

MAJORITY POSITION

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. In the US today, the CPUSA—the direct agent of modern revisionism in ~~this~~ this country—is thriving mightily to bring the growing spontaneous workers movement under its opportunist banner. And as the crisis of imperialism deepens, the struggle between revolution and counter revolution in the labor movement will sharpen just as it has in Chile, Portugal, etc. Only the masses can decide this issue—and they will decide it in favor of revolution only if they are lead and organized by a PL party.

6. Thus we are passing through an extremely important moment in the history of the US working class movement and the US communist movement. The past few years have been marked by an astonishingly rapid spread of communist ideas among intellectuals, students, class conscious workers, and meeting this trend in social ideas there is also a process of transition beginning in the struggles of the working class, a transition from purely economic struggles to struggles of an increased political character.

The merger of these two movements is historically inevitable for we live in the epoch of proletarian revolution. The leading factor in this process is the subjective factor which today lags far behind the developing objective conditions.

7. The principal feature of the present period however is not that the subjective factor is lagging behind the developing objective factor for this will be the case up until the seizure of state power by the proletariat—the present period, on the contrary, is mainly characterized by the disunity and ideological confusion within the communist movement itself. THE ISSUE OF MARXISM VS. REVISIONISM HAS NOT YET BEEN RESOLVED WITHIN THE VANGUARD OF THE PROLETARIAT—and as a result, we are still without a revolutionary party.

8. Conditioning this struggle within the communist movement is American pragmatism which is a form of bourgeois ideology which has historically characterized the US communist movement. Also, is the historic failure of the US communists to adequately take up the struggle against opportunism. In fact it was the secretary of the CPUSA, Earl Browder, who preceded Tito and Khrushchev in issuing the call to modern revisionism in the 1940s. This counter-revolutionary tradition of pragmatism and opportunism weighs heavily on the present day communist movement as is reflected to some degree by every new communist organization. For this reason the BWC and other organizations have stressed that this party building period must be characterized by a sharp theoretical struggle against all shades of opportunism, emphasizing that "before we unite and in order to unite we must draw firm and definite lines of demarcation" between Marxism and revisionism.

THE TWO LINE STRUGGLE IN THE EWC

1. The theoretical struggle against opportunism must be sharpened and deepened throughout the communist movement, between the various communist organizations and within them. Our slogan must be "political line is key!"

2. Recently in the EWC, particularly in the first four issues of *The Communist*, an opportunist tendency to belittle the theoretical struggle has begun to consolidate itself into a definite political line. Advancing under the slogan "organization is key" this line has raised the secondary aspect of the present period - the spontaneous growth of the working class movement without conscious leadership - as the primary aspect, holding that:

"The tasks of Communists is to fight for the leadership of the struggle, for the hegemony of the proletariat in the united front, while continuing to wage an unremitting struggle for the Marxist Leninist line and the building of a revolutionary proletarian Party. Communists must begin to give bold leadership to the most important struggles of the class, and inspire and win over the masses in the course of their daily struggle against capitalism...making every factory a Volshhevik fortress, with a strong communist presence. We must step up our recruitment.... None of these tasks can be fulfilled however unless a struggle against opportunism in all its forms is conducted. The fight against amateurishness, narrow pragmatism, economism, and petty bourgeois methods of work, especially in the EWC, must be stepped up--organization is key! (issue 2, communist, page 9)

3. This is an opportunist line. The primary aspect of the present period is the ideological unclarity and disunity within the communist movement. The key task of communists in this period is to sharpen the struggle of Marxism vs Revisionism in order to draw lines of demarcation. When these lines have been drawn-when the communist movement has been ideologically united, then we can raise the slogan "organization is key" in the whole communist movement.

The leading factor in determining when to raise such a slogan is, once again, the state of development of the subjective factor-the vanguard-. The continued growth of the workers movement simply makes the struggle to unite that much more urgent; but it is incorrect to raise as primary the need to give the spontaneous movement a conscious character when the communist movement is itself principally characterized by unconsciousness.

4. With regard to the development of the EWC, the same line-org. is key-has been raised in 2 of the papers from the Secretariat. Holding that the main problem in the organization is "the lagging of the organization and practical work behind the requirements of the political line" papers 3 & 4 conclude that the organization is capable of accomplishing the task of consolidating the whole communist movement if only comrades, especially in leadership, would exert themselves. The right opportunist tendency to underestimate the EWCs capability in this regard is held to be the main danger in the organization. By reviewing the state of our line, we can determine what our capabilities are at this time.

5. State of our line-- The theoretical task of developing a correct line involves first of all, the determination of the correct Marxist Leninist presentation of the question, based on the classics, the international experience of the proletariat. Here the organization has a basically strong ML theoretical presentation on the Black national question and the rudiments of one on party building. But there are also holes in our line, such as our line on the united front against ~~imperialism~~ imperialism and bribery. A second theoretical task is to apply the correct ML presentation of the question to the concrete conditions of our revolutionary situation. This takes the form of a party programme. For instance, from the ML presentation on the question of the united front, it is necessary to do a complete class analysis of US society. This is primarily a theoretical task and one that the IWC has stated is necessary to be completed. Likewise, a thorough investigation of the Black Belt, the history of the CPUSA, etc. must be done. These uncompleted theoretical tasks are the source of the inadequacy of our line and their completion will be key to moving the entire organization forward and the whole communist movement forward towards the party. However, to move forward on a line which is inadequate to achieve our central task will not lead us to smashing revisionism, but will surely direct us into the swamp.

In addition to the uncompleted theoretical tasks and holes in our stated line are what appear to be inconsistencies and unclarity. For instance, in the documents of the organization at least three different factors have been put forward as the leading aspect of party building: Marxist Leninist unite, then grasp Marxist Leninism, then dig deep roots in the class. Then changing the key aspect of party building each time, there was never a summation of why the former key task was incorrect, etc. This is just one example of the type of unclarity that is contained in our line. To move forward on the basis of an unclear and inconsistent line is to move toward opportunism.

6. The strength of the IWC since Feb. 1974 has mainly rested in the fact that we recognized our political unclarity, identified its source, and set for ourselves the central task of party building. The line which holds that Organization is Key strikes at the heart of the IWCs main strength and seeks to turn things on their head. Anarism and primitiveness are directly related to the state of development of the organizations political line. The task of uniting the communist movement will fall within the scope of our capacity capability when our line is equal to that task and not before.

7. The line which holds that organization is key is an ultra left line and poses as the main obstacle to development at this time. It overestimates the role of the subjective, belittles the theoretical struggle and skips the stage of drawing firm lines of demarcation. It fails to grasp the key role that cadre must play in deciding the issue of ML vs revisionism in the org.

8. This line must be defeated on the basis of a broad ideological struggle. In this regards, we unite with papers 1 & 2 in calling for the unfolding of such a struggle with the understanding that we must seek truth from facts and draw firm lines of demarcation.