

THE COMMUNIST

"A Communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against



all incorrect ideas and actions, so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist."

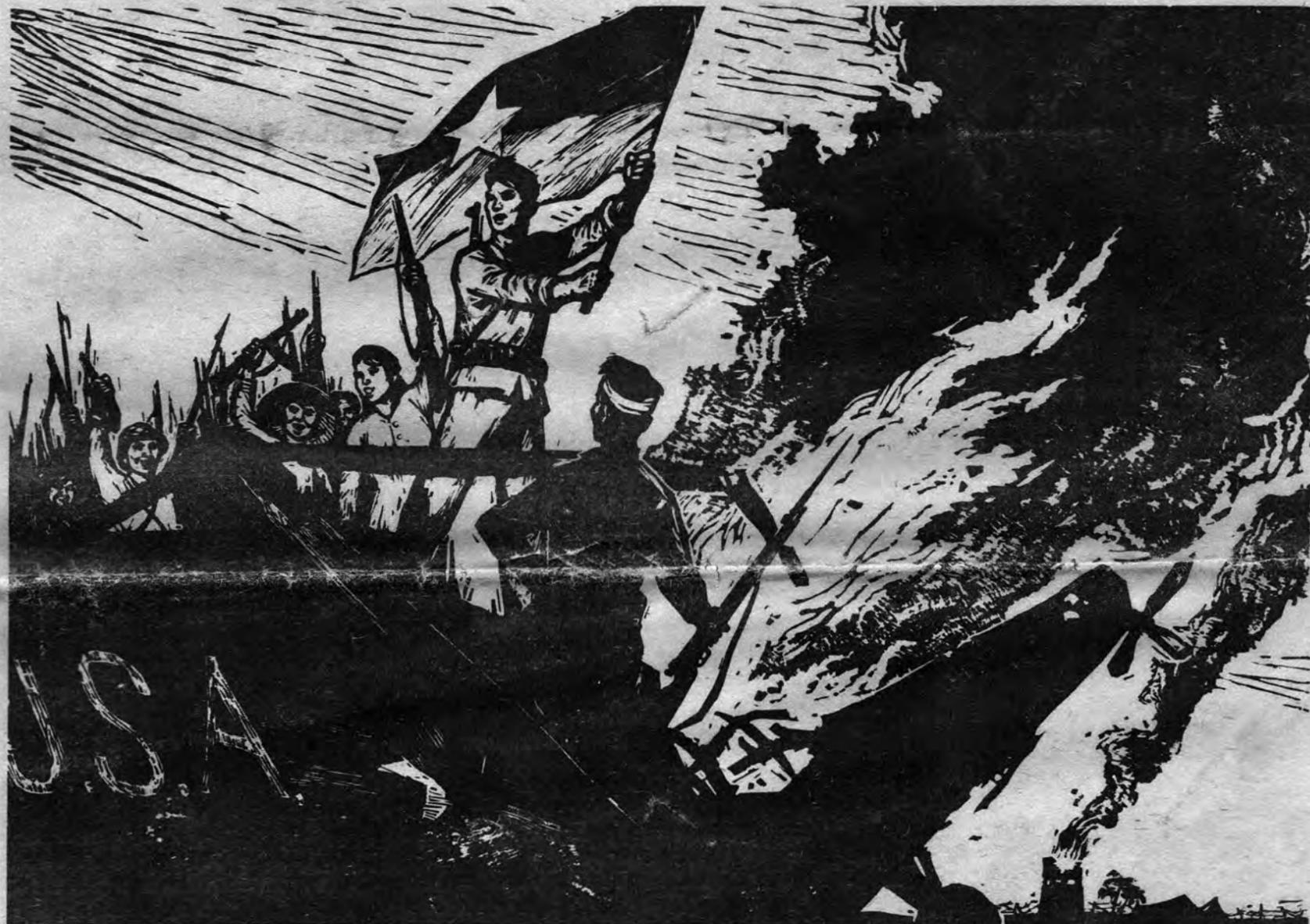
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THE INDOCHINESE PEOPLES' VICTORY IS A VICTORY FOR US ALL!

VICTORY IN INDOCHINA

After five years of armed struggle, the Cambodian people have liberated their country. In Vietnam virtually the whole country except for Saigon has been liberated. As this paper goes to press, the people and their armed forces have encircled Saigon and are only a stone's throw away from final victory.

As the struggle of these heroic peoples approaches victory, Cambodia and Vietnam, both countries of several million people, have hammered another nail into the coffin of U.S. imperialism.

On March 18, 1970, the C.I.A. engineered a coup in Cambodia and overthrew the popular government of Prince Norodom Sihanouk. The U.S. then brought to power a well-trained tool for U.S. plans in Indochina, the puppet Lon Nol and his brutal regime.

The people of Vietnam fought first against French colonialism, and during World War II, against the fascist Japanese invaders. After the defeat of the Japanese in 1945, the French colonialists returned. But they in turn were defeated by the Vietnamese people in the Battle of Dien Bien Phu. From that time on, the Vietnamese have fought against the U.S. government and the armed might of the U.S. ruling class. The defeat of U.S. imperialism and its puppets in Cambodia and Vietnam marks a great victory for workers and oppressed peoples the world over!

However, even at this late hour, the U.S., like a gambler who has lost everything, refuses to leave the house peacefully. While feigning death, playing at humanitarianism, and crying crocodile tears to let its allies know that it won't let them down, the U.S. imperialists through their spokesmen, Ford and Kissinger, have desperately attempted to rally a last-ditch war effort by all sorts of publicity gimmicks.

One of these plots is the scheme to "save the South Vietnamese refugees from a communist blood bath." But the fact of the matter is

that the masses of people in the newly liberated areas welcome the National Liberation Front forces like a slave welcomes freedom.

The big fuss made about the evacuation and protection of American citizens is all a sham to provide cover for the movement of materiel and armed personnel into the area. The U.S. recently sent over 20 warships (including missile-carrying cruisers, destroyers, amphibious landing and supply ships) along with several thousand ready-to-fight marines swarming into the waters of South Vietnam. Also, the Ford-Kissinger team has begged Congress for nearly \$1,000 billion in military and economic aid for Saigon.

One might ask what is the logic of these schemes in the face of the fact that the U.S. has been driven out of Indochina, with its puppets following hard on its heels? It is nothing more than the gangster logic of the imperialist system. Hitler stated long ago: "If we cannot get the world, we will destroy it." The last-ditch attempts of Ford and Kissinger are just another example of the tactics that the U.S. has applied to destroy what it could not conquer time and time again.

During World War II the Red Army of the Soviet Union was at the gates of Prague, the capital of Czechoslovakia. The people of the city had forced most of Hitler's troops out. At that point, the U.S. Air Force suddenly attempted to level the city to the ground. The citizens were confused and could not understand why they were subjected to such raids. But these raids were not only made against the city but against the Skoda Works which were manufacturing arms. The intent of the U.S. was clearly to destroy the Skoda Works so that it could not be used by the people, thus displaying the true face of U.S. imperialism to the Czech people.

Shortly before the Armistice in Korea, the U.S., knowing full well that it could not win, knowing also that capitalism would not flourish

in North Korea, ordered the Air Force to destroy everything in North Korea. In the capital city of North Korea, Pyongyang, only the shell of one building was left standing. Again, the policy of the imperialists was: If we can't control it, then let's destroy it.

The same was true in China. The Chinese people were defeating Chiang Kai-shek when the U.S. decided that it could not stand to see a quarter of the world's population develop a better way of life under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. So they cast their weight behind the reactionary Chiang. But in spite of this, imperialism and its puppets could not hold on, and were kicked out of China. Again, the same methods were used. On their way out, they left a long trail of destruction and ruin behind them.

As the talk about "saving face" escalates, there is no doubt that Ford and Kissinger are making similar plans. As Henry Kissinger stated some time ago, when the South Vietnamese puppet army disintegrated, he was "angry at Thieu's forces because he ordered evacuation without making North Vietnam bleed." The imperialists never learn, but no matter what they do, the U.S. imperialists cannot stave off defeat. In the world today, it is the people, and the people alone, who have the final say.

The struggles of Vietnam and Cambodia, part of the rising tide of the Third World, are rich in lessons. They show that a small country, relying on its own strength, can defeat an imperialist superpower like the U.S.. The other superpower, the social-imperialist U.S.S.R., superficially supported the Vietnamese struggle, but in fact recognized that the victory of people's war in Indochina slaps their revisionist line of "peaceful transition" dead in the mouth. The U.S.S.R. has run around the world telling national liberation movements that "a spark can ignite a world conflagration." This slogan of theirs is an obvious attempt to frighten the national liberation movements out of waging wars of resistance and national liberation against imperialism in all its forms. It is also a vain attempt on their part!

In Cambodia, Soviet Social Imperialism let its anti-imperialist mask slip and showed its true face. Not only did it refuse to support the people's movement in Cambodia, led by the Royal Government of National Union, but it went so far as to provide the Lon Nol clique with material supplies and maintained diplomatic relations with this gang until March, 1975. Revolutionary people around the world will know how to draw the correct conclusion from these actions of the U.S.S.R.

THE VICTORY OF THE CAMBODIAN AND VIETNAMESE PEOPLES FURTHER DEMONSTRATES THAT WITH EACH PASSING DAY THE SITUATION IS BECOMING MORE FAVORABLE FOR THE WORLD'S PEOPLE, AND THAT THE IMPERIALISTS AND THEIR PUPPETS ARE NO MATCH FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE OF THE WORLD.



"NOTHING IS MORE PRECIOUS THAN INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM"

HO CHI MINH

TWO-LINE STRUGGLE IN THE B.W.C.

In February of 1974, the Black Workers Congress consolidated on the position that party building was the central task of communists in the U.S. Our organization still holds this to be the central task of all communists in this country. However, recent ideological struggles in the organization have determined that since our organization consolidated on this central task, we have held a "left" opportunist line on this question.

Among all genuine Marxist-Leninists there is agreement that the central task for communists is party building. What the new Communist Movement does not agree upon is how the central task is to be accomplished. How are we to bring into being the general staff of the proletariat; the organized detachment of the working class; the highest form of class organization of the proletariat; the instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat; how are we to construct the Party? That is the question that perplexes the new Communist Movement and that is the problem that caused the most intense two-line struggle in the history of the Black Workers Congress.

The two-line struggle in the BWC has been complicated by the fact that two erroneous lines on party building were contending with the correct Marxist-Leninist line. In the course of the two-line struggle, a right opportunist line was put forth by Mike Hamlin and the forces who grouped themselves around him. The "left" opportunist line was already the official line of the organization, and the proponents of this line grouped themselves around Donald Williams, the chief theoretical spokesman of "leftism".

"LEFT" MAIN DANGER

It was the "left" line that was determined to be the most dangerous line in the BWC. This "left" line on party building was indeed the most dangerous line in the organization because it was this line that guided the policies of the organization for over a year. It was this line that prevented the organization from winning the advanced, that kept us isolated from the class, that promoted sectarian attitudes towards other organizations in the new Communist Movement; that promoted dogmatism and subjectivism inside of the organization; and put forth sham rather than genuine Marxism at every turn.

Both, the proponents of the right line on party building as well as the proponents of the "left" line on party building grouped themselves into factions to put forth their erroneous views. Throughout the course of the two-line struggle, the Hamlin faction and the Williams faction constantly engaged in anti-organizational activity in a conscious effort to undermine the democratic centralism of the organization. Nonetheless, the proletarian line was able to gain hegemony in the organization and the right and "left" factions of

Hamlin and Williams have been ousted and purged from the organization. Both the right and "left" lines have been smashed and the proletarian line has come to the fore in the organization

As for the faction of Hamlin, who consciously styled themselves as "the revolutionary bloc" while inside of the organization, and flaunted the basic rules of a Leninist organization, the BWC sees the majority of these comrades as confused as to the science of Marxism-Leninism, especially its science of organization. However, these comrades are considered to be, still, a part of the new Communist Movement.

As for the majority of forces who grouped themselves around Donald Williams, we, as well, see these comrades as misguided by a lack of understanding of Marxism-Leninism and duped by the demogogy of D. Williams. However, D. Williams represents a special case and merits special attention.

The activities of this scoundrel, this opportunist, this liar, this thief, this sower of dissension and sectarianism in the organization, in the new Communist Movement and among the masses has occasioned every cadre in the organization to pose the question: "WHO IS DONALD WILLIAMS?" and "WHAT IS HIS THING?" We will speak, more extensively on these questions towards the end of this article.

TWO-LINE STRUGGLE

A two-line struggle on party building existed every since the organization consolidated on this central task. The struggle only reached an intense level after the break-up of a faction that existed in the organization's highest body.

The very first manifestation of this struggle dealt with the question of "bowing to spontaneity". The concept that the "leftists" put forth was that any engagement in the mass, spontaneous struggles of the workers or national minorities was "bowing to spontaneity,"

regardless of whether we gave those struggles a planned, conscious character or not. The "left" line prevailed and the organization, for all practical purposes, withdrew from all political activity except in one or two places.

The next manifestation of the two-line struggle was embodied in the inner-organizational struggles around the machinations of the "leftists" in their plans to participate in the Communist League's National Continuations Committee. Many comrades were hesitant and reluctant to embark upon this venture with CL. Many others outright disagreed with this move of the "leftists" in the leadership. We still had not summed up the errors which had caused our organization to tail the Revolutionary Union, and now we were about to embark upon a relationship with CL! Because bureaucratic centralism rather than democratic

centralism held sway in the organization, the "leftists" were once again able to overcome the objections of cadre in the organization and place us squarely in the camp of the CL. Not having understood the ideological essence of the error which caused us to tail the right line of the Revolutionary Union, it was a foregone conclusion that we would again commit errors of either a right or "left" character

CL's bankrupt line on the international situation and their out and out opportunist moves in the NCC were the dominant factors which forced the "leftists" to abandon the march with CL to their bankrupt party date in September of 1974. At this time, the "leftists" in the leadership began to exercise their own hegemonistic ambitions and for all intents and purposes saw the BWC as the only force that could bring the Party of a New Type into being.

However, at the same time, there was a break-up of the "left" faction that had existed in the organization's highest body. The "left" faction sundered into "left" and right factions, the faction of D. Williams and the faction of M. Hamlin. This is not an unusual happening. Marxism-Leninism teaches us that "lefts" are no more than rights turned inside out. All errors of Marxism-Leninism are, in essence, right errors. The break-up of the faction in the organization's highest body was the objective factor that allowed the struggle to break out with such intensity and allowed the proletarian line to assert itself.

DIALECTICS OF PARTY BUILDING

Party building is a reflection of the dialectical relationship between the objective and subjective factors. Thus, any attempt to build the party that does not put forth the correct dialectical relationship between the objective and subjective factors, between knowing and doing, is bound to descend into the bog of economism and bowing to spontaneity on the one hand, and dogmatism and sectarianism on the other.

Those who attempt to build the party recognizing only the theoretical tasks will end up making "left" errors, mainly manifesting themselves as sectarianism, dogmatism and isolation from the masses. Those who attempt to build the party, recognizing only the practical political tasks to the exclusion of the theoretical tasks, will end up making economist, reformist and other errors. Based upon our analysis of the new Communist Movement we state that opportunist errors to the right and to the "left" have dominated our Movement. The Marxist-Leninist line on party building has yet to assert itself in our Movement.

During the period in the BWC since we have held to the central task of party building, we have made "left" errors because of our

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MAY DAY - BORN IN

May 1st is the most important revolutionary holiday for workers around the world. In this country, the ruling class has done everything to make us believe that MAY DAY does not exist, that it is a "foreign holiday" with no relevance to workers in the United States. The ruling class has even re-named MAY DAY "Law and Order Day" and have attempted to get the working class to settle for a "Labor Day" in September. This attempt to discredit and hide MAY Day is part of the general attempt of the U.S. ruling class to keep Communist ideas away from the workers and to portray Marxism-Leninism, the ideology of the working class, as something "imported" into the U.S.

MAY DAY is an important part of the revolutionary heritage of American workers. On May first, 1886, the first general strike of workers in the U.S. took place. Hundreds of thousands of workers struck for the eight-hour day. Many of the workers who struck won the 8-hour day and many more won shorter working hours.

The response of the ruling class was swift. The center of the movement was Chicago. Three days after the general strike on May 4, 1886, a bomb was thrown at a group of policemen near the Haymarket in Chicago. Eight of the main leaders of the Chicago labor movement were framed for the bombing, tried, and sentenced to death at the gallows.

In 1890, the Second International (the world-wide federation of socialist parties led by Fredrick Engels), called for making May 1, a day of international general strike both to commemorate the American workers general strike and the Haymarket martyrs and to demonstrate their commitment to socialist revolution. Since 1890 MAY DAY has been the day when not only the immediate demands (shorter work day, increase wages, etc.) of the working class in particular countries are raised but primarily where broad class demands, international class solidarity and common revolutionary aims are emphasized and struggled for.

MAY DAY, 1917, was the day of the international general strike against World War I--a war between competing imperialist powers that caused the death of millions of workers and benefited only the capitalists. MAY DAY 1919 was met by huge demonstrations around the world in support of the Bolshevik revolution and calling for hands off the Soviet Union by the various imperialist powers. The 1919 demonstrations were an important mass event for the developing communist movement. Throughout the 1920's workers struck on MAY DAY in the U.S. for industrial unionism, in defense of the Soviet Union, and other demands. In 1931, MAY DAY in this country focused on the demand of freedom for the Scottsboro Boys (nine young black men falsely accused and jailed for supposedly raping two white women).

Throughout the history of May Day the forces of reaction, the capitalists and their politicians like Kennedy, Nixon and Ford, and bourgeois "labor leaders" like George Meany and Leonard Woodcock, have tried to crush MAY DAY. But workers have defended it. May 1, 1933, months after Hitler took power,

over 100,000 workers in Berlin, Germany, marched against the forces of fascism--the Nazis and Social Democrats. May 1, in fascist Spain has always been the day when the broadest illegal demonstrations, strikes and uprisings have taken place.

Even into the early 1950's, MAY DAY demonstrations took place in this country. But with the degeneration of the CPUSA in the late fifties, the demonstrations temporarily ceased. AN IMPORTANT TASK OF THE "NEW" COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AT THE PRESENT TIME MUST BE TO RESURRECT MAY DAY AS A REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' HOLIDAY IN THIS COUNTRY.

Since MAY DAY has often been a time when revolutionary goals, strategy and tasks have occupied center-stage, we think it is only appropriate that we examine critically the movement for the 8-hour day, particularly in Chicago and at International Harvester. In particular we want to focus on the question of the relation between party-building and the development of the workers' movement.

THE EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT IN CHICAGO AND AT INTERNATIONAL HARVESTER

The McCormick Harvesting Company--one of the many names for the International Harvester monopoly engineered by J.P. Morgan--was founded by Cyrus Hall McCormick. Until recently, he was considered the sole inventor of the reaper. However, it was discovered that it was co-invented by one of "his" Black slaves. In 1847, Cyrus set up the McCormick Works in Chicago with 23 employees. By 1869, almost 1000 workers were employed. At that time, the only stable union was the city-wide Local #23 of the National Union of Iron Molders, made up of mostly foundry workers accounting for only 10% of the workforce.

On May 1, 1867, Local #23 led a demonstration of over 10,000 workers through downtown Chicago in what was probably the first MAY DAY demonstration in the country. After May 1, strikes for the 8-hour day continued throughout the city. Most were lost. The most solid and successful front of the 8-hour struggle was at McCormick where workers WALKED OUT EVERYDAY AT THE END OF 8 HOURS. After a number of days, the company finally agreed, as a compromise, to give a ten percent wage increase in return for a full 10-hour shift (See: Robert Ozanne-"A Century of Labor-Management Relations at McCormick and International Harvester", p.6).

During the 1880's, the highest point of the workers' struggle was the fight for the 8-hour day. Virtually all workers and organizations were involved in this struggle. Karl Marx considered the fight for the shorter work day as one of the most important of trade union issues, the one which the capitalists would resist most stubbornly. The reason for the strong opposition of the capitalists was clear. It cut more strongly into their profits than any other demand at the time. A simple wage increase still allowed the capitalists the same amount of time to exploit the workers. To compensate for a wage increase (even of 15% or 20%), they would raise the rate of exploitation; i.e., the wages paid to the workers would be smaller than the value the

capitalists received from the workers labor. The capitalists use this same principle to combat today's wage increases as well.

The shortening of the workday would eliminate a whole portion of the time the capitalists could exploit the workers and make huge profits. A struggle to shorten the working day unlike local struggles for a simple wage increase or to better this or that working condition, required national organization of the whole class in militant struggle against the whole capitalist class.

May 1, 1886, was the first general strike of U.S. industrial workers and marked the beginning of a national workers' movement in industry. Approximately 350,000 workers struck nationally. 80,000 workers and their families marched in Chicago.

Yet despite the strength and mass support of the Chicago labor movement, within the year after the May 1, strike, the movement was temporarily defeated by the capitalists offensive. Many of the wage increases, working conditions and the 8-hour day were lost. This was due in part to the influence of anarchist and syndicalist ideas among a significant section of the workers. Anarchists worship the spontaneous struggle, deny the need for a revolutionary party of the working class and even strong trade union organizations. These same anarchist views helped in the defeat of the workers in the Paris Commune in 1871--the first proletarian revolution. Syndicalists preach that the trade unions alone are enough to make revolution and they too deny the need for a revolutionary party of the proletariat guided by the revolutionary ideology of Marxism-Leninism. An additional weakness, as William Z. Foster states, was the corrupt leadership of the A.F. of L. (formerly the Knights of Labor). Foster states:

"Its concentration upon the skilled workers finally developed into a direct betrayal of the unskilled and the foreign-born. Its obvious white chauvinism was a callous sell-out of the Negro people from the start. Its opposition to independent political action grew into a surrender to the fatal two-party system of the capitalists..." (Foster-History of the CPUSA" p.73)

THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PARTY

Today, the mass struggle of the working class is growing. Even more important, many workers in the U.S. are realizing that their struggle must be directed against the capitalist system. The question of developing a revolutionary workers' movement led by a genuine Marxist-Leninist party is now being transformed into a question of urgent political importance.

Summing up the workers' struggles of the past, we have learned that the workers' movement does not spontaneously become conscious; if correct strategy and tactics do not exist, the workers' struggle, no matter how militant, either stays in the middle of the road or fails. Therefore, the fusing of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete struggle of the workers' movement and the building of a revolutionary Communist Party, based on Marxism-Leninism and inseparably connected to the mass movement, is our central task.

CLASS STRUGGLE

On the other hand, communists and advanced workers must avoid the errors of "left" sectarianism. The error of "left" sectarianism leads one to forget about actual conditions and the consciousness of the workers; the actual tempo in which the masses are becoming radicalized. Additionally, "left" sectarianism minimizes the importance of engaging in POLITICAL WORK, thinking that workers can be won to communism solely by being "preached" to. Lenin said that Marxist-Leninist theory assumes final shape only in close connection with a truly mass, and truly revolutionary movement.

Hence, a clear line of demarcation must be drawn within the mass movement between Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists, union bureau-

crats, the Trotskites and others. This must be done, not only through the pages of the Communist press, but also, it must be done by counterposing the Marxist-Leninist stand viewpoint, and method to the opportunist approach in political practice.

The Communist movement must put forth a revolutionary program of struggle which connects all the immediate issues of the class with the immediate task of building a revolutionary party of the working class and with the long-range struggle for socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In party-building, ideological and political line is central. And a party deserving of the name--

Communist Party--cannot be built without the conscious support of at least the mass of advanced workers. As the struggle on the ideological and political front deepens, more and more advanced workers come to the fore, and based upon the lessons learned in this struggle, they will gain a deeper understanding of revisionism and opportunism and the need for a new party. Like a phoenix, the new party emerges in struggle out of the ashes of the old. In the struggle to build a party, the lessons of MAY DAY and the struggle of the working class (and in particular the struggle of Harvester workers) during the past century will provide important material for charting our course correctly.

We must make an apology to our spanish speaking comrades for not having a spanish section in this issue. It was impossible due to financial difficulties. The next issue of "The Communist" will include the editorial and key articles from this issue, reprinted in spanish.

MARX AND LENIN

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theory, there can be no revolutionary movement". Lenin also waged a struggle against the various "left" opportunists like the Narodnik petty-bourgeois socialists, the anarcho-syndicalists and Trotskyists who negated the role of and importance of objective conditions and based everything on "pure" will alone.

Throughout his life Lenin combined a determined and fearless struggle against oppression and exploitation with a resolute struggle against all forms of opportunism within the workers' movement. It was Lenin who first said that "the struggle against imperialism is a sham and a humbug if it is not connected to the struggle against opportunism." It was Lenin who first exposed the growth of opportunism in the working class movement was connected with the development of imperialism, which enables the capitalists to bribe a small sector of the working class (the labor aristocracy) with crumbs of the profits extracted from the super-exploitation of the masses in the colonies and semi-colonial countries.

Under Lenin and the Bolshevik leadership, the workers and peasants of Russia overthrew capitalism in 1917. Lenin became the founder of the first socialist state despite the frantic attempts of the combined army of England, France, the United States and others to destroy it. After the victory of the October Revolution, The renegades Kautsky and Bernstein tried to discredit Lenin and the socialist revolution in Russia, by saying that what existed in Russia under the Bolsheviks was "Tatar Socialism" and "Asiatic socialism". But the Bolshevik revolution triumphed and socialism was consolidated despite the treachery and demagogy of the revisionists of the Second International. In 1919, Lenin and the

Bolsheviks created a new, revolutionary International--The Third International or the Comintern. The Comintern helped the development of new Communist Parties, which had broken away from the revisionist ones. They developed a revolutionary program designed to forge the unbreakable unity between the proletariat of the capitalist countries and the oppressed and exploited masses in the colonies. After Lenin's death in 1924, J.V. Stalin defended the revolutionary doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and continued the building of socialism in the USSR.

After Stalin's death in 1954, a new group of modern revisionists led by Khrushchev took power and turned the Soviet Union from a socialist country to one which is "socialist" in words only and imperialist in deeds. The People's Republic of China and Albania refuse to buckle under to the modern revisionists, and call on all revolutionary Marxist-Leninists to break away from revisionism and defend the revolutionary teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung.

The modern revisionists have revived the opportunist teachings of Kautsky and Bernstein about "a peaceful road to socialism", the "dying out of the class struggle", the transformation of the Communist Party of the proletariat into a "party of the whole people".

They have discarded the laws of dialectical and historical materialism. Lenin's teachings and work are all the more relevant under present day conditions in which opportunism once again has split the working class, and new Marxist-Leninist parties are being formed to replace the treacherous revisionist ones. Today the proletariat revolution cannot be successful without a determined struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism. The proletarian revolution cannot be

successful without the complete isolation and defeat of the various revisionist "Communist" parties like the "Communist" Party USA who seek to betray the workers' struggle. Proletarian revolution cannot be successful without the determined support of the workers in the oppressor countries for the just struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples of the colonies.

The revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism belong to the masses of the people. The revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism are alive and being implemented in People's China and Albania; they cannot be destroyed by the guns and violence of the imperialists, nor the demagogy and treachery of the revisionist and opportunists.

LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT OF MARXISM - LENINISM
BUILD THE NEW MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY!



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absolutizing of the theoretical aspects of party building, the subjective factor. In absolutizing the theoretical aspects of party building, we do not mean to say that the quality of this work was high or that the quantity was sufficient. In essence, even this aspect of party building was belittled because once theory is separated from practice neither one can be correctly grasped in a M-L manner. Theoretical work isolated from, and not based on revolutionary practice, is no theoretical work at all. The correct approach is to link the theoretical and political tasks of party building in their dialectical relation, seeing the theoretical and ideological tasks as primary but not at all neglecting the practical, political tasks that flow from the requirements of party building.

The various currents that emerged in the BWC must be measured by the analysis put forth in the above paragraph. In the struggle against the "left" line, a number of forces coalesced for a time in this struggle. However, as the struggle for clarity developed, and as the Marxist-Leninist line began to come to the fore, it was clear that differences existed among those who understood the "left" to be the main danger in the organization. These differences only emerged clearly when the right faction under the leadership of Mike Hamlin began to put forth their view of party building.

Although the rights wrote many polemical papers dealing with the two-line struggle, not one of them dealt with the question of party building. Their papers were directed to the personality of D. Williams, to the line of conciliation, to phenomenal aspects of the "left" line in the organization but none of them addressed themselves to the question of party building. It was only much later that the rightism of the Hamlin faction began to manifest itself. The approach of these comrades was an empiricist approach and a pragmatist approach. As the Chinese comrades state:

"Empiricism is a manifestation of subjectivism and formalism. Ideologically, it runs counter to the fundamental principles of dialectical and historical materialism. This is the ideological root cause why empiricists often blindly follow "left" or right opportunists." Peking Review, #43, 1972.

This is certainly the case with our rights. They were firmly in the camp of the "lefts" at one time and played a major role in consolidation of the organization on the "left" line and as quickly lined up squarely behind a right line whose essence was pragmatism and empiricism.

The rights refused to apply themselves to the task of apprehending the ideological essence of the "left" line. They contented themselves with a simple statement that there was a divorce of theory from practice. Of course, all theoretical errors of Marxism-Leninism come as a result of the divorce of theory from practice but one has to go further and show why the breach between theory and practice occurs. The rights were

certainly not interested in this at all, not interested in doing the rigorous work necessary in uncovering the deepest reasons for the development of the "left" line; and thought that all would be well once the main perpetrators were dealt with by expulsion from the organization. They called for organizational penalties against individuals rather than calling for the uprooting of the "left" opportunist line in the organization. They saw the question of opportunism in a very abstract way and not related to the central task of communists. The rights saw themselves fighting against opportunism but could not relate this to the opportunism of the "lefts" on the central task of party building because they never addressed themselves to the stance of the "left" on the central task of party building.

It was difficult for a time to discern the outlines of the posture of the rights on the question of party building but through a number of debates as well as inferences drawn from some of their papers, it is clear that they put forth organization as key, rather than seeing the ideological question as the key question in regards to party building. They make organization the key question by saying that factory nuclei are the key link in party building. This presupposes that the ideological and theoretical questions relating to party building have been resolved. The rights also called for the liquidation of the Central Organ of the organization as well as liquidation of the National Center of the organization.

UNITY OF "LEFTS" AND RIGHTS

The unity of the "lefts" and rights was clearly shown on the organizational questions that came to the fore in the two-line struggle. Both the "lefts" and the rights united to oppose democratic centralism. They both formed factions and engaged in anti-organizational activity. They remained loyal to their groupings throughout the two-line struggle. On all of the anti-organizational activity that existed in the organization, the rights and "lefts" managed to "find each other" as Stalin would say. Objectively, the rights and the "lefts" formed an anti-organizational bloc inside of the BWC.

Early in the two-line struggle, the rights formed themselves into a faction and styled themselves as the "revolutionary bloc". These comrades refused to give up their groupist activity and when they were ordered to do so, they preferred to resign from the organization rather than submit to the will of the majority. This faction was led principally by Mike Hamlin, and was the minor danger that arose in the course of the two-line struggle. The main danger in the BWC is "left" opportunism and the struggle against this danger has been consistent and resolute to the point where this trend is being defeated in the organization.

The "left" line in the organization made a direct assault upon the science of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought in that it substituted metaphysics for dialectics in its attempt to study the phenomena of social development. This is the philosophical

error made that led to the theoretical error of subjectivism and one-sidedness. This narrow bourgeois and petit bourgeois point of view caused and led, in turn, to the absolutizing of the subjective factor (theory) and caused the "lefts" to dogmatically approach the science of Marxism-Leninism as static and fossilized rather than as a developing science. Consequently, they were unable to advance the organization one bit while they were in the leadership. Our "leftists" blamed all of the faults of the organization on the cadres and brought forth the point of view that "organization was key". If we couldn't recruit any advanced workers it was not because the line of the organization was incorrect but because our individual work style and our "amateurishness" were at fault. If we had no connection with the broad masses, the cause was not the line but the cause lay with the cadre who had not organized themselves correctly, or had not organized their districts correctly. It was everything but the line that was at the heart of our failure to make advances as an organization.

IDEOLOGICAL ERRORS OF "LEFTISM" IN BWC

In the course of the two-line struggle, our "leftist" have buried us under tons and tons of paper and verbiage but nowhere in this mountain of quotes and paper do these comrades deal with the concrete reality of the BWC. Further they have constantly distorted the history and development of the organization. The "leftists" have promoted the "theory of cadres" in the organization. As this theory goes; we have to get ourselves together theoretically before we can undertake any political work. To involve ourselves in any practical, political work is "bowing to spontaneity" and economism. Comrades in the Communist Movement can attest to the absence of any BWC cadre in any political work except in one or two cities. Our "leftists" have conveniently defined theoretical work as political work so they have combined "two into one", a thoroughly opportunist concept. This concept of "combining two into one," merging contradictions is counter to dialectics and has been used historically by a number of counter-revolutionary forces to refute the concepts of scientific socialism. It was used by Proudhon, by Duhring, by Kautsky, by Debordin, by Bukharin, by Khrushchev and by Liu Shao-chi. D. Williams is the latest to bring forth the reactionary concept of "combine two into one" to substantiate his revisionist theories.

Organizationally, the "left" line manifested itself as sectarianism. There was the inner-organizational sectarianism towards the rank and file cadre and the lower units. Cadre were subjected to commandist and authoritarian postures from the leadership. There was no participation by cadre in the development of line. Line was developed from the subjective wishes of the "leftists" and cadre existed as robots to carry out the line without questioning it in any way. Bureaucratic centralism was the dominant error in relation to de-

mocratic centralism. D. Williams' point of view was that centralism was absolute and democracy was relative and went out of existence altogether when execution of a directive from the leading bodies was handed down.

Democratic centralism had no place in the plans of our "leftists" and whomever raised the question of democracy was branded as a "petty bourgeois democrat".

Aside from the inner-organizational sectarianism, there was the sectarianism towards the masses. Under the "left" opportunist line the BWC made unprincipled attacks upon almost every organization in the new Communist Movement.

Donald Williams used open platforms in the Movement to attack, in a personal manner, leaders of these organizations to further his own careerist ambitions. Political criticisms are one thing, but unprincipled, personal attacks are quite another and D. Williams was fond of the latter. D. Williams is fond of posturing at forums and other gatherings of Marxist-Leninists, fond of his ability to quote-monger and distort the classics of Marxism-Leninism.

D. Williams' sectarianism towards the masses is also well known. He has been known, at a forum, to read pamphlets, word for word and page for page for four (4) hours. A gathering of over 300 people came to hear a presentation by the BWC on the national question and before he finished reading the pamphlet there were less than 100 people there.

As this is just the first installment of our exposition on the two-line struggle, we have only presented the very broad outlines of this struggle. More of the struggle will be taken up in forthcoming issues. As to the main proponent of the "left" line in the organization, Donald Williams, we feel that we have a special obligation to the new Communist Movement to put forth our view on this person.

As stated, an examination of the personal and political history of D. Williams has provoked the question from cadre inside of the organization as well as Communists outside of the organization: "WHO IS DONALD WILLIAMS?" and "WHAT IS HIS THING?" We in the BWC do know this much. The BWC is the first political organization that this individual has belonged to. He has inspired violent hatred in a number of cadre and has been driven from his post in several districts by the enmity that he

has created among cadre. He is a liar and has accused a leading cadre of being a police agent and when asked to substantiate this, could not, and lied that other cadre had told him of this. He is a thief and stole the organization's newspaper equipment when suspended from the organization. He is a demagogue of the worst sort, using all sorts of unprincipled means in the course of "ideological" struggle. All of this is aside from the monstrous distortions that he has made of the science of Marxism-Leninism. He has brought forth metaphysical materialism, subjectivism, idealism, dogmatism, narrowness and sectarianism inside of the BWC and when he was exposed attempted to split the organization. On his part it has been a process of self-exposure and on our part a process of getting to know him. The masses might put it this way. "He wore a mighty long coat but we have spied his ass at last." Perhaps Harry Haywood said it best of all in a quote from his letter of resignation to the POC, in reference to Armando Secretary of the POC:

"There are, as we see it, only two possible characterizations to make of the man. He is either a power-mad, unprincipled schemer and conniver with a left-liquidationist line - or a conscious agent provocateur. In either case, he is a thoroughly dishonest individual who merits no confidence whatsoever, either personally or politically. Many of his followers are honest Communists who have been taken in by an incorrect line."

Statement On The Political Line of the POC

TO BE CONTINUED

TO ALL FRIENDS AND SUBSCRIBERS:

At the present time the BWC is embarking on a fund raising drive in order to rebuild and further strengthen our newspaper. Since the left faction under the leadership of Donald Williams, has stolen the bulk of our equipment and supplies, we are forced to turn to you--the masses to aid us in replacing them. Why not become a sustaining supporter of the "The Communist" by contributing at least \$5 monthly. If you

or a group of your friends and contacts can donate a larger amount, then it would help us even more.

If you can't contribute money then how about donating some equipment. We're looking for a composer, copying machines, typewriters (both electric and manual) and any other materials and equipment you think we can use.

We feel that the "The Communist" has a vital role to play in the effort to give leadership to the struggles of the masses, win over the advanced and build the new Communist Party. If you agree then send us a donation. Contributions (in both cash and kind) may be made by writing: Black Workers Freedom Convention, P.O. Box 38096, Detroit Michigan 48238.

Over the last four months many of you have written to us requesting newspaper and pamphlet subscriptions. Some of you have also written requesting information concerning the BWC and our activities. Still further, many of you have sent us data for articles, political news, and money to pay for literature. We must make a self-criticism for our failure to respond to all your correspondence, or to fulfill all of your subscriptions during this period. This error is in the process of being rectified. You will be hearing from us shortly.

All previously paid newspaper subscriptions will be extended for two months beyond the normal expiration dates due to the fact that no December or February issues were printed.

Both the "Party Building Study Program" and the pamphlet on ALSC have been advertised in this paper. Neither of these documents however, will be published at this time. Money sent to pay for these pamphlets may be applied to the purchase of future BWC materials or a refund may be obtained by writing the BWC.

Finally we would like to inform you that the name of the organization is in the process of being changed to reflect its' multi-national character. Hence the next issue of the paper which you will receive will be put out under the organization's new name.

Once again we apologize for the inconvenience and thank you for bearing with us.

BWC

"IDEALISM AND MECHANICAL MATERIALISM, OPPORTUNISM AND ADVENTURISM, ARE ALL CHARACTERIZED BY THE BREACH BETWEEN THE SUBJECTIVE AND THE OBJECTIVE, BY THE SEPARATION OF KNOWLEDGE FROM PRACTICE. THE MARXIST-LENINIST THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE, CHARACTERIZED AS IT IS BY SCIENTIFIC SOCIAL PRACTICE, CANNOT BUT RESOLUTELY OPPOSE THESE WRONG IDEOLOGIES."

MAO TSE-TUNG

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MARX AND LENIN: OUR GREAT TEACHERS

The Black Workers Congress is presenting this article in commemoration of the 157th. anniversary of the birth of Karl Marx (May 5, 1818), and the 105th. anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin (April 22, 1870).

The birthdates of the great teachers of the proletariat --- Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung --- are a clarion call to all communists and revolutionaries to uphold the revolutionary teachings of Marxism-Leninism-Mao-Tsetung-Thought; to learn from it constantly; and to integrate these teachings with the revolutionary struggles of one's own country.

Marx began his revolutionary activity while still a student of philosophy and law at Berlin University. There he met Friedrich Engels, also a student of philosophy. At the time both followed the views of the "left hegelians," a group which was developing in Germany, and which sought to use the dialectical philosophy of Hegel to criticize religion and political reaction.

After making a thorough study of Hegel's ideas, Marx criticized the idealism of hegelian dialectics, and began to apply the dialectical method in a materialist manner. Marx and Engels' break with Hegel and "left hegelianism" was marked by their books The Holy Family (1844) and The German Ideology (written in 1846). Between the years 1843-46 Marx and Engels studied the ideas of the German materialist philosopher, Ludwig Feurbach. But after critical examination, they were able to reveal that Feurbach's materialism was not consistent. Feurbach negated social development and man's role in changing the world. Through this criticism of existing philosophies, Marx laid the basis for revolutionary dialectical and historical materialism. That is to say for a science studying the laws of development of both nature and of human society.

The founders of Marxism --- Marx and Engels --- proved that the fundamental cause of the development of a thing was not the contradictions in concepts themselves, as Hegel taught, or "external forces" as the early materialists held, but the contradictions, the "struggle and unity of opposites" existing within all things in the material world.

In society, the moving force of social development is the class struggle --- the struggle waged by the exploited against their exploiters. Basing themselves on the historical experience of revolutions and participating in the class struggle of their time, Marx and Engels proved that the proletariat (working class) which is brought forth by the development of capitalist industry would be the grave-digger of the capitalist system. The proletariat,

Marx taught was the most revolutionary class in the history of mankind because it could only win its own freedom by freeing all mankind, by ending all forms of exploitation and oppression.

Marx showed that while capitalism had been historically progressive, it had outlived its usefulness and had become incompatible with the further development of society. Capitalism can be swept away and socialism established only if the proletariat, the most consistently revolutionary class, seizes state power and establishes its own rule over the former exploiters --- the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Marx uncovered the secret of how capitalists exploit the working class. Since the capitalists own all the means of producing wealth, the workers, who own nothing but their own ability to work, must sell this ability (called labor power) to the capitalist in return for wages. The worker's wage is just enough to keep him and his family going, and in just a few hours he can produce enough to replace the value of his wage. But the capitalist insists that he go on working for hours longer. This is unpaid labor, and the value created by it is the source of capitalist profit. Marx called his discovery the theory of surplus value.

Marx and Engels turned socialism from a utopian concept into a science. The Utopian socialists like Robert Owen and Fourier, sympathized with the proletariat and the "poor", but could not explain the causes of poverty and oppression. Marx and Engels saw in the working class, not only an exploited class, but also a revolutionary force---the supreme revolutionary force in whose hands the future of all society lay. The basic aims and views of the proletariat were laid down by Marx and Engels in "The Communist Manifesto" where they state.

"The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the Ruling class tremble at a Communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

"Workingmen of all countries, unite!" ("Communist Manifesto" Int'l. Pub. ed., 1948, p.44)

Though a member of the bourgeois intelligentsia by birth, Marx devoted his entire life to revolutionary activity and went over entirely to the side of the proletariat. He became its first leader, the organizer of the first Commun-

ist Party (the Communist League in 1847-1851) and the First International--the International Workingmen's Association (1864-1873), and was the first to establish the revolutionary world-outlook of the proletariat--dialectical and historical materialism. Marx (and Engels) proved the inevitability of socialism and proletarian revolution by providing us with a strictly scientific basis for its historic necessity. They proved and foretold of the inevitable downfall of capitalism and the bourgeoisie, and the equally inevitable victory of socialism and the proletariat.

V.I. LENIN

Lenin was the genius who succeeded Marx and Engels. He continued and further developed their teachings in the epoch where capitalism was developed into imperialism. As Stalin pointed out:

"Leninism is Marxism of the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. To be more exact, Leninism is the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactics of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular." (Foundations of Leninism-J.V. Stalin' Peking ed., p.2)

Lenin was born in Simbirsk, Russia in 1870. Like Marx, he began his revolutionary activity while still a student at Kazan University. At the age of 25, while living in St. Petersburg, Lenin united all the Marxist groups into a single organization--the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class. Lenin's organization became the first to link scientific socialism with the economic struggles of the workers.

"The importance of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class consisted in the fact that, as Lenin said, it was the first real rudiment of a revolutionary party which was backed by the working-class movement." (His. of the CPSU, p. 18)

In the struggle to build a Marxist revolutionary party in Russia Lenin discovered the ideological roots of opportunism which consisted in advocating economism and spontaneity in the workers' movement. In "What Is To Be Done" and other articles Lenin argued for the necessity and importance of revolutionary theory and the party of the proletariat, pointing out, "...that without a revolutionary

(Continued on page 5)