

CLASS WAR

Formerly COMMUNIST and RED STAR

TURNING POINT IN INDIA

With the year 1972 ended, we are witnessing the drawing to a close of a specific episode in the world proletarian revolution, an episode of already internationally recognized importance, containing many important lessons for revolutionaries everywhere who are striving to unite the anti-imperialist struggle with the anti-revisionist struggle.

This episode is the emergence, spread, peak struggles, and now, temporary and partial decline of the movement known throughout the world as the Naxalites. Named after a hitherto little-known region in the northern borderlands of India, but actually, interconnected with Communist-led armed peasant struggles in other parts of India, the Naxalites have become identified, both in India and elsewhere as the seeds of a "Vietnam-like" situation in India, and throughout the subcontinent, in the not too distant future. From the original struggle in Naxalbari, the 250 square mile region in the "Terai", or Himalayan foothills of north Bengal, to the murder of Charu Mazumdar, the most widely known Naxalite leader, at the hands of the police in a Calcutta hospital sometime in July, 1972, we are witnessing, not the end, but merely the most difficult and violent beginnings of, not only the new Indian Communist Movement, but also, the Indian Revolution itself, a great revolution, which, like the great Russian and Chinese revolutions before it, will shake the entire world.

The importance of the Naxalite movement then, is not limited to the development of a series of differing, struggling tendencies in the new Marxist-Leninist movement, tendencies which have important similarities as they appear in many countries. The Naxalites, alongside the heroic National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam, the New People's Army in the Phillipines, and many others, represent a component part of the People's War in Asia as a whole, the armed struggle to drive out the imperialists and wipe out their puppets. Their setbacks must be understood by the entire revolutionary movement, just as the advances of others must be understood. We must not neglect the teachers by negative example in our enthusiasm for the positive lessons to be gained, for the Marxist-Leninist science of Historical Materialism teaches us that uneven development is a fundamental law of development, of the struggle between classes as well as that between the oppressed and oppressor nations. As we shall illustrate, the very nature of the recent setbacks suffered by our comrades in India, in that important tendencies and cadres were spared the severe losses suffered by one particular tendency, (the C.P.I.(M.-L.)), actually lays the basis for the revolutionary struggles of the Indian people to break out with even more intensity than the Naxalbari struggle.

Firstly, we must briefly examine the history of the Indian Communist Movement, since the Naxalites, both as a movement and as a process, have their roots in the earliest beginnings of the Communist Party of India and its subsequent revisionist degeneration, splits, and splits within splits. Like the great Russian and Chinese Revolutions before it, the Indian Revolution is closely involved with the Struggle Between Two Lines that is the sign of every great leap forward in the process of the world proletarian revolution as a whole.

The Marxist-Leninist movement in India today, known as the Naxalites, sometimes identified only with one specific group, the C.P.I.(M.-L.), but actually involving dozens of groups and publications, has developed from numerous splits from the Communist Party of India (Marxist) during the period from the CPI(M) founding in 1964 as the left split from the "official"(Soviet-line revisionist) Communist Party of India, on up to the present.

The CPI(M) is a classic example of a neo-revisionist "left" centrist formation, with the one particular peculiarity that, unlike most modern revisionists, they claim adherence to the great contributions of J.V. Stalin, while at the same time opposing those of Mao Tsetung, particularly the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Like all present-day centrists, they claim support for the Chinese Revolution at the same time that they maintain that the Soviet Union is "socialist" and bewail

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Report on the Election Boycott

"We shall start with the boycott. Martov calls the boycott 'abstention from politics', the method of the 'anarchists and syndicalists', and he refers only to 1906. Trotsky says that the 'boycottist tendency runs through the whole history of Bolshevism—boycott of the trade unions, of the State Duma, of local self-governing bodies, etc.', that it is the 'result of sectarian fear of being swamped by the masses, the radicalism of irreconcilable abstention', etc. As regards boycotting the trade unions and the local self-governing bodies, what Trotsky says is absolutely untrue. It is equally untrue to say that boycottism runs through the whole history of Bolshevism; Bolshevism as a tendency took definite shape in the spring and summer of 1905, before the question of the boycott first came up. In August 1906, in the official organ of the faction, Bolshevism declared that the historical conditions which made the boycott necessary had passed.

"Trotsky distorts Bolshevism, because he has never been able to form any definite views on the role of the proletariat in the Russian bourgeois revolution.

"But far worse is the distortion of the history of this revolution. If we are to speak of the boycott we must start from the beginning, not from the end. The first (and only) victory in the revolution was wrested by the mass movement, which proceeded under the slogan of the boycott. It is only to the advantage of the liberals to forget this."

V.I. LENIN

from "The Historical Meaning of the Inner-Party Struggle in Russia", Sept.-Nov. 1910

1. Observations

The course of the so-called "election" and its pre-determined outcome proves that U.S. imperialism is still able to make use of elections. Unless the ruling class is confronted with armed insurrection and class war, they prefer to rule through a dual policy—coercion combined with deception. Of the two, coercion or armed force is the basis of state power. Towards the petty-bourgeoisie and labor aristocracy they employ the velvet glove, the carrot, the illusion of reform. Towards the workers and lumpen-proletariat they apply the iron fist, the stick, naked reaction. Elections are the tool of state-monopoly-capitalism in its deception of the workingclass with promises that the imperialist system will reform itself. "Democracy" in America means voting for the oppressor of your choice in a rigged election which supposedly decides which of the arch-reactionary lackeys of U.S. imperialism will be its mouthpiece through whom it will issue orders to launch wars of aggression against socialist states and oppressed nations, call out troops to suppress strikes and crush armed insurrection.

The utterly blatant corruption and scandals that have accompanied every administration have created mass cynicism towards bourgeois politics. What appears to be apathy and boredom is really the workingclass' refusal to be manipulated and deluded by ballot box demogogy. Despite all the pressure upon people to make them vote and betray their own interests, the fact that even the government statistics admitted that 44% of eligibles didn't vote is sign of the disillusionment of the majority of the people in the imperialist system. The masses expressed their sympathy for the election boycott by staying away from the polls.

The demonstrations against the conventions of the twin parties of state-monopoly-capitalism did not permit the ruling class to conduct their affairs of "class peace." Despite the opportunistic leadership, at this stage these struggles are a good thing. Actions that lead to military defeat can sometimes have tremendous propagandistic value and so become political victories by power of example. The street fighting in Miami revealed the phoney character of their "democracy" and the grave internal weakness of U.S. imperialism when they had to call in thousands of troops to keep out the demonstrators.

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the "disunity in the socialist camp". Otherwise, the CPI(M) follows the practices of the "official" CPI, especially in their parliamentary cretinism and outright social-fascism, such as sharing power with reactionary feudalists, etc. in state and local "united front" governments in India, which violently suppress workers', peasants' and other struggles. In fact, some of the most fascist repression incurred by the Naxalites has been under the so-called "Left United Front" rule of the CPI(M) in West Bengal, which, until the 1972 elections, was known as the CPI(M) "stronghold".

However, from its very beginning in 1964, the CPI(M) itself was disunited. Although Ranadive, Jyoti Basu, and the rest of the CPI(M) leading cliques are traitors of the worst type, large numbers of the rank-and-file and mass following of the CPI(M) are oppressed and exploited workers and peasants, many of them the best veterans of many revolutionary struggles throughout the long process of the Indian Revolution. The CPI(M) today leads, or rather misleads, the most important of the left-wing trade unions in India, as well as the largest and most militant Kisan Sabhas, or peasant associations. The failure of the new Marxist-Leninist forces to win over the masses in these mass organizations has not prevented the process of continued internal struggles and splits inside them and inside the CPI(M). Founded with several hundred thousand members, the CPI(M) leading clique has survived the last nine years of its existence only by continually chopping off, in bits and pieces, its most revolutionary elements, at the same time as it entangled itself further and further with the most unprincipled blocs. These bits and pieces have, in many cases, continued to function as small groups and publications, and a considerable part of these ex-CPI(M) leading cadres, as well as rank-and-file, are the core of the new Indian Communist Movement. It is the most important and largest of these splits which gave birth to the Communist Party of India(Marxist-Leninist), the group most closely linked with the Naxalite movement.

The inner-party struggle in the CPI(M) reached its peak in November 1967, with the founding of the All-India Coordination Committee of the Communist Revolutionaries of the CPI(M), as an organized anti-revisionist wing of the West Bengal, Bihar, and Kerala state sections of the CPI(M) especially. Attempts were made also to bring into the new committee the anti-revisionist forces in the rest of India. However, this attempt was short-lived, and to that extent, the AICCCR, and later on, its successor, the CPI(M-L) led by Charu Mazumdar, never achieved the full status of an all-India party or movement, but rather, the experience of the Indian Communist Movement in specific areas of India. The early withdrawal of the Andhra Pradesh groups led by T. Negi Reddy, as well as the failure of the Jammu and Kashmir anti-revisionist CPI(M) groups to achieve unity, was nothing less than the most acute expression of the uneven development of the movement as a whole, a situation which demanded leadership of the kind which the struggle itself had not yet produced. Petty bickering and the clash of personalities, rather than serious and principled polemics, were to characterize this early period, and still do, to the extent that the lessons of the half-decade since 1967 have yet to be understood by the comrades involved.

The West Bengal section of the All-India Coordination Committee had formulated its opposition to the revisionist line of the CPI(M) based especially on its direct involvement with a mass peasant uprising that began in March, 1967, in a 250 square mile region populated by no more than 80,000 people. In this region, 70% of the peasantry is poor and landless, 20% are middle peasants and 10% rich peasants. The revolt began with the Peasant Convention of the Siliguri sub-division of Naxalbari in March, which issued an official call to 1) Establish the authority of peasant committees in all matters of the village, 2) Get organized and armed to crush the resistance of the jotedars (landlord-usurers) and other rural reactionaries, and 3) Smash the monopoly of land ownership and re-distribute the land through peasant committees. Throughout March and April, armed groups were developed and the membership of the local Kisan Sabha jumped from 5,000 to 40,000. Some 15 to 20 thousand peasants formed the most advanced and organized core of this struggle. From the original three points was then developed a ten-point program, including land re-distribution, destruction of all mortgage deeds, debts, and unequal agreements, confiscation of hoarded grain, work cattle, and farm implements from landlords, with the fifth point expressly calling for the public trial and execution of the worst landlords. The landless peasants fought hardest for these points and were the most relentless in carrying them out. This most exploited and oppressed section of the peasantry, definitely the main force in the Naxalbari struggle, was also later to receive the most brutal fascist treatment at the hands of the reactionary troops and police which were brought in to crush the revolt with wholesale murders, rapes, arrests, and torture.

At this time, the CPI(M) cadres in the Naxalbari and north Bengal region, giving their full support to the struggling peasants and in fact establishing "Solidarity Committees with Naxalbari" in other areas, came under severe denunciation from the CPI(M) ruling clique, which, anxious to maintain its unprincipled parliamentary blocs, joined in the reactionary chorus of "It's terrible!" and called for the suppression of this "adventure". Thus was born the West Bengal section of the All-India Coordination Committee, which,



COMRADE CHARU MAZUMDAR,
Murdered by the Indian reactionaries in
July, 1972

later on in 1969, was to be the main group launching the Communist Party of India(Marxist-Leninist). However, the Naxalbari struggle was not the only peasant struggle in that period, nor the only one which was to be directly linked with the inner-party struggle in the CPI(M).

There was another section of the CPI(M), leading an important struggle in another area of India which, after a bitter struggle inside the CPI(M), issued an "Immediate Programme" in April 1969 and constituted itself as the Revolutionary Communist Committee of Andhra Pradesh. This group was led by the veteran Communist leader T. Negi Reddy, known throughout India for his leadership in the armed peasant struggle in the Telengana region 1946-1951, a struggle which was the precursor of Naxalbari in every sense of the word and was liquidated as an "ultra-left deviation" by the revisionist CPI leadership at that time. The Andhra Pradesh left section of the CPI(M) led by, and known in CPI(M-L) literature, at least, as the "Negi Reddy group", had withheld itself from the All-India Coordination Committee, and later, rejected the formation of the CPI(M-L) itself as a bid by the Charu Mazumdar-led West Bengal Coordination Committee to undisputed leadership over the entire emerging Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement in India. More importantly, drawing lessons from their own struggle in the tribal tract area of Srikakulam, a district of Andhra Pradesh, the Revolutionary Communist Committee had already, before the founding of the CPI(M-L), developed their own critique of Charu Mazumdar's line on a number of basic questions. The struggle in Srikakulam, beginning in 1967, had actually preceded the Naxalbari struggle, but received much less attention because it was not directed against a state government in which the CPI(M) had a role, as they did in West Bengal.

Therefore, the Andhra Pradesh or "Negi Reddy group", although considered by many Marxist-Leninists in India to have as much, if not more, importance as the CPI(M-L) in the development of the new stage in the Indian Communist Movement, has been largely exempted from most of the publicity and excitement surrounding the CPI(M-L) and its now martyred leader Charu Mazumdar. Aside from the Andhra group, there are as well the Jammu and Kashmir Coordination Committees of Communist Revolutionaries, and several other groups which did not affiliate to the CPI(M-L) at its founding, and no doubt, feel that their worse fears concerning the CPI(M-L) have now been proven true, with the splits, desertions, arrests and murder of major leaders taking place at an increased rate, beginning with the most important split in the CPI(M-L) in November 1971. Before we examine closely this split and the major political questions which have arisen in the Indian Communist Movement as a whole, the CPI(M-L) in particular, we would first raise several

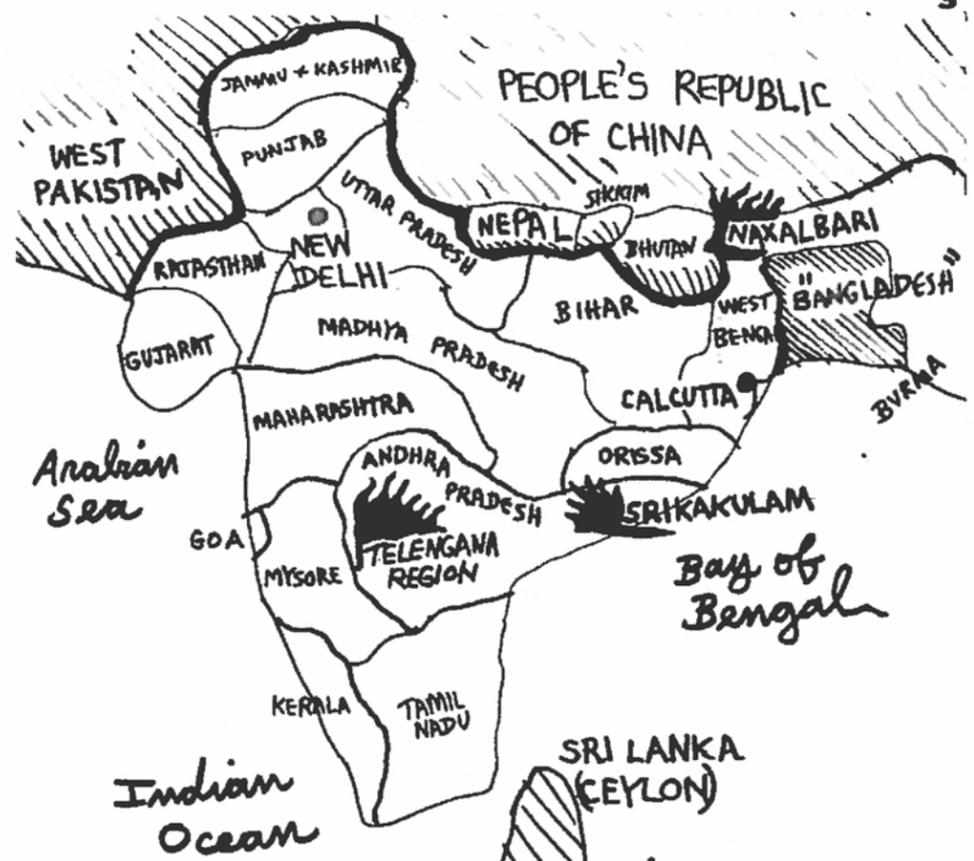
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points, in a comradely context of course, which seem to us, as non-participants but strong supporters of the Indian Revolution, of special importance because of the fact that they have been considered, up to now, of minor importance to our Indian comrades. We firmly believe that the historic experience of the great revolutionary struggles of the last hundred years has confirmed the special importance of these points in terms of the National Liberation struggles, as well as the class struggles in the imperialist nations.

Firstly, there is the Women's Question. There can be no doubt that the hundreds of millions of peasant and worker women in India are the largest single concentrated group of the most oppressed and exploited women in the world. Statistics relating to the tens of thousands of daily deaths, miscarriages, and misfortunes facing the vast masses of the toiling women of the subcontinent of Asia are only the most superficial aspect of an immense human misery, an immense blood debt incurred by all the ruling-classes of the world, especially the colonialist and imperialist and social-imperialist vultures that have looted successive generations of the people of India, that have propped up the rotting feudalism in the tens of thousands of villages, driving women to bear children when they are still children, starving the mother to feed the child, the one out of two or three that survives the first months of the wretched existence of the villages or streets of the city, that is. No revolutionary movement, however strong in other ways, can lead the Indian people to National Liberation and Socialism, unless it is completely united with the cause of the masses of Indian women. Yet, the Women's Question as a whole has been largely ignored up to this point, both by the CPI(M-L) and the other main group, the Revolutionary Communist Committee. In all the various writings of Charu Mazumdar that have been translated and widely distributed, there is not a single article dealing with the Women's Question, either in theoretical terms or in terms of the immediate practical tasks of the Indian Communists. Of course, the revisionist CPI maintains its own bourgeois women's circles and "personalities", closely identified with the Indira Gandhi cult of "Hindu Womanhood", but we are speaking here of a revolutionary women's movement, based in the masses of peasant and workingwomen, modelled after the Women's Associations and Womens Unions and Red Women's Detachments of the Chinese, Albanian, Vietnamese, Korean, and other revolutionary struggles. As far as we know, none of the Marxist-Leninist tendencies in India has proposed the formation of a revolutionary women's mass organization, but this is surely one of the primary tasks to be accomplished, and the failure to have developed such a movement may explain some of the errors and setbacks of the Naxalites, particularly in terms of building stable red base areas in the poorest, most militant villages. Although women have taken part in many of the Naxalite actions, including the "war of annihilation against the class enemy", as articles in *Liberation*, the english-language organ of the CPI(M-L) attest to, this has not been consciously developed, under Marxist-Leninist leadership, into a revolutionary mass movement, into a component part of either the armed peasant struggles or the urban, proletarian struggles. Thus, an enormous revolutionary force is ignored, for the time being.

Secondly, there are the intertwined questions of the caste system and the situation of the "tribals" and other oppressed minority nationality peoples in India. Although the Naxalites have developed directly out of the areas where the "tribals" and minority peoples are concentrated in the greatest numbers, or else where the caste system is most oppressive, the leaders of the CPI(M-L) and the other groups have avoided tackling this question directly, referring to it only very occasionally in their press, and carrying out no special types of political and other work to carry out the specific tasks that arise out of such questions.



Again, the Chinese, Vietnamese, and other contemporary revolutions offer the clearest examples of both the importance and the correct policy to follow in regards the specific problems of minority peoples, be they Montagnards in Viet Nam, Tibetans in China, or the untouchables and tribals of India, within the larger context of the anti-imperialist struggle of the entire oppressed people. Here, there can be no doubt that the weakness of the Naxalites in this regard has contributed greatly to the temporary and partial success of the "Bangladesh" fraud, to the cooptation of the great revolutionary traditions and vanguard struggles of the Bengali people, at least to some degree, and the relative setbacks suffered by the Marxist-Leninists in both the Indian and Pakistani areas of Bengal. The CPI(M-L), the Revolutionary Communist Committee, and the other Marxist-Leninists should have anticipated the joint India-USSR moves which, taking advantage of the brutal stupidity of the Pakistani ruling class, was able to channel so much popular sentiment and mass energy to the cause of "Bangladesh". The political weakness is rooted in a deeper, ideological weakness, in not having produced and widely distributed both an analysis and program of struggle for the literally thousands of the lowest sub-castes and rapidly-vanishing tribal peoples in India, the most exploited and oppressed sections of the Indian people, and, as the Nagaland and other armed struggle indicate, already an important force in the Indian Revolution. However difficult it may be at first, no step forward can be made in the solution of any of the practical tasks of the Indian Revolution without tackling this question directly, smashing the entire rotting feudal structure and superstructure, especially the monstrous caste system, raising the banner of militant atheism and dialectical-materialism against all the ghosts and monsters, and striking down all the walls of chauvinism and racialism that divide and paralyze the revolutionary, fighting will of the Indian people.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN TWO LINES IN THE CPI(M-L)—THE SPLIT

In discussing below the events surrounding the November 1971 split in the CPI(M-L), in which we shall mainly quote from the document issued by the anti-Charu Mazumdar wing of the CPI(M-L), we wish to state that we mourn the death of Comrade Mazumdar, as we mourn the death of any revolutionary killed fighting against imperialism and the bourgeoisie, however much we may have disagreed with the political line of the person or persons involved. The language of the document is bitter, but we must acknowledge that Charu Mazumdar made important positive contributions to the cause of the Indian Revolution and the Indian Communist Movement, which must be taken into account. Charu Mazumdar will always be known as a heroic revolutionary and outstanding leader of the new Indian Communist Movement that took up the banner of Mao Tsetung Thought in the sixties and seventies, and will be warmly remembered by the oppressed and exploited masses as one who gave his life for the sacred cause of the world revolution. All the errors made by him and by the CPI(M-L) while under his leadership cannot erase this.

The most recent failures of the Charu Mazumdar-led CPI(M-L) have been its urban campaigns, which are no less than the belated attempt to revive the CPI(M-L) in the cities after its guerrillaist errors had led to failure in the rural areas. It was in the last stages of such a campaign that Charu Mazumdar himself was seized and murdered by the police, under still generally unknown circumstances, but as part of a greater round-up of a number of Naxalite leaders throughout India. The largest split in the CPI(M-L) came almost nine months before his death, however, and we know that a number of other splits and mass expulsions had been taking place both before and after the November 1971 events, and the process of what is in effect a regroupment of the Marxist-Leninist forces will continue. We focus on the November 1971 split in particular, because the main document issued from this split is one of the most comprehensive summaries of the complexity of problems facing

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the Naxalites, and, if not offering complete solutions to all of these problems, has at least posed them sharply and clearly in a manner that makes them relevant, not only to the comrades directly involved, but to revolutionaries and Communists in general.

The document, entitled "On Struggle Between Two Lines in the Party" and first published in the Vol. 5, No. 1-2 issue of *Liberation*, was formally adopted on November 7th, 1971 by the majority of the Central Committee of the CPI(M-L) as part of an official decision of the CC expelling Charu Mazumdar and his "clique" from the CPI(M-L) as a whole. Since there still exists at least one group calling itself the CPI(M-L) which adheres to Charu Mazumdar's political line, as well as a relatively large movement of pro-Charu Mazumdar tendencies outside of India (the Hardial Bains groups in Quebec and Canada, etc.) we certainly hope that those against whom this document is directed will answer these criticisms point by point. However, we shall present a selection of the most important parts of the document, as we believe that the questions raised concerning certain aspects of the Naxalite struggle have come to the attention of many people in the anti-revisionist movements and parties around the world.

The document lists eleven erroneous theses of the Charu clique, as they call it, criticizing each at length, and putting forward their alternative line as developed through the inner-party struggle:

"...The CC totally rejects the notorious theses of the Charu clique that Mao Tsetung Thought was no longer a reliable ideological guide in the new era and that Charu's thought should be accepted as the ideological guide for the CPI(M-L). The CC also totally rejects the audacious claim of the Charu clique that it is only they who have grasped Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and are applying the same correctly in this country and that none else understands and can possibly understand even the ABC of M-L-MTT..."

"...The CC totally rejects the Trotskyite theories of the Charu clique that the entire bourgeoisie in India was comprador in nature and the entire peasantry was feudal in character..."

"...The CC totally rejects the thesis advocated by the Charu clique that with US aggression in Cambodia, the third world war has begun...The CC totally rejects the thesis advocated by the Charu clique that the imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists will not dare attack China after 1971..."

"...The CC categorically rejects the thesis advanced by the Charu clique that in the present initial phase of our revolution, the enemy is even tactically weaker than us and that 'Today it is therefore IMPOSSIBLE for the reactionary Indian gov't to carry out the encirclement and suppression campaign even by mobilizing five hundred thousand soldiers'...The CC exhorts all the party members and fighters not to pin hopes on the subjective, wishful, and one-sided thinking of the exponents of 'quick victory', but to firmly adhere to the path of protracted people's war, the path shown by the great Chinese revolution."

"...The CC repudiates the Trotskyite thesis advocated by the Charu clique as it seeks to divert the party from relying on the broad masses of the people and pins its faith on the future aggressive war to be launched by imperialism and Social imperialism for achieving victory in revolution..."

"...The CC totally rejects the thesis advanced by the Charu clique that Chingiang experience is no longer valid and building up of the consolidated base areas is no longer necessary. The CC totally rejects the line of 'Don't try to concentrate. Expand anywhere and everywhere.'...The CC categorically declares that the line of no consolidation and running here and there and everywhere is completely alien to Mao Tsetung Thought and the path of people's war. With such a line in command, the guerrilla warfare cannot be linked up with the task of political power, nor can it help in building up of the Red Army. The CC is convinced that denial of the importance of building the rural base areas and preaching of the theory of the 'roving rebels' led to serious setbacks in Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Midnapur, and Suraj Garha areas, and it must, therefore, be smashed before it causes any more damage."

"...The CC totally rejects the military line advanced by the Charu clique as it deliberately confuses the tactical thinking with the strategic thinking and advocated the line of 'frontal clashes', 'giving up all ideas of self-defense', 'not to worry about unnecessary losses' and 'no retreat but the policy of attacks only'. The CC considers that owing to the above reckless adventurist and destructive view, i.e. owing to the Trotskyite and Wang Ming line, revolutionary forces have recieved serious setback and the enemy has gained..."

"...The CC considers the theory of the Charu clique of destroying the base of the old society in rural areas and destroying the superstructure of the old society in urban areas by revolutionary armed struggle as totally ridiculous and absolutely anti-Marxist. The CC considers that the theory of geographically dividing the base and superstructure of the society between village and town respectively is anti-Marxist nonsense and it has been 'invented' only to decieve the cadres and divert them from the task of turning the backward villages into advanced, consolidated base areas, into great military, political, economic, and cultural bastions of revolution."



REVOLUTIONARY AUTHORITY ??

The leaders of the CPI(ML), since its inception, have been frequently bandying two anti-Marxist and anti-proletarian ideas—*International Authority and Revolutionary Authority*. These leaders are using these ideas

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LIBERATION WAR

Volume One

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November 1971



FIGHT REVISIONISM

PARTY'S CALL TO STUDENTS AND YOUTH

PROLETARIAN PATH

No.2

September 1970

EDITORIAL

Communist Revolutionaries Unite in a Centre to Build a Party.

Proletarian Path considers it its duty to call for an immediate all-India conference of the various groups of communist revolutionaries in different Provinces to discuss the question of unity among themselves and begin working towards the formation of an all-India Revolutionary Centre to build a genuine revolutionary proletarian party. We add our voice to that of thousands of communist revolutionaries

(above) A SAMPLING OF ENGLISH-LANGUAGE INDIAN MARXIST-LENINIST PUBLICATIONS

"...The CC totally rejects the thesis of the Charu clique that the only method or even the principal method of fighting revisionism today is by annihilating the general cadres of the revisionist parties. The CC is of the view that in the present phase of our revolution, the principal method of struggle against revisionism is to intensify the ideological struggle against it. We must show to the cadres of the revisionist parties how their leadership is betraying Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism and the revolutionary struggles of the Indian people."

"...The CC totally rejects the thesis of the Charu clique that 'that which is not armed struggle is not revolutionary struggle' and upholds the Marxist-Leninist thesis that all the struggles of the broad masses of the people against the economic, political, military, and cultural policies of the reactionary ruling classes are revolutionary struggles."

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"...The CC totally rejects the thesis of the Charu clique that Charu Mazumdar, or for that matter, any individual should be above the party or above the Central Committee. The CC denounces the perverse thesis of establishing the authority of Charu Mazumdar as completely alien to the Marxist-Leninist norms of party organization, and condemns the establishment of personal regime in the party...The CC totally rejects the authoritarianism advocated by the Charu clique and upholds the principle of collective leadership for the party..."

Thus, the document sums up the eleven main points on which it criticizes and rejects the political line of Charu Mazumdar. The document concludes with a bitter statement of expulsion:

"...The CC, having considered all aspects of the political, military, and organizational concepts and practices of the Charu clique, has come to the conclusion that the Charu clique is waving the red banner to oppose the red banner, talking of Comrade Mao Tsetung to oppose Comrade Mao Tsetung, talking of revolution to oppose revolution, and talking of party to oppose or liquidate party. The Charu clique, with Charu Mazumdar and Suniti Ghose as its core, contains all the monstrous features of counter-revolutionary Trotsky and Wang Ming. The CC has come to the conclusion that the Charu clique has become the standard-bearer of counter-revolution."

"The CC therefore expels Charu Mazumdar and Suniti Ghose from the party and directs all the party members, fighters, and sympathizers to sever their connections from this clique and firmly rally around the party and its Central Committee."

"The CC elects Comrade Satyanarain Singh as the General Secretary of the party and entrusts him with the task of editing Liberation, the organ of the CC, also."

"The CC is fully conscious that, owing to the personal regime of Charu Mazumdar in the party and the Trotskyite and Wang Ming line, many party cadres became inactive and indifferent from the party. Besides, some Marxist-Leninist groups who were willing to join the party were thwarted by the Charu clique, thus preventing the party from becoming the centre of all genuine Marxist-Leninists in India."

"The CC repudiates the sectarianism and closed-doorism advocated and practiced by the Charu clique and pledges itself to make all efforts to unite all the Marxist-Leninist groups and individuals on the basis of 1.) Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and proletarian internationalism, and 2.) Rejection of the parliamentary road and taking to the road of People's War..."

OTHER TENDENCIES IN THE INDIAN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND IMPLICATIONS FOR OUR STRUGGLE HERE

We have singled out the inner-party struggle in the CPI(M-L) and also mentioned the Andhra Pradesh or "Megi Reddy group", considered to be the more "orthodox Maoists". However, there exist throughout all of India many other groups and tendencies and publications, although none perhaps as important as the two mentioned above. Nevertheless, it is necessary to briefly discuss some of these, so as to give a more accurate picture of the Indian Communist Movement as a whole.

Although there are many groups, most are without the immediate resources to produce an English-language publication, and are thus, virtually unknown outside India, some outside of their region. These groups can be generally divided into those that broke much earlier from either the CPI or the CPI(M), and those that are connected with the recent, Naxalite, CPI(M-L) and Revolutionary Communist Committee splits. Thus, there is a complexity of groups with their origins rooted in different stages of development of the anti-revisionist struggle inside three consecutive parties, the CPI, CPI(M), and CPI(M-L). This tradition of protracted inner-party Struggle Between Two Lines will prove, despite all the bourgeois exploitation of these struggles for their own purposes, to be one of the greatest strengths of the Indian Communist Movement and the Indian Revolution, just as similar, if not identical, struggles proved to be inevitable and essential to the overall development of the Chinese, Albanian, Vietnamese and other revolutions.

Such a group as the Committee to Fight Against Right and Left Opportunism, which publishes Forward in Calcutta, although small in numbers, is typical of a number of tendencies which have important contributions to make to the building of a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party in India, tendencies which, on the basis of the November 7th, 1971 Statement, can now take part in the principled regroupment of the Marxist-Leninist forces as a whole. This group, based on anti-revisionists who broke from the CPI(M) in West Bengal, has been especially critical of the methods of thinking that have been the basic cause underlying the most recent setbacks, and thus, going somewhat deeper in its level of criticism of the errors of the Naxalites, presents an aspect of the situation not touched on in the November 7th 1971 statement, but nevertheless crucial. In an article entitled "Basic Weakness of Indian Communists", in the January 1970 issue of Forward, they hit the nail on the head:

"...when will the Communists in India, now organized in so many small groups, grow into a revolutionary party of the Indian working-class?"

"Only when they unlearn to be spoonfed—only when they learn to feed themselves. Only when they shed subjectivism (the bourgeois way of thinking) and begin to cultivate dialectical materialism (the proletarian way of thinking)—only when they begin to discover the characteristics of the Indian revolution that have arisen out

of the specific course of development of the colonial and semi-colonial Indian society in the past two hundred years. Only when they succeed in identifying the specific laws of India's revolutionary war, only then can they hope to lead it to success."

"This is a crucial problem which has a vital bearing on the growth of the revolutionary forces in India. The Indian communists need to realize that this is the key problem the solution of which cannot be had readymade in the Marxist classics. What the international experiences can provide them with is nothing more than the general guidelines and the methodology. The solution cannot be lying hidden in somebody's brain, either, it must have to be found out from the concrete facts of the Indian history, in the history of the battles that the Indian people have given over the last two hundred years to imperialism, feudalism, and the collaborating big bourgeoisie. And this is a problem which can never be solved, as Lenin said, by "those standing a long way off"—it is the job of the Indian communists themselves."

"What the communists in India need most is a thorough ideological remoulding—a complete rupture from subjectivism and its various manifestations: formalism, doctrinarism, sectarianism, the non-proletarian vices they have inherited from the feudal-bourgeois colonial-semi-colonial society, as also from their long association with the CPI and CPI(M)—the two foremost social-democratic parties of India, the parties permeated through and through with menshevik ways of thinking and doing."

This is directly relevant to our situation in this country, where the Marxist-Leninists, organized in many groups, for the most part ignore the study of philosophy and mastery of dialectics by their cadres in favor of what they believe to be more "practical" tasks of "serving the people", etc. Failure to study history and to master dialectics, which raise the qualitative character of the struggle as a whole, cannot be replaced by quantitative growth of membership or newspaper circulations, however spectacular they may appear at first.

Another tendency which deserves attention is that represented by the publication Liberation War, edited by Asit Sen, once a leading member of the CPI(M-L). Like the Forward group, they also stress the need for building the firmest ideological foundations for the Indian Communist Movement through both study of history and mastery of dialectics. This publication has contained some of the best concrete analysis of concrete conditions yet produced by the Indian communists, including detailed analysis of the political economy of different regions in India, a subject generally ignored by most of the Naxalites. These articles often relate to statistical tables and other economic data, without which no general analysis, outlook, or programmatic viewpoints can be formulated, if we wish to creatively apply, as opposed to dogmatically reproduce, the basic truths of Marxism-Leninism. There are also publications, such as the independent left-wing weekly Frontier, published in Calcutta, which although expressing mainly "New Left" petty-bourgeois trends, open their columns to Marxist-Leninists, like the Guardian in this country, and thus must also be considered.

The complex development of the Indian Communist Movement takes place against the background of war and revolution throughout all of Asia, crisis and an imminent Second World Depression in the capitalist-imperialist and social-imperialist dominated sectors, and the intensifying inter-imperialist rivalries on the subcontinent and in its surrounding waters which are the acute expression of this crisis. The full process of the Indian Revolution is bound to be a protracted process, but we can already see that this revolution is bound to destroy once and for all the illusion of "neutrality" as the path for the oppressed nations of the world, especially Asia, Africa, and Latin America. What the US and USSR imperialists have already done together, as well as separately, in India and throughout the subcontinent has removed any possibility for any but a revolutionary way out for the Indian people. Those who hold out the promise of so-called "left-of-center neutralist regimes" as a viable future for any of the oppressed nations in the colonial and semi-colonial zones have abandoned Marxism-Leninism and are ignoring what is already happening, not only on the subcontinent.

Imperialism, feudalism, Soviet social-imperialism, and bureaucrat comprador capitalism weigh like four great mountains on the backs of the colonially-oppressed masses of the world, and nowhere else are they more combined than in the case of India. The masses of Indian workers in the social-imperialist owned and managed "public enterprises" in India, where Russian, East German, and other revisionist bureaucrats ride roughshod over them, have no illusions about the so-called "socialism" offered by the Kremlin! Thus, the Indian Revolution, although temporarily held back by errors made by the Indian revolutionaries themselves, expressed in the Naxalite movement over the last half-decade, promises, when it breaks out again in a new mass upsurge, to surpass even many of the revolutionary struggles raging today, some of which have failed to deal directly with the question of Soviet social-imperialism and the nature of modern revisionism in this era. The situation of our Indian comrades, some of whom have been murdered by local and regional governments which included the CPI and CPI(M) revisionists, warns us also of the utterly counter-revolutionary and social-fascist nature of the modern revisionists today, who, in both the struggles in the oppressed nations and the oppressor nations, are joining with the ruling-classes to try to crush the revolution, to suppress genuine Communists, and to hold back the tide of history. Can Gus Hall of the CPUSA, or the cliques that dominate the so-called "communist parties" in France and Italy, etc. be any less reactionary?

REVOLUTIONARY TERRORISM

1. 1972—YEAR OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TERRORIST

All this year, the raging flames of revolutionary violence have been spreading into the capitalist-imperialist heartlands, into the main urban centers of the oppressor nations. This new trend has alerted the bourgeois imperialist and fascist exploiters that they are no longer safe anywhere. The two major spectacles staged by the world bourgeoisie this year have both been shattered by the blazing pistols, submachineguns, and grenades of supposedly "suicidal" and "berserk" groups and individuals. The U.S. imperialist elections farce has been stamped with the Wallace shooting—no one questions the inevitability and logic of these events any more, the only question on everyone's lips is "who is next?" The Nazi Olympics circus was righteously smashed, avenging the deaths of the Mexican youths killed at the last Olympics staged in their own oppressed country at the same time as it revealed the full extent of the collaboration of German Nazis and Israeli Zionists against the revolutionary struggle of the Palestinian and Arab peoples. This year has especially showed that the armed revolutionary movements of different countries are aiding and supprting each other more than ever before, as an expression of the new proletarian internationalism that is developing, among all the peoples of the oppressed nations and between the proletariat in the oppressor nations and the workers and peasantry in the colonies and neo-colonies.

There is no need to recount all the various events of this year, nor to list in full the various armed revolutionary groups that are emerging out of this preliminary phase of offensive activity. There can be no question that this trend is neither the work of isolated individuals nor of police agents-provocateurs, but rather a new revolutionary mass movement built upon the collective experience of the past decade of world-wide revolutionary upsurge. This new movement, making as it must a number of errors, both theoretical and practical, is nevertheless determined to break completely from all the various revisionist and opportunist elements. Such victories cannot be judged in terms of the strictly military outcome, but, especially in this early phase, in terms of their ability to rouse the vast masses of the oppressed and exploited to the mortal weaknesses of our common enemy and the inherent strength of the revolutionary war. The history books of the future, recounting the events of the opening years of the decade of the 1970's will surely be marked with the heroic deeds of the "terrorists", "extremists", and "ultra-leftists" of the oppressor nations who, together with their comrades in the revolutionary armed struggle in the oppressed nations, spread revolutionary war throughout the globe, and advanced the great cause of the World Proletarian Revolution in a significant way.

2. HOW DO THE IMPERIALISTS PLAN TO DEAL WITH REVOLUTIONARY TERRORISM ?

An article in the New York Times recently stated that "the US Army and armies in Western Europe and Latin America are devoting more and more time and effort to the operational techniques of urban guerrilla warfare. . . The rationale for Army interest is the belief, in the Pentagon and the defense ministries of foreign countries, that the guerrilla is moving from his (sic) classic environment of mountains and forests into the asphalt jungles of modern cities. American planning concentrates on what its field manual called "assistance to civil authorities in civil disturbance control operations." Planning and training for such operations began after the Detroit riot in 1967. "

Firstly, it must be understood that because the bourgeoisie realizes that it is faced with internationally-based armed revolutionary undergrounds, with their networks of support, aid, and joint combat activity, even if only in their earliest stages, they are preparing their own world-wide counter-revolutionary apparatus, trying at this point to blackmail and pressure all the countries of the world into accepting their various schemes for "international police forces", "international control and surveillance of all aircraft", etc. The U.S. imperialist dogs have already begun their campaign against the Arab people with an announcement on Oct. 4 of this year that they would "screen" and "check" all Arabs residing or entering in the country. Swine William P. Rogers presented a resolution on terrorism on Sept. 25 before the United Nations General Assembly in which there appeared, besides an appeal for a 1973 "Parley on World Terror" in the U.N., the following key points :

(The resolution) "urges all states to take immediate steps to prevent the use of their territory or resources to aid, encourage, or give sanctuary to those persons involved in directing, supporting, or participating in acts of international terrorism."

(The resolution) "calls upon all states urgently to take all necessary measures within their jurisdiction and in cooperation with other states to deter and prevent acts of international terrorism..."

This is surely a test of every country that has representation in the U.N. as to whether they will bow to the US imperialist-inspired world "law and order" campaign, aimed, like the domestic "law and order" campaign, against the most oppressed and exploited, against the forces of revolution.

On the very same day, Sept. 25, Interpol unanimously endorsed an American-approved resolution urging its 110 member countries to intensify their efforts against revolutionary armed struggle, a blatantly political move, although Articles 2 and 3 of the Interpol Constitution bar the organization from "involvement in political, religious, or military matters". Earlier that same month, on Sept. 8, the US imperialist government at home had set the pace for this world-wide campaign in their announcement of the formation of an intelligence committee composed of the CIA, FBI, etc. to "deter international political terrorism."

Behind all the public activity of resolutions in the US Congress or put before the UN General Assembly, the counter-revolutionary "military experts" are working out their schemes against the growing revolutionary armed struggles. A certain Brigadier Frank Kitson of the British Army produced a book in 1971 that has been closely studied and used in many countries besides Britain. This book is called "Low Intensity Operations", and is a statement of his theories of containment of guerrilla warfare. His "new technique" can be summed up in the following three principles :

1. Intelligence, whether extracted by torture or bought from an informer, is vital to containment of guerrilla warfare.
2. Superiority, meaning that the reactionary troops must try to draw out the guerrillas and engage them with superior numbers, trying to reverse Chairman Mao's celebrated principle of "One against ten, ten against one."
3. Kitson's pet theory of "pseudo-gangs". This means fascist elements that operate as "counter-terrorist" groups. These groups can either aid the regular troops in hunting out and murdering revolutionaries, or else they can carry out fake "guerrilla attacks" designed to kill indiscriminately, thus discrediting the genuine armed revolutionary forces and alienating them from potential and actual mass support.

This last point was illustrated clearly by the McGurks Bar bombing in Belfast, Northern Ireland, where several people were killed by an "IRA bomb". The local people in the New Lodge Road area are now convinced that the bomb was planted by the British Army. At that time, Kitson himself was commanding the 39th Brigade SAS (Special assassinations squad) in Northern Ireland. It is very probable that he personally directed the McGurks Bar and other similar bombings, as well as having worked closely with Protestant fascist elements. In any case, more and more imperialist governments can be expected to employ this tactic. The imperialists and fascists can only convince the masses that these reactionary bombings are the same as the revolutionary bombings if the revolutionary movement ignores these questions, burying its head in the sand, and neglecting to do the widespread educational work to patiently explain why these acts could not possibly be the work of revolutionaries, why the reactionaries employ this tactic out of their own weaknesses and our strengths, how we must be vigilant against provocateurs, etc. etc.

But in no way should this "counter-terrorism" and "pseudo-terrorism" deter the just revolutionary terrorism and the new world-wide upsurge of various kinds of revolutionary violence, which it is precisely meant to do. The genuine revolutionaries can only, in the face of acts designed to confuse, alienate, and divide the actual and potential revolutionary forces, make their presence felt further and further, especially in the everyday

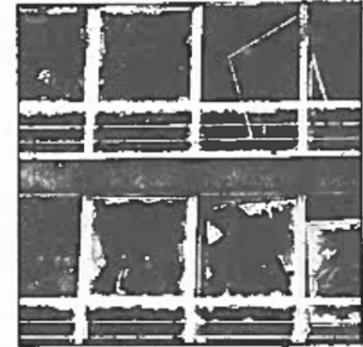
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(above) The three heroic Palestinian revolutionaries who survived the Munich attack and were later liberated by a highly successful action by Black September. (side) Comrade Okamoto, a member of SeKigun (United Red Army of Japan), who is still a prisoner-of-war in the Zionist-occupied areas of the Mideast ("Israel").



(above) Extensive damage was caused and a U.S. imperialist Army colonel killed when the Red Army Fraction of West Germany bombed the Officers' Club in Frankfurt on May 13th this year.



(above) Police Headquarters in Munich after R.A.F. attack.

Terrorism CONTINUED

class warfare of the proletariat and toiling masses. A retreat in the face of undeniably negative circumstances is principled and necessary, providing it is an orderly retreat, but a retreat in the face of a deliberately staged, desperate measure such as that employed by Kitson and his ilk would be a grave error, the kind of error that would really alienate the revolutionary organizations from the broad masses.

The imperialist aim would be to eventually set up a world-wide highly mobile, elite, mercenary, counter-revolutionary police army, linked with world-wide computer networks of information on every living human being, with international authority and jurisdiction. Of course, they are far from this goal, but no one can deny that this is the thing desired by all the long-range minded imperialists and fascists. The US imperialists and USSR social-imperialists combined already present a threat of something approaching this idea, provided they can enforce such a system within all the various countries directly oppressed and exploited and occupied by their troops. Thus, we come to the question of the Soviet revisionists and their running dog cliques, including our own stinking corpse, the CPUSA, and how they fit in with the immediate and long-range plans of the US imperialists.

3. THE REVISIONISTS AS AUXILIARY POLICE FOR THE BOURGEOISIE

Just as US imperialism set the pace for its running dogs, so the Soviet social-imperialists directed its lackeys to join in the anti-terrorist campaign. On Sept. 26, the day after Rogers presented his resolution before the UN General Assembly, social-imperialist jackal Gromyko told the UN that the USSR "from position of principle, opposes acts of terrorism that disrupt the diplomatic activity of states and their representatives, transport ties between them (i.e. the process of looting the oppressed nations) and the normal course of international contacts and meetings." The same week as the Munich attack, the *Daily World* rag of the CPUSA in New York City, screamed its chauvinist hatred of the Palestinian people thus: "The murder of two members of the Israeli Olympic team at Munich was born of nationalistic insanity and desperado mentality." (from *Daily World*, Sept. 6) This kind of reactionary slander is nothing new for the Soviet revisionists. They have been conducting an intensified campaign against the "Ultra-Left", directing all their so-called "communist parties" to attack the "extremist leftists". An article in the June 1972 edition of the so-called "World Marxist Review", the main international revisionist mouthpiece, entitled "Whose Axe does Extremism Grind?" by a Czechoslovak revisionist toady is indistinguishable from the worst of the US-style anti-communist trash:

"...though a close kin to the anarchism of old, present-day extremism possesses a number of new features. Take its multiplicity. The Leftism of today is not a single stream, but rather an interlacing of different, often long inactive rivulets, flowing in but approximately the same direction...The Maoist variety of extremism, an organized and deliberate export to other countries of the methods and ideology of the so-called cultural revolution, is unquestionably a novelty. Along with the apology of blind "revolt" and physical violence, the Maoists borrowed from their mentors also the latter's fierce hatred on the Soviet Union, the CPs and the existing socialist society..." The article proceeds with the usual revisionist mis-quotations from Lenin, as though Lenin were a "compassionate humanist" who "abhorred violence". Their entire argument is aimed at ingratiating themselves with the rest of the world bourgeoisie, at safeguarding the miserable parliamentary and ministerial shares of power allotted to the so-called "communist parties" of Italy and France, as well as to protect the loyal opposition status of such "parties" as the CPUSA. They cry out to the imperialist bourgeoisie as a whole: "We are not revolutionaries! We are not out to upset public order or private property! We will help you to stamp out this criminal element who would dare revolt!" This is how low the modern revisionists have sunk, to the level of volunteering as auxiliary police in the world bourgeoisie's campaign against revolutionary armed struggle, against the life-and-death struggles of the proletariat and the oppressed nations!

Lenin, whom they quote so profusely in their anti-terrorist anti-extremist ravings, had an entirely different attitude to

revolutionary violence and military questions. And this interest of his in these matters was in no way limited to any one period. In an article entitled "Lessons of the Moscow Uprising" written in August 1906, Lenin brilliantly criticizes the same kind of attitudes that completely dominate all of the opportunists:

"When I see social-democrats proudly and smugly declaring "we are not anarchists, thieves, robbers, we are superior to all this, we reject guerrilla warfare,"—I ask myself: Do these people realize what they are saying? Armed clashes and conflicts between the government and the population are taking place all over the country. This is an absolutely inevitable phenomenon at the present stage of the development of the revolution;" In another article of the same period he wrote: "However much you may turn up your noses, gentlemen, at the question of night attacks and similar purely tactical military questions, however much you may pull wry faces about the "plan" of assigning secretaries of organizations, or their members in general, to stand on duty to provide for any military exigency—life goes its own way, revolution teaches, taking in hand and shaking up the most inveterate pedants." In his articles "Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution" (1916), "Tasks of Revolutionary Army Contingents" (1906), and many others, Lenin consistently upheld the Communist position on the Revolutionary-Military Question, laying the foundations for further development on this question by Stalin, in the experience of the Great Anti-Fascist War, and especially, Chairman Mao, in his immense theoretical and practical contribution of the principle of People's War.

We could not expect the Soviet New Tsars, the worst traitors in the entire history of the International Communist Movement, to do anything but oppose the revolution, oppose the emerging class war in the oppressor nations, and oppose any kind of activity that would link it up, consciously and politically, with the main revolutionary current, the People's Wars of National Liberation in all the oppressed nations of the world. The Soviet New Tsars know that with revolutionary violence spreading in Western Europe, the Eastern European countries are not far behind. The countries which are economically exploited through COMECON and militarily occupied through the Warsaw Pact, as evidenced by the events in Czechoslovakia 1968 and Poland 1970, provide many workers, students, and others ready and willing to organize, arm themselves, and fight against the Soviet social-imperialist rule. Revolutionary armed underground movements are the next internal threat facing the Soviet New Tsars and their social-fascist puppet regimes in Eastern Europe, and when this develops, all the "dissenting poets" and Nobel Prize-winning Stalin-haters will be swept away, utterly exposed as nothing less than the Kremlin's "loyal opposition". The Soviet workers, peasants, and soldiers, schooled and steered in Bolshevism and rooted in the Lenin-Stalin traditions, despite all the capitalist-restoration of Khrushchov, Brezhnev, and Kosygin, will regain their heritage in the great storm of a Second October.

4. THE LEFT-WING PRESS AND THE MUNICH ATTACK

A test case for the opportunist line of the majority of the left groups can be made by studying their recent, almost unanimous, reaction to the armed attack on the fascist Olympic circus in Munich.

The *Guardian* editorialized in their Oct. 4th issue with a rambling statement expressing their support for the principle of liberation "by any means necessary", but then, referring to the Munich attack, echoed bourgeois "public opinion" thus: "These senseless adventurist acts were more the outgrowth of political desperation than a viable political strategy. Such attacks on defenseless civilians violate fundamental principles of revolutionary morality and ultimately harm the liberation struggle of the Palestinians."

In their Sept. 15-28 issue, *Palante*, organ of the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, also used the entirely false question of "innocent people" to oppose the Munich attack in particular, although, like the *Guardian*, expressing support for the Palestinian struggle in general: "As supporters of the struggle for Palestinian liberation, we do not think that the action of the Black September Movement was correct. Their action is a form of terrorism that does not unite people against the common enemy, because it makes many people think that revolutionaries attack innocent people spontaneously and at random." The imperialists

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8 Terrorism CONTINUED

know that the Munich attack, and others like it, are certainly not "spontaneously and at random", and the blame lies mainly upon ourselves if the masses of people fail to understand this also. The pages of Palante, which is a genuinely revolutionary publication, should have been full of detailed explanation of the cause of the Palestinians, their history of struggle, their present desperate situation, and the ways in which we may support them, instead of half-baked criticisms and cynicisms.

The Liberated Guardian was even more sickening in their criticisms of the Palestinian actions, and their praise of Israel: "The Israelites have done wonderful things with the land of Palestine. It flourishes today in many places that were formerly desert. No one can deny or belittle this accomplishment..." They end their "collective comment" in their Sept. issue with a drivelling pacifist whining completely in tune with the bourgeois reactionary chorus: "We feel a sense of tragedy about Munich; we feel a pain and sorrow that people are killed in war, no matter what war and no matter what side." This rubbish from the same publication that not too long ago was the first to print the latest Communiqué from the Weatherpeople—a perfect example of the petty-bourgeois "New Left" swing from "left" opportunism to right opportunism.

Most of the Trotskyite publications likewise opposed the Munich action, some with a little more sympathy for the Palestinians than others. Workers Vanguard, the Spartacist League paper, headlined their Oct. issue—"Murderous Nationalism and Stalinist Betrayal in Near East", and proceeded to further describe the action as "the indefensible petty-bourgeois terrorist frenzy". The Bulletin, although praising the courage of the Palestinians, can only express the Workers League labor-aristocrat fear and hatred of revolutionary violence, which they describe as a "politically fruitless path." Workers World, which must be credited with having paid closer attention to the Mideast than most groups on the left, did not pass judgement on the Munich attack, but rather, focused attention on Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko's "stab in the back" in equating the Palestinians' just warfare with the Israeli aggressive unjust war. But, to the Workers World, the Soviet Union is a "socialist" country, and their tone of voice when they speak to the Kremlin New Tsars is comradely and pleading, rather than violently hostile, antagonistic, and denouncing. They ask the New Tsars to please, be a little revolutionary. Marxist-Leninists denounce the Soviet Union for what it is—an imperialist oppressor nation, a bullying and aggressive superpower, "socialist" in name only, imperialist and fascist in deeds, and we do not foster illusions about such a dangerous enemy by appealing to it to support the revolutionary cause in any way.

The Rosa Luxemburgist Labor Committee's paper New Solidarity, although themselves under social-fascist attacks by the CPUSA, agreed with the CPUSA's "analysis" of the Palestinian fighters as "insane": "Munich: Arab Crazies Aid Meir". The Labor Committee also shares the CPUSA's habit of associating all revolutionary violence with anarchism, in complete disregard of the actual ideological affiliations of the groups involved, as though anarchism were simply a form of activity, and not a political line.

Likewise the neo-Trotskyite Progressive Labor, through their paper Challenge, Oct. 5th issue, also attacked the Palestinians thus: "Terrorism leads the workingclass into the jaws of defeat. Communists have always been opposed to acts of terrorism (carried out by a small group of people as a substitute for mass action) because they have never helped in the struggle against oppression, no matter how sincere the people involved in these acts are...The Arab workers' liberation movement received a setback and the imperialists came up smelling like roses." As is well known in the movement in this country, Progressive Labor's smell is anything but fragrant. On this question, like so many others, PLP flunks.

We have yet to see what the Communist League's Peoples Tribune and several other papers have to say on the Munich events. However virtually none of the major left publications, or the groups they represent, has taken the position of unconditional support for the Palestinian Revolution, and the achievement of its goals by any means necessary. Tendencies which have a policy of uncritical support for the Tupamaros, or the N.L.F. of South Viet Nam, or the guerrillas in southern Africa, take advantage of the situation of disunity in the ranks of the Palestinian movement, of the presence of opportunists like Arafat, to single out the Black September for unwarranted criticism, condemning their heroic, and largely successful armed actions, although even the imperialists admit that these actions have thrown a monkey wrench into their plans to impose the present "status quo" in the Mideast through secret Egyptian-Israeli talks! This opportunism, which refuses to criticize when necessary and chooses to criticize when unwarranted, must be relentlessly purged from the ranks of the revolutionary movement in this country, especially in this period, when the bourgeoisie no longer rules in the old way, when reformist illusions are poison, when, against wage freezes, martial law, "austerity regime", genocide, fascism, the proletariat in the oppressor nations, like the peoples in the oppressed nations, has no alternative but to resort to revolutionary violence, armed struggle, sabotage, uprising, People's War and Class War.

5. THE MARXIST-LENINIST POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF TERRORISM

We do not evaluate terrorism in general, but specifically, by whom, against whom, and in what historical context. We oppose the idea that an underground armed group is a alternative to building a Marxist-Leninist Party, proletarian Red Army, or class United Front, but we oppose even more violently the notion that the Party, Army, and United Front will be built in this fascist-imperialist oppressor nation without taking into account the theoretical and practical contributions of the new-type armed resistance movements emerging in so many capitalist countries today.

If there were already new, genuine Communist Parties in the major oppressor nations, uniting the two great trends of anti-imperialism and anti-revisionism, then we would have to judge such a phenomenon as the present armed underground groups in an entirely different light. If strong proletarian parties existed today in America, Germany, Russia, Japan, etc. than they would certainly have to maintain their own armed units, and the formation of separate armed units, uncontrolled by any one political centre, would certainly be opposed as harmful to the discipline necessary under conditions of actual or potential civil war. However, such parties, unfortunately, do not yet exist in the oppressor nations mentioned above, and only exist in a few of the smaller capitalist countries in an early, formative stage. In the face of the new US-USSR Axis, with its preparations for genocide and counter-revolution on a scale greater than that of the German-Italian-Japanese Axis, the revolutionary violence now breaking out in the capitalist-imperialist countries is a really hopeful sign that the people of the world are waking up and fighting back despite all the attempts to put them to sleep with a lullaby of "a millenium of peace" and "detente". In addition, the revolutionary violence in the biggest capitalist cities of the world, the nerve centers of the world ruling-classes, provides additional aid to the People's Wars of National Liberation in the oppressed nations, forcing the imperialists to deploy troops, police, bureaucracies, etc. in "domestic counter-insurgency", thus spreading out the imperialist forces thinner and thinner across the globe.

In the temporary absence of the proletarian revolutionary parties in a number of the most important imperialist countries, an absence created by the treason of modern revisionism headed

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An excellent example of Revolutionary Terrorism carried out in support of, and coordinated with, mass struggles of the proletariat and oppressed peoples is the actions taken by the C.A.L. (Armed Commandoes for Liberation) in connection with strikes by Puerto Rican workers against ITT, "El Mundo" newspaper in San Juan, Puerto Rico, and other militant strikes on the island.

Terrorism (CONTINUED)

by Soviet social-imperialism, the emergence of revolutionary terrorism at this time, as a new, higher expression of the growing revolutionary violence, advances the anti-revisionist struggle as well as materially aiding the anti-imperialist struggle. The revisionists and their conciliators are further exposed in the eyes of the proletariat and fighting peoples as they line up in the bourgeoisie's world-wide "law and order" campaign. Furthermore, revolutionary terrorism is a great school of struggle for the increasingly violent situations we are not entering, a school in which important revolutionary cadres will be trained, disciplined, and, through the process of protracted and multi-faceted struggles on various levels, brought to the point where they can leap beyond the practical goals of each particular action to the theoretical, world-historical content of their activity as a whole. That is the point where they will be joined, together with the advanced revolutionary cadres developed out of the other battlefields of the class war, in the most important task of Party-building.

In a general sense, revolutionary violence is the main school of communism today, just as in the preceding general historical period, the Trade Unions were the schools of communism, preparing the masses of workers for the tasks of that period, and laying the necessary foundation for the Communist Parties of that period. This is true in both the oppressed nations and the oppressor nations, and this is why the greatest Marxist-Leninist of this present period is Mao Tse-tung, who formulated on the basis of decades of leadership in four successive revolutionary wars, including the immortal Long March, the invincible theory and practice of People's War. This in no way implies that the other forms of struggle are to be ignored, but it defines the main aspect of the over-all world-revolutionary struggles of this period. It is in this historical context, of the civil war and imminent civil war conditions imposed by fascist rule in the imperialist oppressor nations, that we judge revolutionary violence in general, revolutionary terrorism in particular. Of course, it is not a question of advocacy or non-advocacy of particular types of actions. We know, the bourgeoisie knows, everybody knows, even if they don't know why, that violence, both revolutionary and reactionary, is growing, that "extremism" both leftist and rightist, is growing, that the world crisis of imperialism, both economic and political, is deepening. Thus, hijackings, bombings, assassinations, snipings, kidnappings and other kinds of revolutionary terrorism are also bound to increase. What then is the position of the Marxist-Leninists? To try to block the development? To stand by the sidelines, waving the banner of pessimism and "survival", warning of the "horrors of war"? To trail behind, gesticulating and criticizing? To put on blinders and try to stick to a straight and narrow path of "orthodoxy", walking backwards, away from the issue and the conflict? Or to carry out our responsibility to our class, to history, to the world proletarian revolution, by striving to unite with all those who can be united on the most principled basis, in other words, especially with those whom the bourgeoisie fears most and tries to crush first.

October 14, 1972

Election Boycott (CONTINUED)

The fact that election circuses are still staged by U.S. imperialism is a sign of its relative strength. The general crisis must deepen before a revolutionary situation ripens. This is a period of temporary stabilization and fascization. U.S. imperialism can still afford to carry out elections at home while maintaining wars of aggression abroad. Communists must work for the deepening of the general crisis of imperialism and the building of the Marxist-Leninist party and its Red Army strong enough to lead the Class War and put an end to U.S. fascism and its concomitant wars of aggression.

2. The struggle between two lines in the workingclass movement:

There are two, not three, lines on the question of elections that emerged during the campaigns—on the one side those who participated in the elections in one form or another and on the opposite those who refused to participate and denounced the electoral fraud or boycotted the elections. The "elections" and the stance of the left provide a very good barometer for gauging to what extent the bourgeoisie still holds the credibility of the masses.

Revisionism and trotskism:

The most reactionary position was, as always, occupied by the revisionist C.P.U.S.A. and its co-partner the S.W.P. Both ran puppet candidates and joke campaigns in the most tokenistic manner. At the same time they gave unofficial support to the "liberals'" dream-boy, McGovern. These parties are social-fascist, playing the same role as the social-"democrats" in Europe who paved the road to fascism. Trotskyites of all varieties are unanimously opposed to parliamentary abstentionism and foresee electoral politicking as the principal form of political struggle in which a labor party would engage. For the revisionists and trotskites parliamentarism is raised to a principle.

The neo-trotskyite P.L.P., in 1969, put forward the slogan "elections are a hoax." Since it joined the anti-China chorus it has gone back on this line which is essentially correct. P.L. this year invited N.Y. State Senator Sydney von Luther to speak at their rally and sent S.D.S. off to the Democratic Convention to pressure McGovern into pushing an "anti-genocide plank" into the party platform.

The Anti-Revisionist Left:

There was a major trend among Marxist-Leninist groups to reject the elections entirely. Most of the groups that are genuinely anti-revisionist refused to endorse any candidate either bourgeois or pseudo-socialist.

Proletarian national-minority groups like El Comite and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization denounced the elections and rejected the "lesser evil" theory. The Black Workers Freedom Convention refused to support either candidate.

The Red Women's Detachment demarcated the proletarian feminist workingwomen's movement from the bourgeois feminists on the question of elections. The demise of the women's movement that followed the winning of votes for women proved how unsuited the ballot is for carrying out the tasks of workingwomen's liberation. Suffragism became the ideology of bourgeois feminism. The National Women's Political Caucus is the end-product of bourgeois leadership in the women's liberation movement, and the last gasp of dying bourgeois feminism.

Most hesitated to support the call for an election boycott. This position, taken by the Revolutionary Union, the "People's Voice" (American Communist Workers (M-L)), "The Call" (October League (M-L)), and the "Guardian", was non-participation but refusal to boycott. None of the above supported any candidate but these groups/publications are in error because they accept the bourgeois idea of voting. It is a position that says "at this time we cannot determine that we shall always maintain this stand on elections. It is not inconceivable that we would support candidates or run one ourselves in the future." This line is based on an erroneous evaluation of the relations of contradictions in this society that leads to right-opportunist mistakes. They happen to be on the correct side on this particular election but they have not worked out a correct theoretical position on the question of elections.

The Marxist-Leninist Party called for an election boycott struggle and conducted an active campaign. The Ad Hoc Committee for a M.L.P. in the U.S.A. also endorsed election boycott. What distinguishes those who advocated boycotting from those who refused to support candidates or run their own in this particular election without rejecting possible participation in other electoral contests is that the latter, who refuse to deal with this question of tactics (part of strategy) are unopposed to voting. They thus have no strategic solution to the problems of the proletarian revolution in America which will take place under conditions of Fascism, i.e. Class War. They have not yet fully grasped the truth that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. They have not yet cast aside the illusion of "democracy."

The R.U. statement "Victory through Struggle Not Through Elections," echoing "Palante", contained the inevitable opportunism that characterizes the R.U. line. It did not even mention the C.P.U.S.A. or revisionism once! They refused to discuss elections in general as a political question but they did reject participation in this one.

On the revolutionary left three publications came out for McGovern—the "Pomoja Venceremos," the "Liberated Guardian", and the discussion paper issued by the Marxist-Leninist Study Groups.

Isn't it dialectically ironic that the left split off the R.U., the "Venceremos" group on the west coast, which supports a more correct line on the military and national-colonial questions, should, on such a practical question as the election, take a position to the right of the R.U., which is the most right-wing of all the Maoist groups. The R.U. is guilty of right-opportunism on all the major political questions and in its relations with other organizations in the movement, but at least they did not support McGovern.

The publication "Liberated Guardian" has made the full circle from Weather-people to McGovernites. This newspaper is playing a role filled by the Rat a few years ago. It represents no tendency or independent political line and its existence is opportunism itself. This is the character of the old "Guardian" also. Neither are capable of leading the movement but can only trail behind. The "Liberated Guardian" collective was never even able to change its name and merely substituted "left"-opportunism for right-opportunism. The old "Guardian" maintains a sickeningly uncritical attitude towards itself but seems at last to be breaking with the revisionists for their own opportunistic reasons, and at least refused to support either McGovern or the C.P. candidates.

The "People's Voice," and "The Call" refused to support the elections but did not call for an election boycott. Neither have rejected electoral participation as a form of "struggle". Both, along with the R.U., share a lack of understanding of the main question of strategy—proletarian military struggle. Our immediate, short term tactics must be subordinated to the politico-mili-

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STRUGGLE BETWEEN TWO LINES IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

PART TWO

Note: The first part of this series appeared in *Communist* issue no. 6, and the series will continue in *Class War* no. 2.

1. THE IMPORTANCE OF STUDYING HISTORY

One of the primary problems facing the emerging Marxist-Leninist movement in this country is the problem of understanding history. Many of the new groups today neither study closely the history of the Struggle Between Two Lines in the Communist movement as a whole, nor do they even take seriously the collective experience of their own particular group or tendency.

The proletarian left has not only ignored the history of their own movement, but is also leaving it up to the pseudo-radical pimp journalists and "media-groovers" to write the history of the great revolutionary mass upsurge of the Sixties. This upsurge on a world-wide scale, including the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the Tet Offensive and victory of People's War in South Viet Nam, the Long Hot Summer of Black insurrections ("riots") in hundreds of "US" cities, the May 1968 General Strike in France, the heroic uprising of the Czechoslovak people, also in 1968, the re-emergence of the Huk in the Philippines, the IRA in Ireland, etc. etc. is the most important world-wide development since the great international upheavals that accompanied the Great October Socialist Revolution in 1917. All the more reason why all the lackey scholar-despots and ideological hirelings of the imperialist bourgeoisie must make all efforts to distort this tremendous earth-shaking period by breaking down the upsurge as a whole into a whole series of separated, unrelated, "purely spontaneous", or "adventurist" episodes, which, once properly categorized according to bourgeois psychology and other such "sciences", can be put on a dusty shelf and forgotten by all concerned. This is precisely the main content of the thousands of books, magazine articles, films, etc. which take advantage of a growing interest in revolution to peddle the worse kind of rubbish by the most discredited and backward of the opportunist elements associated with the upsurge of the Sixties in one way or another. Although mainly consumed by dilettante petty-bourgeoisie, this "new leftism" nevertheless has its negative influence on the revolutionary movement since it imposes an entirely non-proletarian and anti-Marxist concept of history itself, which is already, since it plays into the hands of the revisionists and trotskyites, a grave danger to the movement in this country.

Despite the fact that most of the new groups in the Marxist-Leninist movement owe their very existence to the upsurge of the sixties, there has not yet been any serious attempt to either analyze this specific period or to place it in the context of the overall development of the world proletarian revolution. Of course, we are not calling upon the movement for either prophets or prophecy. What we are calling for is world-historical analysis and outlook and a resolute struggle against "ad hoc" pragmatism and narrowness.

Of course, all left-wing groups, even the ones with the lowest political level, try to give the appearance that at least their leadership has some grasp of the basic lessons of history. But the carrying out of a struggle in the revolutionary ranks to study history and to master dialectics, which the Communist Party of China has always given the closest attention to, is still being ignored. Most of the leadership of the new Marxist-Leninist groups, capable as they may be in the practical, day-to-day organizational functions, and dedicated and heroic as many have been in the face of extreme difficulties and threats, have yet to produce the comprehensive world-historical analysis of their tasks in this country in the overall context of the international struggle. Of course, this is something that cannot be written up overnight by a select committee but must be hammered out in struggle. But without this body of theoretical knowledge, the summary and content of our collective experience, we will end up awaiting each new series of events, with no over-view, no idea of the strengths and weaknesses of our own forces or the enemy's.

It is modern revisionism, in this country expressed in its ultimate degeneration in the form of the CPUSA, which liquidated not only the organizational form of the party of the proletariat in this country, but also, its ideological content, its role as standard-bearer of the scientific method of Dialectical Materialism. In place of the immensely valuable, irreplaceable historic legacy passed to us by the Communist International, through the decisions expressed through all seven of its world congresses, as well as the International Communist Movement as it has developed since the time of the Comintern, the revisionists of the CPUSA have come forward with their miserable petty-bourgeois hacks, loaded with anti-Marxist, non-proletarian baggage. Under the cozy arrangements afforded by the USA-USSR Axis, the revisionists in this country are grinding out tons of their books, pamphlets, and other materials. The failure of the emerging Marxist-Leninist movement to produce a highly polemical revolutionary press will ensure that the revisionists and trotskyites will continue to spread their reactionary lines in the workingclass without being challenged. The tendency of some Marxist-Leninists themselves to rely upon such revisionist "experts" as Aptheker, CPUSA "historian", or those armchair political economists of the *Monthly Review* variety, will lead to the most serious errors in every field of activity, unless also challenged and subjected to rigorous criticism.

Some groups have recently produced statements and documents related to their own specific development. But, almost always, these experiences are described and analyzed in isolation from the general world-historical conditions in which they take place. Thus, although the various documents produced out of the Struggle Between Two Lines as it has developed in the Black Panther Party, SDS, the Young Lords Party (now the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization), the Revolutionary Union, etc. are useful in relation to each specific group, it still remains incomplete, since the collective experience of the movement as a whole is more, much more, than simply a sum of its parts.

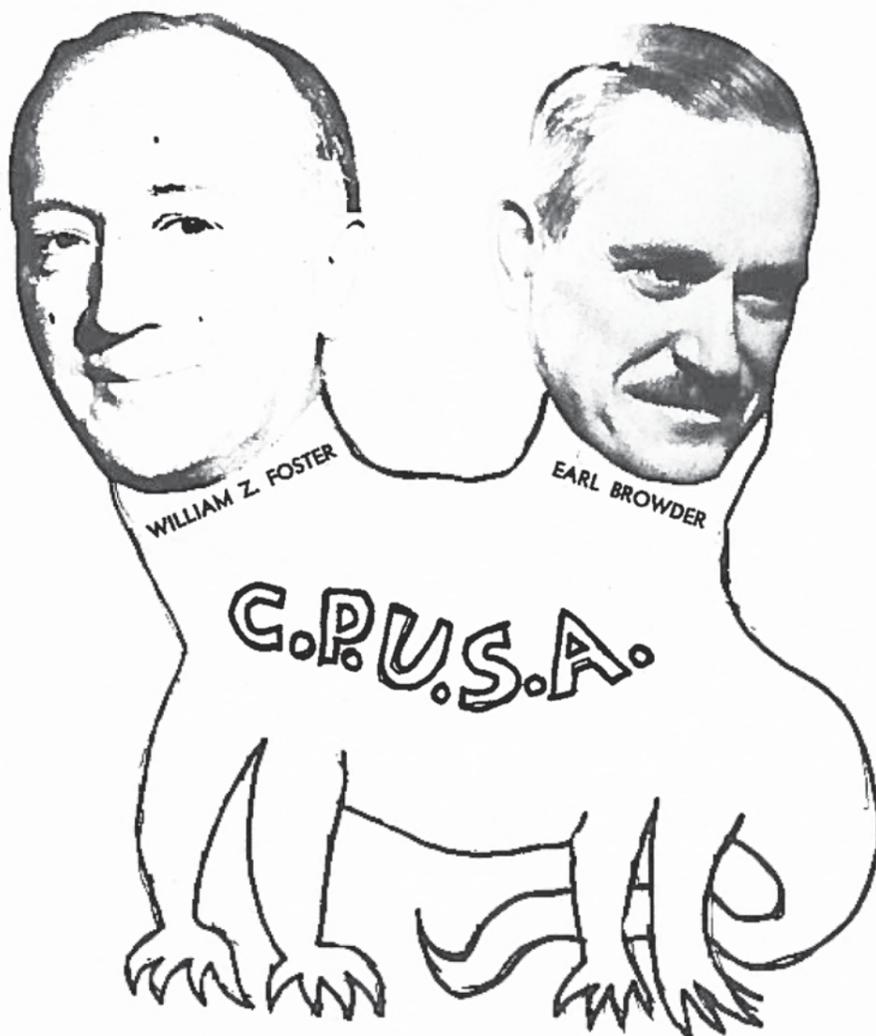
The pragmatism and empiricism that characterizes the emerging Marxist-Leninist movement is, in one sense, an inevitable aspect of the early development of any genuinely revolutionary movement in this historical period. But, just as inevitable is the fact that after a certain degree of mistakes stemming from this "spontaneism" a genuinely revolutionary movement will then rigorously set itself to the mastery of dialectics, to the class-against-class struggle to hammer out new methods of thinking, to close-quarter, inner-party philosophical struggle. If the first stage does not develop into the second stage, the revolutionary movement will simply turn into another recruiting area for the trotskyites. However, in this historical period, in this major oppressor nation, the natural problems of low theoretical level, or even anti-theoretical tendencies, is compounded by the large-scale treachery of the rotten revisionist CPUSA, whose specific brand of modern revisionism, known since the time of Stalin's criticism of the CPUSA in 1928 as "American Exceptionalism", has been doing everything possible to prevent the revolutionary education of the proletariat in the theory and practice of the Proletarian Revolution. Thus, we must pay special attention to training the revolutionary cadres to master dialectics, especially at this time. Such special effort must take the form of a wholesale rectification campaign to root out all vestiges of bourgeois ideology, including its petty-bourgeois "radical" trends. American exceptionalism today lives not only in the form of the CPUSA, but expresses itself in a centrist and opportunist deviation within the Marxist-Leninist movement itself.

2. STRUGGLE IN THE CPUSA AND THE ROLE OF WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

The most dangerous false notion prevalent in the emerging Marxist-Leninist movement concerning the CPUSA and revisionism in this country is the notion that Earl Browder was the only important revisionist leader, and that William "Zig-Zag" Foster was the great anti-revisionist leader, who "reconstituted" the CPUSA in 1945, barely one year after it had been liquidated into the "Communist Political Association" by Browder & Co. in 1944. The fact is that both Foster and Browder were rotten revisionists, who, as far back as the 1920's (See Part One of Struggle Between Two Lines in The Communist Movement, *Communist* no. 6 for specific details.) had been guilty of American Exceptionalism in their general political lines. Basically, Browder represented the petty-bourgeois wing of the CPUSA leading clique, Foster the labor-aristocrats and Trade Union bureaucrats, the majority of both of which groups deserted the party in the thousands during the fascist witch-hunt, often becoming stool-pigeons, red-baiters, and professional anti-communists.

This simple notion of Foster as the good guy, saving the Party and its Marxist-Leninist line from Browder, the bad guy, is a poor substitute for a real investigation into the roots of modern revisionism in this country. It in no way explains why the supposedly "Marxist-Leninist" Foster endorsed every single one of the counter-revolutionary revisionist theses of the notorious 20th Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, including the trotskyite-titoite anti-Stalin slanders of Krushchov. Of course, it has made it easier, not only for Foster, but also his counter-parts in Thorez and Togliatti and other revisionists who joined in the anti-Stalin chorus, to cover their own mistakes and treason with the blame heaped upon Stalin by the capitalist-restorationists of the Kremlin. Although this alone would be enough to condemn Foster, the dozen or so major works of his, including his histories of the CPUSA, the World Trade Union Movement, the "Americas", etc. (all of which have been reprinted and are being used extensively by the CPUSA today) are the full proof of Foster's partnership with Browder in liquidating the CPUSA as the theoretical and practical embodiment of Marxism-Leninism in this country. However, the main question that must concern us at present is not Foster personally, but Fosterism as a political line, as a specific variety of American exceptionalism, as a centrist, or vacillating detachment of modern revisionism. This is because the failure to overcome Fosterism in particular has been the curse of many attempted "reconstitutions" of the CPUSA, not merely the farce presided over by Foster in person in 1945, but also, a whole series of left splits from the CPUSA, in the period after the genuine and final left split (actually an expulsion) from the CPUSA in 1958. The 1958 split by a group in the CPUSA that was first known as the Consistent Left Caucus, to distinguish it from the inconsistent "left" faction of Foster-led centrists, was in fact the sign of the complete victory of counter-revolutionary modern revisionism in the CPUSA and

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Two Lines CONTINUED

the clear expression of the utter bankruptcy of that group. After 1958 no genuine Marxist-Leninists had any reason to remain inside the CPUSA, except perhaps to either wreck that group or else to "factionalize" with the deliberate purpose of drawing people out and into a genuine Communist organization.

The Consistent Left Caucus became, upon its expulsion from the CPUSA; the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the U.S.A., better known simply as the POC. Publishing the Marxist-Leninist Vanguard regularly for a decade, the POC made important contributions to the anti-revisionist and anti-imperialist movement in this country. The POC particularly upheld the Marxist-Leninist position on the National-Colonial Question, specifically the Comintern line on the Black Belt nation and Puerto Rico, and distinguished itself from almost every other left organization at that time by its intensive concentration on, and predominant leadership and membership of, Black and Latin American national-minority workers.

The POC is not important in and of itself. What is important is that the POC represented the continuity of the anti-revisionist struggle, of the Struggle Between Two Lines in the Communist Movement in this country, of the proletarian, Bolshevik wing of the workingclass movement against its many-faced enemy, the opportunist, Menshevik, essentially bourgeoisified and imperialist-bribed wing. Out of the POC have come many of the leading cadres of the emerging Marxist-Leninist movement, who, giving the POC up for lost after its 1968 metamorphosis (into the "American Workers Communist Party" where under the leadership of A. Roman, a small fraction of the original POC declared the whole world, including China, to be imperialist, swept by a "cycle of counter-revolution", etc.) have brought to the new movement much valuable experience and first-hand knowledge especially about the CPUSA. Despite the degeneration of the POC in 1968 into a neo-trotskyite family sect, in the period up to then, it had generally been the only centre of anti-revisionist struggle in this country. In the sixties, a number of other splits off the CPUSA occurred, each one making more and more grandiose pretensions about its role, and each in fact miserable by comparison with the early POC. These included Hammer and Steel, a Boston Mass. group led by Homer Chase, Progressive Labor (then, becoming PLM, PLP) led by Milt Rosen and Mort Sheer, the Negro-Labor Vanguard group in New Jersey, led by Clarence Coggins, the Antithesis group on the west coast, and the Ad Hoc Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Party, based in Chicago, this last group having a policy of keeping some of its forces inside the CPUSA, some outside. All of these groups, except PL, have remained small or else have gone out of existence entirely. All of them, including PL, eventually took up a counter-revolutionary line, except for the Ad Hoc Committee, which has a Fosterite-centrist position on some questions, but otherwise has remained anti-revisionist. Like Roman's sect, the Homer Chase group ended up attacking China and Mao Tsetung as "imperialist" and "left revisionist". In fact, PL's most recent counter-revolutionary position, as expressed in their "Road to Revolution III", is merely a poor imitation of Roman's and Chase's neo-trotskyite anti-China ravings, the main difference being that PL has been better funded than either Roman or Chase, thus, becoming better known (and more hated!) in the workingclass movement.

Thus, we have this outwardly-appearing pessimistic picture of a number of successive groups breaking out of the CPUSA, and most of them either evaporating or turning into some weird brand of trotskyites, doomsday prophets, and vicious slanderers and liars. However, untangling this complicated process, and, more importantly, placing it in the context of the Struggle Between Two Lines in the International Communist Movement, the "Great Debate" starting in the second half of the fifties, we can clearly see that 1958 is a line of demarcation between the genuine anti-revisionists and the Fosterite, centrist, vacillating, and unreliable opponents of revisionism, who, in 1958, had largely supported the expulsion of what became the POC, only to find themselves expelled a few years later!! Furthermore, we can see that, in terms of the fundamental political and ideological questions involved, the POC was the last real left wing of the CPUSA, and produced the best cadres based on the anti-revisionist struggle in the CPUSA. Most of what came after 1958, typified in its most extreme degeneration in the form of the hated Progressive Labor group, was an expression, not of the struggle against revisionism, but of the crisis in the revisionist camp itself, of the disintegration of a single bloc of modern revisionists into a "polycentrist" swarm of squabbling rival revisionisms. The clearest proof of this is not simply what position this or that group took on the international questions. After all, PL was playing a counter-revolutionary role even during the period when they claimed to support Mao Tsetung Thought, the Chinese and Albanians.

What unmasked all these post-1958 splits as Fosterite, even though some of them professed some criticism of Foster, is that they all took up the Fosterite line on the fundamental questions related to the tasks of the Proletarian Revolution in this country. PL was not the first, nor has it been the last would-be Marxist-Leninist group in this country which, abandoning the correct position on the Black Belt Question like Foster and Browder, fell into one error after another on the National-Colonial Question, sometimes embracing Pan-African and Black nationalism uncritically, at other times, utterly denying the existence of any national question or national struggle inside the "USA". What unmasked the post-1958 splits, especially PL, as essentially centrists, conciliators of revisionism, vacillators destined to be drawn into the camp of revisionism completely at some crucial point, was their typically centrist formulations which combined some aspects of the Communist world-outlook with barely-disguised revisionist lines, a mixture which was bound to separate, like oil and water. Thus, the Fosterites will combine taking a "correct" position on some general question with taking a revisionist line on some specific aspect of that question, or vice versa, but always, trying to appear as a vague middle point between the two opposites. Thus PL, in one of its early statements, said, "we do not want a fratricidal war with the CPUSA" while at the same time claiming to be the strongest supporters of the Communist Party of China, who were struggling fiercely against modern revisionism internationally. Today, there are Fosterites who claim to support China, but still consider the Soviet Union to be socialist, thus opposing one of the most important positions the Chinese have developed, that of the fact that capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union, that it is social-imperialist and social-fascist, etc..

3. QUOTATIONS FROM FOSTER ON FASCISM AND "ANTI-FASCISM"

Lately, William Z. Foster has been honored in the Guardian, which, self-described as an "independent radical newsweekly", is itself a classical centrist publication, long known for its tightrope-walking act "between" the two protagonists in what it still likes to call the "Sino-Soviet split", lately, more "left" centrist in character, supporting China, but not quite calling the Soviet Union capitalist and imperialist, professing commitment to the anti-revisionist struggle, yet still warring paid advertisements for revisionists and trotskyite activities and publications, etc. etc..

The December 13th issue of the Guardian quotes Foster in its "Voices of Revolution" column (which has also carried quotes from the notorious counter-revolutionary Trotsky !!) which relate to the struggle against fascism, for democracy, etc. The Guardian, or anybody else for that matter, could easily piece together something from Foster's writings, or even Browder's writings, for that matter, which might look half-way decent as a quote. But a look at another quote from Foster, this time about the fascist movements themselves, as they appeared in this country, gives us a real idea of just how much in error, how confused Foster, and the whole CPUSA leadership at that time, were about fascism, democracy, the class content of political phenomenon in general:

"Striking manifestations of the broad democratic upsurge of the masses during the early New Deal period were the many "panacea" mass agitations... Usually their programs were fantastically utopian, and the demagogic leaders were frequently fascist-minded, but the masses were full of democratic fighting spirit..." (Here, Foster cites Technocracy, Father Coughlin, the KKK's Huey Long, and other reactionary movements)... The Communist Party paid close attention to the "panacea" movements. Although often led by dangerous demagogues these movements were not wholly in vain. They dramatized the plight of the workers, the unemployed, the aged, the farmers, and the impoverished petty-bourgeoisie. That the "panacea" movements did not become perverted into a real base for American fascism was also due in no small measure to the activities of the Communist Party in exposing their economic fallacies, in combatting their reactionary leaders, and in directing their masses into more practical channels of political struggle."

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This incredible piece of rubbish completely fills the needs of present-day American fascism, which, contrary to Foster's "history", was already definitely a fascist movement at that time, combining the "left" social-fascism of Roosevelt's "New Deal" with the right wing and openly pro-Hitler and pro-Mussolini Coughlins, Longs, etc. Furthermore, in no way did the various so-called "panacea" movements "dramatize the plight", or in any way organize or aid either striking workers or struggling unemployed. To claim this is to give credit to the fascists of the 1930's and to slander the working-class, which, even if not completely revolutionary at that time, was definitely anti-fascist, anti-Hitler. In reality, all of these movements, some more hysterically than others, were openly anti-working class at that time, aligned with Ford and other capitalists as strike-breakers, labor spies, and goon squads to attack meetings, terrorize the families of "known agitators", etc.. Foster paints the openly fascist movements of the 1930's in this country in "democratic" and even workingclass colors; speaking of "their masses", he makes the absurd claim that the CPUSA prevented these fascists from becoming fascists! This conciliatory attitude towards home-grown American fascism contradicts Foster's militant stand against foreign, that is German, Italian, Japanese, Spanish, and other European fascisms. But this is the nature of centrism—to combine a correct general line with a betrayal in the realm of the specific, the particular.

Foster began his career expressing the interests of the developing labor-aristocracy in the American workingclass, not the old decayed crafts and guild-type labor-aristocrats, but the new labor-aristocracy of the era of imperialism and State-Monopoly-Capitalism. Based on the union bureaucracies, this new labor-aristocracy arose in the 1930's, and, riding the crest of the wave of strikes, sitdowns, factory occupations, and CIO union-building, made itself hegemonic over the "Labor Movement" with the aid of the CPUSA. Then, after turning on the revisionist hand that had fed them, the running dogs of the labor-aristocracy embraced the imperialist chieftans and consolidated their parasitical status on the backs of both the colonially-oppressed workers and peasantry and the proletariat in "their" countries, most of which, of course, they still refuse to organize into their "unions". This new-style labor-aristocracy in America, and throughout the "western hemisphere" (even in Latin America—the Peronista Trade Union bureaucrats are a good example) draws its members from a variety of political areas, "left" as well as right, integrating these into a viable, workable, and also, necessarily flexible, instrument of State-Monopoly-Capital. Hitler called it the "Labor Front"—here, they team it up, alongside Big Business, as "Big Labor", but every rank-and-file worker, union member or not, knows that this concept is the direct opposite of the class concept of "Labor", the concept of Labor vs. Capital, the labor movement as the workingclass movement.

Because of his position as a leading member of the emerging new-type labor-aristocracy in this country, because of the multitude of ideological threads binding him to the interests of that privileged, bribed, and corrupted strata, which, although a small minority within the workingclass as a whole, exercises a dominant influence on the class, until decisively defeated by the revolutionary, Communist-led majority, because of the objective and subjective factors present, Foster was no more capable of understanding the nature of counter-revolution than he was of understanding the tasks of revolution. Thus, Foster ends his "History of the CPUSA", after a long dissertation on the essentially reactionary, warlike, fascist, aggressive, etc. nature of U.S. imperialism, with the following gem:

"The Communist Party's orientation for a possible peaceful transition to socialism in the United States is based upon four elementary considerations: first, the fight of the working class for its immediate demands is the very substance of democracy, it strengthens basically the democratic forces in our country, and by the eventual establishment of socialism it raises democracy qualitatively to a new high level; second, the working class, led by the Communist Party, harmonizes its methods with its ends by fighting for both its immediate and ultimate objectives with the most peaceful and democratic means possible; third, the workers and their allies, constituting the vast majority of the people and possessing immense organizations, now have the potential power to curb, restrain, and make ineffective whatever violence the capitalists may undertake in their attempt to balk the will of the people and to prevent the establishment of socialism; and fourth, in recent years, on the international scale, there has been an enormous growth of power in the camp of democracy and socialism. The fundamental difference between the Communist Party and right-wing Social Democracy (and its Browderite variant) is not that the Social-Democrats want to establish socialism by peaceful means and the Communists want to achieve it by violence..." The chapter in which this quote appears, Chapter 37, is followed by an even worse one entitled: "The Party of the Working Class and the Nation?" The positions that Foster puts forward in this book, more than any other he wrote, completely throw Marxism-Leninism out the window, as any critical study of the work will show. This book is literally the fountainhead of modern revisionism in the CPUSA, the crystallization of all the liquidationist trends in the CPUSA, which the present-day Fosterites and neo-Fosterites, although nominally in opposition to the revisionists, are carrying amongst their political baggage, and which must be cast off and thrown out of the workingclass movement, before it causes any more harm.

Amongst most of the new Marxist-Leninist groups, there can be seen two main groups in terms of origins. There are those groups that emerged at the beginning, at the breaking out of the worldwide revolutionary upsurge of the 1960's, and there are those groups which emerged at the peak of, or even after, the main period of upsurge. Between these two general groups there can be seen important differences as well as similarities, but it is our premise that the best of both must be combined in the Marxist-Leninist movement as it continues, through the protracted class war in this oppressor nation, towards the building of the Marxist-Leninist Party. The best of those who became Communists at the beginning of the sixties are those who, maintaining revolutionary endurance and tenacity, were able to come forward and join with the younger comrades at the end of the sixties, overcoming differences between them, through mutual respect for each other's collective experiences. The younger comrades have been through the mass struggles of the past few years, and have developed a strong practical grasp of the problems of the Proletarian Revolution in this country. The older comrades, some with experience in the earlier anti-revisionist struggle, bring equally valuable and essential theoretical and historical grasp of the same problems. Without a continuity with the earlier anti-revisionist struggle, with the Struggle Between Two Lines in the Communist Movement, the younger comrades would not be well prepared to deal with the many varieties of opportunism and ideological deviation that will arise in the course of the class war in this country. Likewise, without the more recent and younger comrades, especially the thousands of Black, Puerto Rican, Dominican, Chicano, Chinese, and other national-minority workingclass youth who have built up most of the new Marxist-Leninist forces throughout the country, the various ex-CPUSA elements would exist as either sects or as "left" loyal oppositions to the CPUSA. However, whereas the best of both general groups of the anti-revisionist movement as a whole must be unified, so also, the useless, in fact harmful, elements must be thrown out of each. Such elements are precisely all those vestiges of American Exceptionalism, both the Browderite and Fosterite varieties, which appear in both younger and older cadres. The theoretical roots, objective class origins, and multi-faceted character of this American Exceptionalism must be completely understood, as it expresses itself in relation to the National-Colonial Question, the question of State and Revolution, the Women's Question, the Trade Union Question, and every other question related to the overall task of Proletarian Revolution in this country. Our tendency pledges itself to this struggle, firm in its belief that Anti-imperialism will not be victorious unless it is combined with Anti-revisionism.

We have arrived therefore at the following general conclusions, based, initially, on our specific experience (See our November 14, 1972 Statement "Origins of the Class War Tendency") as a political tendency in the Communist Movement over the last half-decade. This article, second in the series, in no way completes, but only begins, the polemics against what we see as the main enemy within the new revolutionary workingclass movement. The modern revisionists of the CPUSA, the trotskyites, bukharinites, titotites, and all the rest of the crisis-ridden, splintering revisionist movement is too exposed as social-imperialist and social-fascist when it appears in its familiar old clothes. Thus, it dons a new, disguised costume, even a bright red one if necessary! Thus, the modern revisionists try to appear as "anti-revisionists" themselves, and taking advantage of lack of study of history and mastery of dialectics, smuggle in their revisionist lines. This series of articles will continue to expose the modern revisionists in whatever form they try to disguise themselves, and our tendency puts forward the following seven guidelines as only the barest outlines of the tasks connected with the anti-revisionist struggle:

- 1.) The primary task of the Marxist-Leninist movement in this country is the building of a Marxist-Leninist Party. However, this party does not yet exist, and the claims of one or more tendencies within the movement to be the centre of the movement stand in the way of the building of the real centre, the Party.
- 2.) The Party does not yet exist, but the future cadres of the Party do exist, not merely in one or two, but throughout all of the various new Marxist-Leninist groups. Likewise the danger of revisionism comes, not merely from one or two groups, but will inevitably express itself, in different forms, throughout the movement. This has already been irrefutably proven by the Struggle Between Two Lines as it has already developed in the various groups.

(Continued on p. 13)



Election Boycott CONTINUED

tary tasks of the proletarian revolution. Our thinking must be strategically correct before the tactical problems can be solved.

3. Learning the lessons of 1905:

The revisionists are fond of quoting Lenin out of context to justify their parliamentary cretinism. Lenin did not formulate the conditions under which a boycott is useful in "Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder," but he did discuss the Russian experience of a successful boycott in 1905 and then the unsuccessful boycott of 1906, after which the Bolshevik Party consistently participated in the succession of Dumas that followed and even took part in the Constituent Assembly until 1919. Under the special conditions prevailing in tsarist Russia the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin, succeeded in solving the problem and carried out a correct policy.

The tasks of the Russian Revolution called for the establishment of democratic rights and a constitution. It was the feudal autocracy that held state power. The bourgeoisie was too weak to seize power on its own but at the same time the system of tsardom was so decayed that in the face of capitalist incursions into feudal relations the autocracy was continually forced into concessions by the bourgeoisie. Inevitably they united together when confronted with a rising proletariat. In Russia there was no democracy even for the bourgeoisie. If the proletariat could utilize such an unstable and temporary ally as the bourgeoisie to achieve altogether more favorable conditions for conducting its class struggle, it certainly must, never for a moment forgetting that the main ally, the only class with whom the proletariat could share power, was the peasantry. Compared to the other capitalist countries Russia was economically backward.

The Revisionists interpret the conditions present in a technologically advanced society like our own to mean that revolution, or the "transformation" as they like to call it, will occur altogether peacefully under the enlightened policies of proverbial bourgeois-democracy. They pose as the great defenders of "democracy" and great anti-fascist fighters but, in reality, what they are defending is bourgeois dictatorship and imperialism. They do not want the proletariat to see that it is precisely under these conditions (such as we face today in pignation) that the class contradictions are very much more simplified between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat than is possible in a semi-feudal country (i.e. tsarist Russia). The contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is antagonistic and can only be resolved through revolutionary violence.

The experience of the successful election boycott of 1905 and the history of that revolutionary year provide one example of conditions which call for an election boycott. It is incorrect to draw mechanical analogy between the social, political, economic conditions in the U.S. today and tsarist Russia in 1905. Internationally and for all the nations internally the relation of class forces has shifted since the first decade of the twentieth century.

The decision to boycott is particular to each country where the question arises and can only be solved by the party of the working-class in that nation. In 1920 when Lenin circulated his thesis "Left-Wing Communism" at the Second Congress of the Comintern, the question of parliamentary abstentionism was the great debate in the international communist movement. There were tendencies of "left"-communists (Bordigha in Italy, Sylvia Pankhurst in England, Pannekoek in Holland, and others) who were known as "boycottists" (because they raised it to a principle) who opposed trade union activity as well as parliamentarism. It is altogether too complex a matter to go into here but it must be touched upon and noted that the question of parliamentary abstentionism has been a polemic in the international communist movement since the first days of the Third International. Reformism has always been one of the main forms of opportunism in the workingclass movement.

Lenin evaluated the Russian experience and the usefulness of parliament as a platform for revolutionary propaganda and he urged the "left"-communists to consider this. The "Twenty-one Conditions of Membership in the Communist International" which were adopted by the Second Congress nowhere state that the Communist Parties everywhere must participate in parliamentary elections. The 21 points only stipulated that wherever parties did follow the policy of sending representatives to parliament that they must be communists, not opportunists or revisionists, and that the line they put forward must be revolutionary and not reformist. The modern revisionists and other social-fascists are not only opportunists and career-radicals of the worst sort but are also espousing the most reactionary reformism as their programs.

It is an "hereditary" weakness of the revolutionary left in this country that so many groups do political work in a totally above-ground, legalistic manner. The more closely a group adheres to the Marxist-Leninist principle of democratic-centralist organization the more correctly do they achieve a properly balanced combination of the legal and illegal struggle. It is also a sad tendency of the left that it ignores military questions and when the masses employ revolutionary violence in their own behalf these groups are not ready to support them. We must combat the influence of revisionist parliamentarism and the illusion that the so-called "U.S.A." a prison of nations and an imperialist aggressor, is a bourgeois-democratic republic is to be utterly divorced from the class reality and facts of life of the majority of the proletariat.

Reformism's program is a series of minimalist points, each of which places impossible demands upon the capitalist system. Altogether they may sum up the evils of capitalism, but amount to only a disconnected series of demands because they are not integral to a comprehensive historical-materialist analysis. Reformist programs do not explain the internal contradictions of imperialist society or reveal their order of importance and how they are to be resolved. Reformism is designed to control the workers struggle within the limitations of the capitalist system. The revisionists are kept on a leash like a watchdog that barks every time the proletarian left steps out of line.

4. Summing up:

The Marxist-Leninist Party and the Red Women's Detachment called for a boycott of the U.S. presidential 'election' of 1972. It was conducted as a political campaign and its slogans "Revolution Not Reform/Boycott the Elections" were put forward as a mass line of struggle. We view the election boycott as a revolutionary tactic and the only principled policy for communists in America today. The election boycott campaign was conceived of not as a passive but as an active struggle. It was not put forward, as some have implied, to tell the majority of the working and lumpen masses not to do something they don't anyway, i.e. vote. It was not meant to raise the tactical policy of parliamentary abstentionism to a principle because the question of whether to participate in a bourgeois election can only be decided after a class analysis of the situation internationally and internally. Based on the analysis of the 2nd Draft Program of the Marxist-Leninist Party, issued Nov. 1971, we put forward the election boycott as the only correct political line and the most appropriate tactic under these conditions. In addition, we saw the "election boycott as the basis for a united front of the revolutionary movement, and the best means to educate the proletariat concerning the seizure of power."

When the masses spontaneously follow their class instincts and refuse to register or vote and appear altogether disinterested in the so-called "democratic processes," this is the time for communists to express the mass sentiment of distrust of corrupt bourgeois politicians and to raise this understanding to a higher level by explaining to them in a programmatic form the irreconcilable contradictions of imperialism and the laws of revolution.

December 12, 1972

Two Lines CONTINUED

3.) The present generation of revolutionary cadres have developed out of the great world-wide revolutionary upsurge of the 1960's, an upheaval involving socialist countries, oppressed nations and peoples, and the proletariat in the imperialist oppressor nations, sweeping the full breadth of the existing social systems in the world, progressive and reactionary alike.

4.) All of the various struggles throughout this earth-shaking period are inter-connected, and out of all of them has come a new, qualitatively higher level of consciousness and struggle in all the component parts of the world proletarian revolution. Mao Tse-tung Thought, which has developed both through the process of the class struggle under socialism (Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution) and the national struggles against imperialism (People's War) as well as the struggle between two lines (Polemic on the General Line in the International Communist Movement) is the most important single expression of this overall process.

5.) In the development of the revolutionary movement in this country, there are potential new forces and as-of-yet unaccounted factors present, such as the widespread underground communist movement in the prisons, and a similar, although less widespread movement inside the imperialist armed forces, which have not yet made their full ideological and practical contributions to the movement. Thus, any attempts to sum up the movement without some sense of these areas must be considered incomplete. There are comrades and cadres in the cell-blocks and barracks, as well as the factories, ghettos, and schools.

6.) Any attempts to bureaucratically manipulate various combinations in order to produce a ready-made "party", will lead, at this stage, to inevitable splits, confusion, and demoralization. Likewise, we oppose the other extreme, attempts to keep the various Marxist-Leninists in isolation from each other, in arrogant postures that prevent discussion and joint action. We must carry out pre-Party tasks under the banner of opposing both "All Unity, No Struggle" and "All Struggle, No Unity". Such steps as the formation of the November 4th Committee, based on the anti-imperialist mass march of 5,000 in New York City this year, and the publication of the magazine Proletarian Cause, as a forum for the Marxist-Leninist movement, are good steps forward along the principled road that will lead us to the Party we all want to build.

7.) All of the various tendencies must intensify the Struggle Between Two Lines, must carry through the struggle against modern revisionism to the end, must tear up American Exceptionalism by its Fosterite, as well as Browderite, roots, and must unite ever more firmly with the International Communist Movement, with the proletariat of all countries, with the oppressed nations and peoples, and with all of the fighting detachments in the great united front of the World Proletarian Revolution!

December 29, 1972
New York City

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

BOOKS... PAMPHLETS... PERIODICALS...

Critique of the Gotha Programme by Karl Marx, 91 pages.

Materialism and Empirio-Criticism by V.I. Lenin, 450 pages.

Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR by J.V. Stalin, 101 p.

Published in 1972 by Foreign Languages Press, Peking

One of the most useful collections of basic Marxist-Leninist works is the inexpensive series of pamphlet-sized editions of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin classics (Communist Manifesto, State and Revolution, Foundations of Leninism, etc.) published by the Foreign Languages Press in Peking. No doubt, this set can be found on the shelves of thousands of revolutionaries all over the world. They are accurate, which is important, because much of the revisionist and other editions of these writings are altered in translation. They are also well-printed and designed, and as a set, provide revolutionary cadres with an excellent selection of the most important materials for study. This past year, our Chinese comrades have further expanded the series with the addition of three more works, listed above, and now available in this country.

The first work, by Marx, is a critique of reformism and opportunism, specifically a critique of the 1875 Programme of the German Social-Democracy, which was not first published until after Marx's death. Upon its release in 1891 by Marx's co-worker Engels, it caused a great stir in the working-class movement in Germany, as the revolutionary workers realized how their opportunist leaders had suppressed this work in an effort to make themselves appear as genuine heirs of the great Marx. This new edition also contains Engels' letters to Kautsky, Bebel, Sorge, etc., written both in 1875 and later, in 1891, which further illustrate the importance of this work in the context of the class struggle at that time.

Lenin's Materialism and Empirio-Criticism is his famous philosophical polemic against the Machists, "god-seekers", and others who, during the period of the Stolypin Reaction in Russia following the 1905 Revolution, abandoned the essentials of Marxism, the philosophy and methodology of dialectical and historical materialism. These idealists sought refuge from the difficult tasks arising out of a period of temporary setback in the revolution in a whole series of pseudo-theories, distortions of dialectics, and their own brand of attack upon materialism, which Lenin called agnosticism. This work should be especially closely studied today, when, after the manner of the 'agnostics' of Lenin's time, a host of pseudo-Marxist "radical thinkers" have launched new attacks on the whole of Marxist-Leninist ideology, scientific method, and world outlook.

Stalin's Economic Problems, written in 1952, one year before his death, is perhaps the most important single work of the last years before he died. This work is also polemical, like the first two listed above, and shows that our Chinese comrades are genuine defenders of the great Stalin, that they recognize the importance of understanding the historical roots of modern revisionism and capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. This work is a warning by Stalin, against both the revisionist tendencies which he already saw developing in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as well as the Communist Parties in other countries, which Stalin saw guilty of an "inadequate level of Marxist development". Stalin discusses the question of the basic economic laws of socialism and capitalism, criticizes the viewpoints of various leading CPSU members, and raises the necessity for a Marxist textbook on political economy, something still lacking in the International Communist Movement today. As he says: "What is needed, therefore, is a textbook which might serve as a reference book for the revolutionary youth not only at home, but also abroad. It must not be too bulky, because an over-bulky textbook cannot be a reference book and is difficult to assimilate, to master. But it must contain everything fundamental relating to both the economy of our country and to the economy of capitalism and the colonial system."

We welcome the publication of these three important works by the Foreign Languages Press, and look forward to further additions to this series of basic Marxist-Leninist works.

Blood in My Eye by George Jackson, 169 pages.

This book was written while in solitary confinement in prison, and that alone would be enough to make it an incredible piece of contemporary revolutionary literature, literally written in the blood of the author. However, as the political last testament of a leading Black revolutionary, it is also a historic document of the movement in this country, a sharp and clear analysis of American fascism and white chauvinism by one who knew first-hand the completely bestial reactionary character of so-called "Democracy" in this oppressor nation. Although there are errors and misjudgements, particularly concerning the specific nature of the National-Colonial Question in this country (Jackson never accepted, or perhaps, was not completely aware of the correct Marxist-Leninist line recognizing the Black Belt nation in the south) and also, related to the split in the Black Panther Party (Jackson supported the right-opportunist Huey P. Newton faction) the book as a whole is an important contribution to understanding, and fighting the Revolutionary War that must be waged to bring down U.S. imperialism. The most interesting parts of the book are those that deal with the development of fascism in this country, which Jackson correctly



ENVER HOXHA

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labor



GEORGE JACKSON

saw as bound up with economic "reforms", the FDR New Deal, and the all-pervasive white supremacy that is a major element in American culture. The book is a great leap forward from Jackson's earlier writings, but throughout all his writings, he pays tribute to Marx, Lenin, Mao Tsetung, and especially to their philosophic writings—Jackson once declared that Engels' Anti-Duhring was the most important book he had read. The book is dedicated, as was George Jackson's life, "to the black Communist youth".

From Marx to Mao Tse-tung by George Thomson, 182 pages. published by the China Policy Study Group, Great Britain

This book represents a new low in the devious attacks upon Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, a red flag being waved to oppose the red flag, a basically dishonest piece of writing, however "acclaimed" the author may be for his other writings. Although it is subtitled "A study in revolutionary dialectics", there is in fact little or no discussion of dialectics per se, no section on the Marxist-Leninist scientific methodology, no mention of philosophy. The book contains an indirect attack on Lenin, including the implication (identical to Trotsky's version of the history of the October Revolution) that Lenin only arrived at the correct line on "uninterrupted revolution" late in the game. (1916 ? 1917 ? Thomson is deliberately vague on this point, see p. 76-80). The worse aspect of the book is Thomson's attack against Stalin, in practically all of Chapter 7, especially section 6 (pages 129-141) where "maybes" and "perhaps" are thrown in at crucial points in the discussion to cover up Thomson's cowardice in not saying what he really thinks about Stalin.

Thomson also makes fundamental ideological errors in this book. After a long series of quotations, mainly from Lenin, concerning the labor-aristocracy, the split in the workingclass in the imperialist countries, Thomson then says, refuting everything Lenin ever said or thought, "So, we see that in the imperialist countries even the proletariat, that most revolutionary of classes, may cease to be revolutionary." (page 52) Never, never, never did Lenin reach such a conclusion, nor has Stalin, Mao Tsetung or any other Marxist-Leninist leader, however much the presence of a bribed, corrupted section of the workingclass may temporarily hold back the development of the Proletarian Revolution, reach the conclusion that the class itself had ceased to be revolutionary.

The Party of Labor of Albania in Battle with Modern Revisionism Speeches and Articles, Naim Frasherli Publishing House, Tirana, People's Republic of Albania, 526 pages.

The Albanian comrades, headed by Enver Hoxha, the greatest living Marxist-Leninist leader in Europe today, have once more provided an invaluable service to the International Communist Movement, to the education of the new revolutionary cadres throughout the world. This book is to the Albanian Party of Labor and its resolute anti-revisionist struggle what the Polemic on the General Line of the International Communist Movement is to the Communist Party of China—a selection of the most important milestones in the "Great Debate" of the 1960's, the great international struggle against modern revisionism headed by Soviet revisionism. The book begins with Enver Hoxha's speech at the Moscow Meeting of 81 Parties in November 1960, a speech not publicly revealed by the Albanians until 1969, in which he courageously defended J.V. Stalin and Marxism-Leninism itself against the Khrushchovite and Titoite renegades. The early statements still reflect the hope, on the part of the Albanians at that time, that the trend to complete betrayal, capitalist restoration and counter-revolution could be halted, that the Bolshevik elements in the Soviet Union could stop the revisionists. But, by 1964, as expressed especially in the "Open Letter to the members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union", in this book also, it was clear that a new revolution had become necessary in the birthland of socialism, that a Second October was the order of the day in all the countries under the domination of the Soviet revisionists. Further articles in the book give detailed and dramatic analyses of the nature of revisionism as it undergoes disintegration and division, and the new tasks of the Marxist-Leninist parties and groups that are developing out of the anti-revisionist struggle in all countries. This volume is a real weapon in the anti-revisionist struggle and should be studied over and over again to master its contents.

Feminism CONTINUED

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The defeat of the Confederacy brought the Black Belt under a colonialist regime that opposed national liberation as well as votes for women, and laid the basis for the rise of U.S. imperialism. The suffragists were correct in joining the effort in support of the Union during the war. They were bitterly resentful when the work of their "Women's Loyal League" was not rewarded with the ballot being extended to women. The national-chauvinism of the bourgeois women's movement in pignation began to express itself. In the years to come this poisonous weed spread and ultimately came to dominate the woman suffrage movement. Stanton bitterly vowed that the women's movement should "never second man's endeavors and exalt his sex above her own" again.

"From our standpoint, we would honor any Chinese woman who claimed the right to her feet and powers of locomotion; the Turkish woman who threw off their masks and veils and left the harem; the Mormon women who abjured their faith and demanded monogamic relations. Why not equally honor the intelligent minority of American women who protest against the artificial disabilities by which their freedom is limited and their development arrested? What only a few, under any circumstances, protest the unjust of long established customs and laws, does not disprove the fact of the oppressions, while the satisfaction of the many, if real, only proves their apathy and deeper degradation. That a majority of the women of the United States accept, without protest the disabilities that grow out of their dis-enfranchisement is simply an evidence of their ignorance and cowardice, the minority who demand a higher political status clearly prove their superior intelligence and wisdom." (Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Reminiscences, p. 317)

This type of thinking reveals why the workingwomen masses could not accept the leadership of the woman suffrage movement and why women in colonial countries can never accept the leadership of bourgeois women in oppressor nations. Would Stanton support the struggles of women in the colonial and semi-feudal countries when they were involved in struggles other than for suffrage, when their struggle, along with that of their whole people, was against imperialism? Fortunately or unfortunately, No, because although Stanton did not live to see the first imperialist war, she did support the invasion of Cuba during the "Spanish-American War." Could this perhaps have been because Theodore Roosevelt supported votes for women if women could prove themselves worthy? Stanton declared her life work to be winning votes for women and believed women's dis-enfranchisement to be the cause of women's oppression. Since voting was, and still is, in the interest only of bourgeois women, it is no surprise that the bourgeois woman's rights movement eventually ignored the struggles of workingwomen who demand a total overthrow of all existing conditions, including bourgeois "democracy." From that point on, with the woman's rights movement split between the (Stanton-Anthony) National Woman Suffrage Association and the (Stone) American W.S.A., there was no hope for the suffrage movement developing into a mass movement led by workingwomen.

There were organizations like the Women's Trade Union League and individuals like Charlotte Perkins Gilman who, for a short period in the first decade of the century, bridged both the women's rights and the proletarian feminist workingwomen's movement. However, they fell into the hands of the Second (Yellow) International and supported the intervention of the U.S. into World War I.

The Catt-Shaw leadership of the united N.A.W.S.A. after Stanton and Anthony's retirement during the period when U.S. imperialism was starting to emerge as the "world's policeman" were much more reactionary than their predecessors. They literally groveled before U.S. imperialism in order to prove to the ruling class that they should be rewarded with the vote for being such good American nationalists during World War I. Those feminist-suffragists who, influenced by the militant English suffragettes, continued agitation during the war were denounced as reds, jailed, and persecuted. The suffragists who carried the movement through to the reluctant ratification of the 19th amendment conveniently forgot Stanton's admonition to second the endeavors of men. Ironically, when the suffragists correctly supported the bourgeoisie in the progressive Civil War they went unrewarded, but when they supported the reactionary Imperialist War in which the bourgeoisie sought to pit the workingclass of one nation against another, they won their precious right to vote. By this time (1920) the bourgeoisie had become an obsolete class and the bourgeois "Woman's Rights" an obsolete movement.

II. Proletarian feminism:

The proletarian socialist revolution broke out in 1917 during the Imperialist War in semi-feudal Tsarist Russia. Led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin, Krupskaya, and Stalin, workingwomen won greater victories for their sex than had ever been previously achieved. It was largely because of the world-wide influence of the October Revolution upon workingwomen that U.S. imperialism felt constrained to give in on the question of woman suffrage in order to make it appear that the bourgeois women's movement had won the real victory through peaceful democratic, not violent revolutionary means.

The Soviet Union was the first socialist country in the world, and the only truly democratic country as far as women were concerned. Not only were women immediately enfranchised, but for the

first time women were educated, marriage and divorce laws equalized in favor of women, women entered military service and broke into previously male-dominated industries, maternity was recognized as a social function, and attempts at socializing domestic labor were initiated. The workingwomen's movement in the Soviet Union encompassed and united for the first time the women of an oppressor nation with the women of the oppressed nations, breaking the limitations of national interests which divided bourgeois women. Russian women suffered under immensely more oppressive feudal conditions than the bourgeois women of the capitalist countries and the Bolshevik women leaders found out that bringing women into all-round social and political life was a much harder task than bringing women into industry on a mass scale.

The whole period of socialist construction under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin was an historical epoch for women. The first struggle to eliminate prostitution that ever occurred in history was undertaken and great inroads against Male Supremacy were made. Most important of all, the experience of women in the Soviet Union pointed out the path which the workingwomen's movement has followed henceforth.

During the period of socialist construction, throughout the entire '20's and '30's, the correct policies toward women contributed enormously to the strengthening and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The defeat of Fascism in the '40's was a turning point in history, but the fulfillment of this great world-historical task of Socialism weakened the Soviet Union internally. After World War II (the Great Anti-Fascist War), and the dissolution of the Communist International, began the period of the degeneration of Bolshevism in the U.S.S.R. which eventually led to capitalist restoration. It is to the Red Army, the heroic Soviet people, and to Comrade Stalin that we owe the victory over Hitler and Mussolini. Twenty-three million Soviet men, women, and youth, and the flower of the original Bolshevik cadre laid down their lives to defeat Fascism. Conditions, which had, in the early stages of socialist construction, demanded socialization of domestic service on a mass scale became transformed into conditions which did not permit the expenditure of public funds in this area. For many years before the actual outbreak of war between the U.S.S.R. and Nazi Germany, every effort had to be made to build up national defense and develop war industry. After the war, the reconstruction of socialism in the heavily damaged Soviet Union did not proceed so correctly as the period of socialist construction. Due to the lack of experience of the proletariat in the continuation of class struggle under its own dictatorship, and not at all the responsibility of Stalin as an individual, historical limitations did not give rise to a Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Because of the decimation of the population, a great emphasis on increasing the population led to a cult of motherhood and denial of the right to abortion. Mistakes were made and Male Supremacy was restored simultaneously through the process of capitalist restoration. Today in the land of soviet social-imperialism women's condition is comparable to that of women in the capitalist-imperialist countries.

The bourgeois women's movement never learned the lessons of its mistakes, but the proletarian feminist workingwomen's movement has been able to sum up its experience in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the historical experience of the proletariat. If the mistakes in the Soviet Union have not been repeated in the People's Republic of China, where the dictatorship of the proletariat is stronger than ever before, it should be remembered that there are different historical conditions present in the world today. We have just entered the new era of the defeat of imperialism and the victory of the dictatorship of the proletariat world-wide, the era of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Women's Question has assumed greater importance than ever before and conditions are more favorable for its recognition and solution.

Male Supremacy has been smashed only in the socialist countries, China, Albania, Vietnam, Korea. These are the only countries in the world where prostitution has been eliminated, where homosexuality does not exist, where male supremacism is criminal, where marriage and divorce laws are favorable to women, where abortion and birth control are considered natural rights, and domestic labor and child rearing are being socialized hand in hand with women's equality in industry, and where there exists organizations of women with membership in the millions. Only where the proletariat wields state power is the material base as well as the superstructural oppression and exploitation of women being destroyed.

Out of women's experience in proletarian revolution and People's Wars of national liberation has come, for the first time, a scientific world historical analysis of women's oppression, a strategy for liberation, and a body of theory which will come to be known as the Women's Question.

Feminist theory cannot be created out of bourgeois ideology but must be firmly founded upon dialectical-materialism and its world-historical analysis. Feminism is the collective contribution of women to all society, and the full development and solution of the Women's Question will mean the application of Marxism-Leninism on a higher level. It is the task of the world proletariat.

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FEMINISM: Bourgeois or Proletarian?

Feminism is a new idea. As a word, it did not exist until the twentieth century when it was first applied to the women's rights movement in the capitalist countries. As a body of theory on the Women's Question, it is just coming into being.

The first women who advocated women's right to vote did not think to call themselves feminists nor did they proceed to create a new world-historic theory of women's oppression, yet the suffragists came to be called "feminists" and their ideas of women's equality became known as feminism. The experience of the suffrage movement and its bankruptcy when the vote was attained, and the appearance, some 50 years later, of the mere ghost of the 19th century reform movement with none of its progressive aspects, has led to general disillusionment with feminism among the workingwomen masses.

How did this come about? The terms "feminist movement" and "women's movement" should be synonymous. Feminism is the product of the collective, ages-long struggle of all women against Male Supremacy, but the aspirations of some feminists do not co-incide with the interests of the majority of women although their outlook is pro-woman. This is because there are two kinds of feminism in the women's movement: bourgeois feminism vs. proletarian feminism.

In the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, bourgeois feminism is no longer a radical current of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. At this point in history the capitalist class has thoroughly exhausted itself as a progressive force. The self-interests of bourgeois women now openly clash and conflict with the interests of the workingwomen masses. The bourgeois feminists have had the negative effect of turning workingwomen against anything that calls itself "feminist" to the point where "bourgeois-feminism" has become the accepted term for feminism in the workingclass movement.

The bourgeois women have dominated the women's movement in the capitalist countries with their anti-workingclass feminism and will continue to do so until the workingwomen are politically and ideologically strong enough to drive the bourgeois feminists out of the movement and replace the hegemony of the bourgeoisie with the leadership of the proletariat. At this time, the bourgeois women and the proletarian women are co-existing only because the bourgeois factions have not been thoroughly isolated and defeated. Actual relations between women in the exploiting class and women in the workingclass have grown increasingly antagonistic and open warfare will break out very soon.

Feminists are women fighting against Male Supremacy in behalf of all women. All-female organizations which do not exist for the purpose of improving women's status in society are not feminist, if, due to their reactionary nature, they are objectively fighting against progress in that direction. There are pressure-groups of women inside reactionary professions, the armed forces, and in the state-government which are demanding women's rights in these fields. This should come as no surprise—the contradiction between women and Male Supremacy can never be suppressed and is bound to reflect itself in every social class. The struggle for equality must be viewed in the context in which it is raised. That women are allowed to become FBI agents, or a woman be "elected" president of the so-called "U.S.A.," or a daughter win a legal battle to inherit the family fortune against the claims of a son, should not be viewed as a victory for women. Bourgeois women have found that they can most successfully win their rights when they confine their "feminism" within the interests of their class.

Being female does not guarantee a feminist consciousness because sex alone does not determine one's world outlook. Sexuality is but one aspect of any person's life and the role of sex is highly exaggerated by bourgeois ideology. It is class stand that determines social outlook. Even a few bourgeois males like philosopher-economist J.S. Mill have been won over to the feminist viewpoint, but all male proletarians, in order to qualify as communists, must support and aid women in the overthrow of Male Supremacy. Besides being female, every woman is born in a certain class, one or another of the exploiting or exploited classes, depending on the social system. It is class oppression and Male Supremacy, not biology, that dams women to sex-slavery in its various forms: prostitution, "monogamy," motherhood." A woman may, if she is born high in the feudal aristocracy with claims to the throne, like Queen Victoria, possess not one iota of sentimentality toward her sex but think, as she actually did, that suffragettes should be flogged in public! Then again, at a time when the political power of the bourgeoisie had supplanted that of the aristocracy, on the European continent the bourgeois women's rights movement was led in some countries by duchesses and countesses.

It is very important for proletarian feminists, all class-conscious workingwomen, and those women who would be "pure" feminists to analyze the experience of the bourgeois women's movement for equal rights. "Pure" feminists will always fall prey to opportunism and alienate themselves from the mass struggles of women so long as they refuse to face up to the real role of the bourgeois women's rights movement, through which ruling-class women won certain liberties at the expense of the workingclass "sisters." The women's movement is a great battleground of the class struggle that will ultimately mean the destruction of bourgeois feminism along with the bourgeoisie as a class.

The creation of a body of theory on the Women's Question, that which we call feminism today, is a task that falls to the proletarian feminist workingwomen's movement.

I. Bourgeois feminism:

The women's rights movement was part of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Rationalism, idealism, and egalitarianism were part of the philosophy of the bourgeoisie during the period when the bourgeoisie was in revolt against the aristocracy and capitalism was breaking the bonds of feudalism. The bourgeoisie carried out its limited historical role as a progressive class during the latter part of the 18th and most of the 19th century. As the class struggle progressed, the bourgeoisie became increasingly reactionary to the point of Fascism. When capitalism reached the stage of imperialism it became time for the bourgeoisie to be overthrown by the proletariat, the very class which had enabled it to overthrow the feudal aristocracy.

Bourgeois feminism is a phenomena of the capitalist countries. It develops in the oppressed and semi-feudal countries to the extent that the bourgeoisie is capable of carrying out its democratic tasks. There the bourgeois feminists will either serve or oppose national-liberation depending on whether they align themselves with the compradors or the national bourgeoisie. Bourgeois feminism is confined to a tiny minority of the world's women. The bourgeois women have more in common with the men of their class than with the women of the toiling classes. If they have secured certain benefits by utilizing the legal channels open to them by virtue of their class status they have all the more alienated themselves from the masses of workingwomen with each privilege they won. The women of the world have risen up against the rule of the imperialist bourgeoisie that sucks the blood of the masses like a vampire.

True feminism is in the long-term interest of the majority. Even gincere bourgeois women, so long as their thinking is guided by the ideology of their class, are incapable of developing a genuine feminism. The bourgeois world outlook is idealist and at times metaphysical. The bourgeois feminists did not even think to call themselves feminists, but declared themselves suffragists and suffragettes because they thought that women were oppressed because they were dis-enfranchised. They lacked the dialectical-materialist philosophy and were forever bogged down in religion and mysticism. They could not grasp that the oppression of women has a material economic base, that it is a question of transformation of the base as well as transformation in the superstructure. They sought the solution in reforming the legal structure in favor of women, but left Male Supremacy intact long after their movement succumbed.

The inseparable Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony were the main leaders of the "Woman's Rights" or "Woman Suffrage" Movement in America. It was Stanton, a student of the law from her earliest years, who developed the strategy of winning votes for women. It was she who drafted the Declaration of the First Woman's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, 1848, the year the Married Woman's Property Act was passed in the New York State legislature. Always a petty-bourgeois and idealist in her thinking, her mistake was believing in the Declaration of Independence even more than the so-called "founding fathers." Her entire life was motivated by her indignation and anger at women's status in society, particularly American society. Her feminist insight often sharply expresses women's rebellious viewpoint of their own oppression.

Stanton, to whom chattel slavery and autocracy were repugnant, seems to have had hardly a second thought on servitude and wage slavery. For 15 years she led an isolated life, almost totally absorbed in domestic life during which she totally embodied the victorian ideology of the sacredness of the home and the sublime art of good, efficient housekeeping. She was accustomed to having servants about and, except for brief contacts, all her life the only relation she had with workingwomen was in the role of mistress. Stanton, whose ideas dominated the woman suffrage movement for 50 years, maintained an altogether arrogant attitude toward the workingwomen who would not accept votes for women as the end-all and be-all solution to their problems.

Susan B. Anthony was in every way the "activist", where Elizabeth Cady Stanton played the role of "theoretician." Anthony was a sympathizer of Populism, which reflected the political outlook of the small farmer. "The Revolution," the newspaper published by Stanton and Anthony from 1867-1870 was the "Organ of the National Party of New America." It supported the 8-hour day struggle of the workingclass, equal pay for equal work, liberation of Ireland from British rule, greenbacks for money, "educated" suffrage (national-chauvinist nativism), abolition of standing armies, "personal purity," "Love to Man as well as God," and was "devoted to Morality and Reform." Through its pages, Anthony, to her everlasting credit as a feminist, attempted to organize WorkingWomen's Associations with some success.

Stanton and Anthony represented the last radical section of the petty-bourgeois democrats. The woman's rights movement arose from the discontent of women abolitionists with the male supremacism of the anti-slavery societies in the first half of the 19th century.

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