committee, this plan came out in the period when we had broken with CL, and were striking out 'on our own' along with PRRWO and ATM. Our ability to put forward a clear plan on the way forward is directly dependent on how firm a grasp we have of our tasks, which in turn is directly dependent on how firm a theoretical foundation we have. In this document we can see that due to the contradictory lines, we are not able to put forward a very clear plan on how to move forward.

The section of this document dealing with the communist movement (and the right and 'left' deviations) is almost word for word exactly the same as what is said in the Political And Economic Situation, so we won't repeat what has been said. It should be noted that we put forward the need to carry out the three strategic tasks simultaneously on page one of this document, and on page two we say that the essence of party building is the fight for political line. Once again, with this contradiction, how could we possibly put forward a clear plan on how to carry out the ideological struggle for clarity on line in the communist movement?

Fundraising Document

The significant thing about this document is that it raises, for the first time, the slogan 'organisation is key'. Once again, this can only be so if a correct political line has been laid down. The fact that it appears shows that the contradiction is getting sharper, and things are getting worse.

The Communist vol 1 issue 1

As we said before, the incorrect line has been the dominant aspect of the contradiction in the Communist and in the organisation ever since the paper started coming out.

In the article 'US Imperialism Crisis Deepens' there is a section entitled Our Task—Build a New communist Party, which is taken directly from the analysis of the communist movement done in the document Political and Economic Situation. What is interesting is that in the document it says on page six, "The 'left' tendency, in regards to Party building, sees this task as the only task to be done and underestimates the importance of linking ourselves with the advanced elements of the

proletariat." (our emphasis). In the newspaper it says (in the same section) on page three "The 'left' tendency, in regards to party building, sees this task as isolated from all others, as the only tas to be done, and underestimates the key aspect of this task--that of winning over the advanced of the proletariat to the cause of communism. (our emphasis). So somewhere between June 25th and August 15th (the date of the first newspaper) linking ourselves with the advanced leaped from being important to being key. This leap was a clear victory for the incorrect line. It is also stated on the previous page of the newspaper that "the chief aspect of Party building at this time is ideological. Once again, we can't say one aspect is key and the other chief, one is most important, or the other is.

Trade Union Conference Document

The significant thing about this document is that it reversed the priority of our three immediate tasks. What was on the top of the list, "Deepen our grasp of Marxism-Leninism through the study to solve the practical problems of the revolution and through ideological struggle against the various lies and distortions," changed places with what had been on the bottom of the list, "That we must deepen our ties with the working class, going down deeper and deeper in order to win the most advanced to the cause of communism." This was later summed up as a mistake, but it shows how easily we can change our 'tactics' and how shallow our grasp of the need for ideological struggle is. We changed these tasks with no explanation and no analysis of the period. This document does not contain the correct line, it is a clear victory for the incorrect line.

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"What is the Communist?"- vol 1, issue 1

In the centerfold article of this issue, the incorrect line on party building is very clear.

First off, on p. 4, 2nd column, it states that:

The central task facing the BWC and all genuine communists at the present time is the building of a revolutionary proletarian Party of a New Type; a strong disciplined Party with ideologically steeled revolutionary cadres, who have close links with the masses and especially the industrial proletariat. At the same time, it is absolutely necessary to carry out the strategic task of building the mass revolutionary political struggle of the proletariat and the anti imperialist united front under tis leadership.

These tasks require that the BWC and all genuine communists and revolutionaries deepen our understanding of ML through ideological struggle and the study of the science, to solve the practical problems of revolution, that we strive to unite with all genuine MLs on the basis of a correct political line; and that we deepen our ties to the advanced sector of the class in order to win them to the cause of communism."

This statement makes clear that we must carry out the strategic tasks at the same time as building our party--i.e. the party grows in relationship to carrying out these 2 tasks. At the same time, the quote talks about the need for idological struggle to solve practical problems of the revolution. Yet, there is no mention of the nature of these question. But mainly and most importantly, we can see the two lines on party building brought forward. This state ment on party building presents the contradiction in our line.

It becomes clear which line is dominate later in the article. Four sections to the paper are outlined on pages 4-5. They are

1.Theory & practice of the Communist movement--taking up the theoretical, political and organizationa problems we face.

2.Communist work in the Trade Unions-taking up mainly practical problems of TU work.

3. On the Natl. & International Situation-taking up an analysis of this situation.

4.Party life column-checking up on implementation of our central taks.

This type of division reflects two things:

A. It dèvides the general questions of theory and practice, the main

aspect of party building from TU work and the domestic and international situation. These 2 questions are important aspects of the theory of the communist movement and to party building. It becomes clear why this is done when looking at the contents of the section on TU work. The emphasis in this section is on practical work not on developing a correct analysis and presentation of this question. TU work is seen more from the standpoint of a practical task than a theoretical task. This contents reflects the line that our party will grow by making breakthroughs in the class, not breakthroughs on the theoretical front.

But what stands out sharply is the content of the party life column. The line in this section is clearly--organization is key. Is this what we consider the heart of "party life"--checking up on the implementation of the central task??. particularly reviewing the work of nuclei? The essence of party building is not an organizational question but a political question of line. The question of political line is not even mentioned in this section. By reviewing this article and the first one, it is clear that at this point the line that the party grows in relation to building the mass revolutionary struggle & the U.F./organization is key is dominant in our organization.

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Struggle Against Revisionism Pamphlet

On the surface this pamphlet seems to reflect what we mean when talking about carrying out ideological struggle over line. There is a fairly complete analysis of CL's line. Criticism of the RU's line are sort of tacked onto the main criticisms of CL. The analysis of RU and CL as right and left leaves quite a bit of room for explanation. But you might say this pamphlet is definitely a step forward.

However, the line that guided the development of the pamphlet is the same incorrect left line that we have talked about in regards to party building. Only here we can see its manifestations on the organizational front. Basically, the pamphlet was the work of some "experts", not the result of inner-organizational struggle over line. When it was first published, it did not anywhere nearly reflect the political unity of the organization. Our task was to learn the contents, definitely not struggle over the contents. The line that guided the publication of this pamphlet also guided the development of the national center. This organizational line reflects an incorrect application of democratic centralism. ~~As stated earlier,~~ A correct political line should "emerge from the masses, and return to the masses." The line on DC has been one that emphasizes centralism, minimizes democracy. ~~Like the line on party building, this organizational line does not reflect an accurate understanding of the period we are in.~~ It by no means regards the leading body of the Party as the concentrated expression of the will of the whole Party." (Mao's Appendix, p. 86) In fact, this line holds the opposite.--That correct ideas are held in the minds of a few experts and it is the job of cadre to learn these ideas. This line that has emphasized centralism in a period of broad theoretical struggle has in fact, stifled criticism and fostered an employee mentality among cadre. In conclusion, the SAR pamphlet does not represent the result of broad struggle within our organization or for that matter, even between our org and others in the communist movement. In actuality, it represents the work of some Canadian Marxist Leninists, the Chinese on the international situation, a few comrades who have studied in detail Soviet revisionism, etc. This pamphlet is more closely akin to a compiling of articles than the line of an org, having been worked out through theoretical struggle.

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The Communist vol 1 issue 2

Dodge Truck

This article raise the criticism of our organisation that we did not attempt to give leadership to the spontaneous movement. We think that while overall it is true that we can't lend the spontaneous movement a conscious character at this time, in particular cases we may be able to at least give some leadership. We can't know enough about the situation at Dodge Truck to judge if the self-criticism in the Communist is correct or not. However, we would like to point out one thing. On Pg. 5 it reads " What was the line of the BWC? The BWC put forward that it is necessary to build the political party of the proletariat-a new communist party-develop the mass political activity of the working class along revolutionary lines and develop and lead the anti-imperialist united front of the people. Of all these tasks, the BWC has stated that the task of forging a new communist party is the key and chief one, and must be done in close organic connection to all three. When it came to Dodge Truck the BWC revealed its political immaturity in the sense that the organisation did not attempt to give political leadership to the whole strike, but instead concentrated on doing work with the few workers it had contact with." This clearly shows, in case there was any doubt, that when we put forward the three strategic tasks, we are putting forward the need to practically implement them at this time, not to develop correct lines on them. The correct line is also present in the article. It says on page 5, "The proper way to put the question ~~is~~ and to take up our work is to not miss a step in conducting struggle for ideological clarity, because it is STILL THE LEADING FACTOR, but to go over to more widespread participation in the economic struggle of the proletariat." (their emphasis). However, it is clear that the correct line is not the leading factor in this article.

In the article "The Present Situation and Our Tasks" under the section "Specific Tasks" we find the following:

"The tasks of Communists is to fight for the leadership of the struggle, for the hegemony of the proletariat in the united front, while

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continuing to wage an unremitting struggle for the Marxist-Leninist line and the building of a revolutionary proletarian Party. Communists must begin to give bold leadership to the most important struggles of the class, and inspire and win over the masses in the course of their daily struggle against capitalism. Communists must begin to consolidate their influence amongst the workers, especially inside the key, basic industries and trade unions, making every factory a Dolshevik fortress, with a strong Communist presence.

We must step up our recruitment and training of working class cadres, especially those with influences among the vast masses of workers. Unless systematic, consistent work is done to develop cadres, the task of winning over the advanced to communism and building the united front, will in actual practice never be accomplished.

None of these tasks can be fulfilled, however, unless a struggle against opportunism in all its forms is conducted. The fight against amateurishness narrow pragmatism, economism and petty bourgeois methods of work, especially in the BWC must be stepped up--organisation is key! "

Here the incorrect line comes out full blown. We are supposed to carry out all these tasks and the key is organisation. This can only mean that we have layed down a correct line on the mass armed revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and its leadership in the united front, and now our task is to organise the struggle to implement the line. This is, of course the line on the three strategic tasks. The ideological struggle is not even mentioned, the struggle against opportunism here means the struggle against opportunist methods of organisational work.

The Communist Vol. 1 issue 3

The incorrect line is manifested in the Article "Towards Reform or "evolution?" , under the 'Role of Communists'.

"What then is the role of communists at the Post Office?

... we must organise these advanced workers into communist nuclei. From here we must organise shop and local committees that will lead postal workers in their day to day struggles against management and class collaborationist trade union leaders." Of course this is true in the long run, but right now this is not the main role of communists (although, as with what we said about "odge Truck, it may be that we can in particular cases play some sort of leading role).

The Communist vol 1 issue 4

At the bottom of the first column of the article "Inflation and Crisis" it reads " If the working class is to effectively

resist the attacks on its living standards and to pass over to the offensive against the rule of capital, it must have clarity on just what and whom it is fighting against. In particular, the proletariat must theoretically reject the bourgeois lie that wage increases cause inflation--as it has already rejected it in practice." This is true of course, but we can't assume that this article is the correct line. We would add that in order to get theoretical clarity on this question all Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers must study and struggle over the question of inflation in order to be able to reject the lies, and in order to enable us to come up with a through, correct line. Thus the article should have made its starting point the call for theoretical struggle over the question. It should have been addressed to "Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers getting drawn into the communist movement, not to the broad masses. We should put out more theoretical articles to initiate discussion and struggle to come up with correct lines. We should never assume that what we put out is going to be necessarily correct right off the bat, without struggle among communists in the U.S. We act as if this article is all the proletariat needs to get clarity on the question and a correct line.

Boston Busing

We have many criticisms of this article around the fact that it doesn't strongly put forward the need for proletarian internationalism, and the basis for it, the upholding of the right of self-determination, but we will focus on the criticisms relating to our line on party building. Under the section "Clear example of Need for a New Party" it says, "Clearly, the most striking factor in this situation, is the complete lack of leadership and organization among the masses and pro-busing forces, and this is especially true with the working class. Next to such skilled fascist 'populists' as Hicks and Kerrigan, and the thorough and well disciplined organization behind them, the class conscious proletariat of Boston and the general working masses have nothing--no leaders, no line, strategy and tactics and no organization." So while line is on the list of what the proletariat needs, the most striking need is for leadership and organization. Isn't it clear that the most striking thing is the lack of

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a clear correct line? Or rather a clear correct line on how to apply the Comintern's line on the "Black National Question" to the present day U.S.? The article goes on to say that we haven't provided the necessary leadership to the spontaneous uprising and "to date no one has come forward with strong and firm proletarian leadership". Well no wonder, there~~have~~ have not been polemics among communists with the aim of reaching unity on a correct line.

This theme of the need to lead the struggle in Boston is repeated again and again throughout the article;

To the "orking Class

The correct and incorrect lines are here also, but with a heavy emphasis on the incorrect line. On page 17 it says; "The task today is to pass over to higher, more acute forms of struggle, struggle that coordinates the separate actions of particular sectors of workers and other laboring people, with the struggle of the whole proletariat and oppressed for a revolutionary way out of the crisis. It is more necessary than ever before to combine the struggle for decent wages, housing, and education, the struggle against high prices, rent and superprofits, with political demands like the struggle against aggressive imperialist wars overseas, the struggle for democratic rights and self-determination for oppressed nationalities, the struggle against fascist police repression, defense of the fights of women and youth -and the struggle for the highest political demand-POLITICAL POWER for the working class, the DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT." Further, "It is the task of communists to bring forward this connection between the economic and political struggles of the proletariat in everything they do, whether it be in the building of factory nuclei, workers' shop committees, united front activities, demonstrations, leaflets-everything."

So here we are saying that our task is to lead the spontaneous movement, and while doing so, bring forward the connection

between the economic and political struggles. Of course we say this is totally wrong. Our task today is mainly ideological struggle for a correct line, and without this line we cannot ~~do~~ accomplish the tasks they talk of here. Further down the page the correct line shows itself,

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"It is precisely because of this central task to build a new revolutionary party that we must concentrate on the essence of this aspect of the proletariat's cause--the ideological struggle, the ~~the~~ struggle for the THEORY of the working class movement."

At the bottom of the page the confusion resulting from the struggle between the two lines shows itself. "Ideological and political development as well as organisation are key!! " Obviously, all three can't be equally important. Only one can be key.

⑥ The Left Deviation in the Organization

We believe that a correct explanation of the confusion and inertia which have gripped the organization since the break with CL must start with an explanation of the two line struggle which we have outlined above.

Just as in the struggle with James Foreman, there is a tendency on the part of some comrades to view the current two line struggle in isolation from the political and ideological tendencies of different classes--to reduce the problems of the org. to a question of administration or incompetent personnel in leadership. In fact, just the opposite is the case. Like the struggle with Forman, we are again faced with a clear cut ideological struggle between proletarian and bourgeois ideology.

We hold that the petty bourgeois line in the current struggle is left in form and right in essence. It is crucial to defeat this line in order for the BWC to continue to move forward.

To enable comrades to understand better the mistakes of the left line (in the recent period) we shall now deal one by one with the important political, organization and ideological issues on which it conflicts with the correct line.

Politically

As has already been pointed out, the "left" line is seriously mistaken on the question of the tasks of communists in the present period. In upholding the necessity for communists to carry out these ^{two} strategic tasks, in the present period, the left line goes on to call for communists to win over the masses in their daily struggle against capitalism; concluding that the "fight against petty bourgeois methods of work ... must be stepped up"... and that organization is key.

This formulation is entirely opposed to Stalin's assessment of the tasks of the Bolshevik party in a similar period in its development:

Three periods must be noted in the development of our Party.

The *first* period was the period of *formation*, of the *creation* of our Party. It embraces the interval of time approximately from the foundation of *Iskra*³² to the Third Party Congress inclusively (end of 1900 to beginning of 1905).

In this period the Party, as a driving force, was weak. It was weak not only because it itself was young, but also because the working-class movement as a whole was young and because the revolutionary situation, the revolutionary movement was in its infancy.

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particularly in the initial stages of this period (the peasantry was silent or did not go beyond sullen murmuring; the workers conducted only partial economic strikes or political strikes covering a whole town; the forms of the movement were of an underground or semi-legal character; the forms of working-class organisation were also mainly of an underground character).

The Party's strategy—since strategy presupposes the existence of reserves and the possibility of manoeuvring with them—was necessarily narrow and restricted. The Party confined itself to mapping the movement's strategic plan, i.e., the route that the movement should take; and the Party's reserves—the contradictions within the camp of the enemies inside and outside of Russia—remained unused, or almost unused, owing to the weakness of the Party.

The Party's tactics, since tactics presuppose the utilisation of all forms of the movement, forms of proletarian organisation, their combination and mutual supplementation, etc., with the object of winning the masses and ensuring strategic success, were also necessarily narrow and without scope.

In this period the Party focussed its attention and care upon the Party itself, upon its own existence and preservation. At this stage it regarded itself as a kind of self-sufficing force. That was natural: tsarism's fierce attacks upon the Party, and the Mensheviks' efforts to blow it up from within and to replace the Party cadres with an amorphous, non-Party body (recall the Mensheviks' campaign for a labour congress launched in connection with Axelrod's notorious pamphlet *A People's Duma and a Labour Congress*, 1905), threatened the Party's very existence and, as a consequence, the question of preserving the Party acquired paramount importance in this period.

The principal task of communism in Russia in that period was to recruit into the Party the best elements of the working class, those who were most active and most devoted to the cause of the proletariat; to form the ranks of the proletarian party and to put it firmly on its feet. Comrade Lenin formulates this task as follows: "to win the vanguard of the proletariat to the side of communism" (see "*Left-Wing" Communism . . .*"³³).

Thus, in opposition to the left formulation in The Communist, Stalin notes that in regards to strategy in the first period. "The party confined itself to mapping the movement's strategic plan, i.e. the route that the movement should take." In developing this plan, the party based itself on its programme and "on a calculation of the contending forces, internal and international." And further, Stalin points out that "outlining a plan of the disposition of forces must not be confused with the actual concrete and practical operation of disposing, allocating forces..." (Pol. Strategy & Tactics, p. 64, Vol 5)

It is precisely this distinction which the "left" line has failed to grasp. In setting for the BWC and the communist movement as a whole, the task of actually disposing our forces along a definite line of march with the aim of winning over the masses, the "left" line has slipped blindly into wreckless adventurism. This line is leading us directly toward isolation from the masses and from the communist movement as a whole (a path already blazed by the CI and RU). The "lefts" have completely overestimated the level of development of the BWC and the communist movement while underestimating the strength of the bourgeoisie and its agents within the workers movement.

We assert that only on the basis of accomplishing the following tasks can the communist movement prepare itself to carry out the work the "lefts" have assigned to us today (i.e. win over the masses, achieve leadership in the workers movement and the United front, etc)

- 1) Develop the theory and programme of Marxism as it applies to our situation
- 2) Make a precise calculation of the subjective & objective factors in the class struggle, both internally & internationally
- 3) Forge the ML movement into a single communist party
- 4) Recruit into our ranks the best elements of the working class

As Stalin puts it in Political Strategy & Tactics, our general task in this period is "to win the vanguard of the proletariat to the side of communism (i.e, build up cadres, create a communist party, work out the programme, principles of tactics) Propaganda as the chief form of activity."

In their mad dash to give bold leadership to the mass struggle, the impetuous lefts in our org. will have none of this preparatory work. "To sum up, comrades of the "left" line have had nothing

in their heads but sectarianism and adventurism and continuously suffered inexorable and avoidable defeat in their fanatical belief in 'struggle above all, all for struggle' and 'incessant extension and intensification of the struggle.'" (Maos Appendix, p. 78)

Organizationally

Many of the papers we have seen go into great detail in presenting the organizational left deviations. We think the following passage from Mao's *Our Study and the Current Situation* provides a sound theoretical framework within which to view these particulars:

strategy a shift from guerrilla warfare to mobile and positional warfare will also be required, provided that our troops have secured modern equipment. Comrades throughout the Party must therefore prepare themselves with full consciousness for this coming change.

3. Organizationally:

As Comrade Mao Tse-tung observed, a correct political line should "emerge from the masses, and return to the masses". To make sure that it does emerge from the masses and particularly that it does return to the masses, close contact must be established not only between the Party and the masses outside the Party (the classes, the people), but first of all between the leading bodies of the Party and the masses within the Party (the cadres and the rank and file); in other words, there must be a correct organizational line. Therefore, in each period of the Party's history, Comrade Mao Tse-tung, in laying down a political line which championed the interest of the people, laid down also an organizational line which served the political line by maintaining contact with the masses both inside and outside the Party. Important results were achieved in developing such a line during the Agrarian Revolutionary War and were embodied in the resolution of the Ninth Party Conference of the Fourth Front Red Army in 1929.¹ On the one hand, this resolution raised the task of Party-building to the level of

ideological and political principle, firmly upheld the leadership of proletarian ideology, rightly condemned the narrow military approach, subjectivism, individualism, equalitarianism, the concept of the roving bands of rebels and adventurism, and pointed out the sources and harmful consequences of these deviations and the methods to rectify them; on the other hand, it insisted on strict democratic centralism and opposed placing undue restrictions on either democracy or centralization. In the interest of the unity of the whole Party, Comrade Mao Tse-tung also insisted on subordinating the part to the whole and, in accordance with the characteristics of the Chinese revolution, defined the correct relation between old and new cadres, between native cadres and cadres coming from other places, between cadres working in the army and those working among civilians and between cadres of different departments or localities. Thus Comrade Mao Tse-tung has set us an example of combining adherence to truth as a matter of principle with submission to the organization as a matter of discipline, an example of correctly conducting inner-Party struggles and at the same time correctly maintaining inner-Party unity.

Conversely, every time a mistaken political line prevailed, a mistaken organizational line emerged along with it, and the longer the former prevailed, the more damaging the effect of the latter. This is why during the Agrarian Revolutionary War the "Left" line opposed both Comrade Mao Tse-tung's political line and his organizational line,

¹ Cf. "On the Rectification of Incorrect Ideas in the Party", *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., London, 1954, Vol. I, pp. 105-115.

creating both sectarianism which alienates the Party from the people (not regarding the Party as the champion of the people's interests or the concentrated expression of the people's will), and factionalism which alienates the leadership from the rank and file of the Party (not subordinating the partial interest of a section of the membership to the interest of the whole Party and not regarding the leading body of the Party as the concentrated expression of the will of the whole Party). In particular, to put their ideas into effect, the "Leftists" in the third period invariably and indiscriminately attached to all comrades who found the line impracticable and showed their doubt, disagreement or dissatisfaction about it or hesitation in supporting or carrying it out, such labels as "Right opportunists", and followers of the "rich peasant line", of the "Lo Ming line" and of the "line of conciliation" and of "double-dealing", waged "relentless struggles" against them, and dealt them "merciless blows"; these inner-Party struggles were sometimes conducted with such violence that the accused were treated like criminals and enemies. Such mistaken inner-Party struggles became the accepted means by which leaders or followers of the "Left" line increased their personal prestige, enforced their will and intimidated the rank and file and cadres in the Party. Within the Party it violated the fundamental principle of democratic centralism, destroyed the democratic spirit of criticism and self-criticism, turned Party discipline into me-

chanical regimentation, fostered tendencies to blind and servile obedience and thus endangered and obstructed the development of vigorous and creative Marxism.

This mistaken inner-Party struggle was combined with a cadres policy based on factionalism. Instead of regarding the veteran cadres as valuable assets of the Party, the factionalists persecuted, punished and deposed from the central and local organizations many experienced veteran cadres who were closely connected with the masses but were uncongenial to them and unwilling to become the blind followers or yes-men of the factionalists. They gave no proper education to new cadres and paid no serious attention to the promotion of cadres, especially those of working-class origin, but carelessly replaced veterans in the central and local organizations with new cadres or cadres coming from other places who either lacked experience or had no close contact with the masses, but were congenial to them and willing to become their blind followers and yes-men. In this way they not only disheartened the old cadres but also spoiled the new ones. In many places, where factionalism in cadres policy was further complicated by a wrong policy adopted in suppressing counter-revolution, large numbers of good comrades were wrongly accused and unjustly punished; this resulted in lamentable losses inside the Party. Such factional errors enormously weakened the Party by creating a cleavage between the higher and lower bodies and produced many other deplorable results.

Ideologically

"The correctness or incorrectness of a political, military or organizational line depends fundamentally on whether it starts ideologically from the Marxist Leninist theory of dialectical and historical materialism..." (Mao, Appendix, p, 88)

The lefts have not taken dialectical materialism as their starting point in making an analysis, but have used idealism. Specifically, they have arrived at a formulation of our strategic tasks in a doctrinaire or dogmatic manner. Instead of making a concrete analysis of the objective and subjective factors which determine the nature of the present period, the lefts have rushed to make do with a number of quotations out of books (Introducing the Communist & The Vanguard of the Revolution and Socialist Construction), without ever considering whether they are applicable under the actual conditions in the US today.

'Small wonder that the "lefts" theories are divorced from reality and their leadership from the masses and that they believe themselves infallible instead of seeking truth from facts, and swagger and brag while afraid of just criticism or self criticism.'

Social Basis of the Left Deviation

"The mistakes made by the "left" line in the above mentioned fields were not accidental, but the results of deep seated social causes." (Mao, Appendix, p. 93)

As we pointed out earlier, the current two line struggle in the BWC is a clear cut ideological struggle between proletarian and petty bourgeois ideology. The "left" line is a clear reflection of the outlook of the petty bourgeoisie. This is not surprising given the fact that virtually all of the present day anti revisionist communist movement including the BWC are composed largely of members of petty bourgeois origin. It is in this context that the current two line struggle must be viewed, for^{as} the Chinese point out:

"...the more numerous the party members of petty bourgeois origins, the more strictly should the party as the vanguard of the proletariat watch over its purity for otherwise, it will be subject to fierce attacks by petty bourgeois ideology and suffer more serious damage." (Mao, Appendix, p. 97)

In this respect, the petty bourgeois left line in the BWC can be analyzed from three aspects:

First--mode of thought. "Generally speaking the p.b., when tackling a problem thinks in a subjectivist and one sided way, that is, it starts not from an objective complete picture of the relative strength of classes, but takes its subjective wishes, impression and idle fancies for actual conditions, a single aspect for all the aspects, a part for the whole" etc. (Mao, Appendix, p 97)

The lefts in our org. have substituted idealism taking the form of dogmatism, for dialectical and historical materialism. They have taken their 'idle fancies' about the strength of the BWC, the state of development of the communist movement, the strength of modern revisionism, etc. to be an objective complete picture of the conditions of the class struggle today. Infected with impetuosity, they try to rush forward to make do with stock formulas out of books when patient study, investigation and struggle are needed.

Second--political tendency.

"Politically the p.b. tends to vacillate between the left and Right because of their way of life and their consequent subjectivist and one sided mode of thought. Many typical p.b. revolutionaries long for a quick victory of the revolution which will bring about a radical change in their present status; consequently, they are impatient of protracted revolutionary endeavor, they are keenly interested in left revolutionary phrases and slogans and are apt to become sectarian or adventurist in sentiment and action." (Appendix)

Thus the "left" tendency in the BWC is an outgrowth of the desire of the petty bourg. for a quick solution to complex problems. The flip flopping in political line, tailing after the Ru, then CL are all concentrated expressions of this left tendency, which is the political expression of the economic instability of the p.b.

Third--organization and discipline.

"Because of the limitations of their ways of life and thinking... the petty bourg. are, in organizational matters, apt to drift toward individualism and factionalism (or sectarianism) which separate them from the people."

The "lefts" in the BWC fully reflect the ways of life and thinking of the petty bourg. in their approach to organizational matters. Displaying an extreme tendency towards individualism, factionalism, sectarianism, commadism, etc. in leading bodies while fostering slavish-

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ness within the rank and file, the lefts have trampled upon the ML norms of proletarian organization. Holding that the development of the general line of the BWC is the province of the "geniuses" and "experts" of the national center, while blind acceptance and slavish implementation of the line is the province of cadres, the lefts pervert the Marxist theory of knowledge and have no use for the line "from the masses, to the masses" in carrying out theoretical struggle in our organization.

Summation:

"These are the three aspects of petty bourg. ideology. Subjectivism in mode of thought, left and Right deviations in political orientation and sectarianism and factionalism in organization.."

Our task in the current two line struggle is to grasp firmly the particular manifestations of petty bourg. ideology in the BWC, to analyze the source of this deviation and to overcome it through education and struggle, not thru expulsion. Remembering that while criticizing "left" errors we must guard against right errors. We must defeat petty bourg revolutionism with Marxism Leninism.

PUT PROLETARIAN POLITICS IN COMMAND!
BUILD THE MULTINATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY!

Suggestions for improvement

1. Presentation on main aspect of party building is correct, but there is a lack of clarity on the secondary aspects of party building, ie., building up cadre.
2. Regarding left & right deviations
 - a) Left & right must be judged in relationship to our central task. In order to deepen our understanding of these deviations, we must get a clearer handle on #1.
3. Lack of a general theoretical presentation of left and right errors, the relation of the objective and subjective factors. We need this in order to deepen our understanding of the left line.