



BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION

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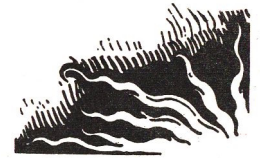
December, 1979

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

OIL KINDLES FLAMES OF WAR

The crisis in Iran is revealing how extensive are the preparations being made for imperialist war, and how imminent is the danger of such a war. The provocations of the reactionary Ayatollah Khomeini are providing the U.S. imperialists with precisely the excuse they seek — the seizure of the hostages (Marines, CIA agents, and US embassy staff, all in Iran to serve U.S. interests) is permitting the U.S. imperialists to play the part of a “victim”. Thus, at one stroke, the U.S. bourgeoisie — the butcher of the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea, the supporters of the Shah who killed at least 60,000 Iranians and tortured thousands more, the U.S. bourgeoisie that dropped the atom bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing hundreds of thousands of people and poisoning by radiation the future generations — this bourgeoisie that plunders and enslaves peoples worldwide is transformed into an “innocent victim of aggression” because 50 of its mercenaries are being held hostage. So campaigns are organized to send torrents of Christmas cards to “cheer up the hostages”. What is an appropriate message to send to a CIA operative who has trained the torturers of SAVAK, the Iranian secret police?

The U.S. bourgeoisie no longer tries to hide the fact that many of the hostages are spies — they say, “All embassies are nests of spies,” as was done on the program “20/20” on December 13. They say in effect, so what! The U.S. does it, the Russians do it, every country uses its embassies as a cover for intelligence activity. What is not admitted is the purpose and activities of these agents of imperialism, who, in addition



to torture and assassination, seek to infiltrate and subvert the workers movement, to crush any genuinely revolutionary movements that arise, to use blackmail, bribery, drugs and chemical warfare, in short, any means to preserve imperialism’s ability to plunder and dominate the colonies and semi-colonies. The labor aristocrats have, as usual come to the forefront to defend imperialism. L. Kirkland, new head of the AFL-CIO has initiated a petition campaign to “save the hostages.”

OIL AND WAR (cont. p. 8)

PUERTO RICO

Terrorism In The Service Of Imperialism

Monday, Dec. 3rd., news flashed of terrorist attacks on a naval bus in Sabana Seca, Puerto Rico, filling the daily newspaper, radio and television broadcasts, with a tremendous wave of hysteria.

These terrorist activities of people who claim to be fighting for Puerto Rican independence are nothing new.

In fact this activity is now increasing. The U.S. government is utilizing these activities to further their “great” power chauvinism (whipped up tremendously already, i.e., around the issue of hostages in Iran) and to strengthen their grip over Puerto Rico, one of its oldest colonies.

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POPE PROFIT THE 264th



The Vatican, though the smallest state in the world, is an international financial giant, a full participant in the plunder and exploitation of the proletariat and oppressed nations of the world by imperialism. As the bourgeoisie world-wide moans evermore loudly about its crisis, therefore, it is not surprising to hear a chorus coming from the throne of St. Peter. This was the case when – despite its assets of \$44 billion in real estate alone, its major holdings in such capitalist enterprises as IBM, TWA, Gulf Oil, Shell Oil, General Electric, GM and Bethlehem (!) Steel, its close ties to international finance capital through the Rothschilds, *crédit suisse*, Chase Manhattan Bank, Bankers Trust Co., Citibank and Morgan Bank, not to mention its horde of gold, silver, gems and works of art officially classified as “priceless” (i.e., the monetary worth of which is so outrageous it must be kept secret) – the Vatican’s financial difficulties were the subject of a special conference of cardinals convened by Pope John Paul II, the 264th pope, in November, 1979.

The difficulties as explained by one of the executives of the Holy See, consist of the fact that the Vatican ran up a budget deficit of \$15 million this year, and expects it to reach \$19 million in 1980. This is the result of the severe economic crisis gripping the entire capitalist system of which the Catholic Church, whose net worth is in the hundreds of billions, if not trillions of dollars, is an integral part. But there is more to this conference than the reciting of these hefty red figures. *The New York Times* reported, “. . . the cardinals received information only about the Patrimony of the Apostolic See [the origin of which was a \$190 million “gift” from Mussolini – ed.] which is responsible for the operating costs of the Curia. The sources said that still not opened to the cardinals were the books of three other major financial organizations – The Institute for the Works of Religion, the so-called Vatican bank that handles investments and cash transactions around the world; the agency responsible for the budget of the State of Vatican City; and the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, which finances missionary operations around the world.” (*NYT*, 11-9-79) Finally, the bourgeois press reports, the “solution” to these difficulties is seen as “a tax” that dioceses around the world would “agree” to pay, which would be borne chiefly by “the prosperous communities of North America, West Germany, and some smaller European countries.” With church attendance in these countries falling rapidly (to below 10% of the population in some, as opposed to 80% attendance in the Pope’s native – but Soviet-led bloc – state of Poland), the feasibility of their congregations dropping an additional \$20 million yearly into the collection plate is doubtful, to say the least.

It is far more plausible that behind this flakey “solution” is nothing but a very straightforward imperialist

business deal, cemented by a bribe. Pope John Paul II agrees to continue to function exclusively as an ideological and political agent of the U.S. imperialist-led bloc, in particular of the Rockefeller - dominated Trilateral Commission (with which he is directly connected through his personal friend, Zbigniew Brzezinski), in exchange for which at least \$20 million a year will be paid by the bourgeoisies of “North America, West Germany, and some smaller European countries.” Payments will be laundered through precisely those international accounts which the cardinals were not allowed to see, and the Pope, in his role as “activist,” will faithfully carry out the political assignments of the Trilateral Commission.

Opportunists of every stripe are, of course, horrified at the very notion of such cold-blooded arrangements, and try to hide them. In doing so, they reveal their hatred of Marxism, which long ago explained:

“The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his “natural superiors,” and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous “cash payment.” It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation.” (“Communist Manifesto, *MECW*, New World, p. 38)

As we have noted, the source of the Vatican “patrimony” clearly indicates that there are no papal qualms about accepting “callous cash payment”. And as we
POPE PROFIT (cont. p.29)

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Editorial



ON THE FOUNDING OF THE BOLSHEVIK LEAGUE AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BOLSHEVIK REVOLUTION

The Bolshevik League of the U.S. was founded on November 7, 1979, on the 62nd anniversary of the Great October Revolution. The group takes Bolshevik League as its name because it models itself on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin.

Why the Bolshevik model? The answer to this lies in the victory of the greatest of all historical revolutions, the Great October Socialist Revolution. It was the Bolshevik Party, the greatest of all parties of a new type, which led the October Revolution to victory – the victory of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. The Bolshevik Party proved the Leninist thesis of the possibility for the victory of Socialism in one country. It scarcely needs proof that only the Party of Lenin and Stalin could lead such an earth-shaking revolution, because the Bolshevik Party is the party of social revolution, the party of war against the bourgeoisie.

Through the 36 years in which the Bolshevik Party led the Soviet proletariat through the most exemplary of all revolutions, it rallied the international proletariat to the living example of socialist construction, to the understanding that its emancipation lies in its own hands. This presented the greatest threat ever to world imperialism.

From prior to the victory of the revolution, the imperialist ‘great’ powers set out to crush the October Revolution.

The October Revolution was betrayed by internal traitors, who conspired with imperialism. Khrushchev and Co. sold out the revolution and capitalism was restored. The proletariat lost a tremendous battle. This tremendous loss was *not* due to the “weakness” of socialism. On the contrary, it was because of its tremendous strength and the existence of a socialist world market that the imperialists set out to hatch conspiratorial plots against the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR.

In 1919, fourteen countries led by Britain coordinated an invasion of Russian soil with the White Guards. The young proletarian state drove the invaders out and scored a victory.

In 1941, the German fascists invaded, causing the death of millions throughout Europe, with the Soviet proletariat assuming the greatest losses. Loss of lives, destruction of the means of production, and devastation to the country were unparalleled by anything in history. Soviet industrial production fell to the 26th place in world output; but the Soviet power was not vanquished. The Soviet proletariat, undaunted by the devastation of the USSR, raised its industrial produc-

tion to the second place in the world in the span of seven years.

The imperialist great powers, more threatened than ever before, continued their conspiracy, working with internal traitors of the mold of Trotsky, Zinoviev and Bukharin, traitors like Khrushchev and Co. This conspiracy succeeded with the death of Stalin in 1953, inflicting a tremendous loss on the proletariat internationally.

With this loss a period of reaction set in, the bourgeoisie grabbed the proletariat by the throat, just as Stalin had predicted.

“What would happen if capital succeeded in smashing the Republic of Soviets? There would set in an era of the blackest reaction in all the capitalist and colonial countries, the working class and the oppressed peoples would be seized by the throat, the positions of international communism would be lost.” (Stalin, “The Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I.” *SCW* 9:28-29)

The dictatorship of the proletariat lasted as long as it did because of the strong leadership of the Bolshevik Party, which was founded and led by Lenin. After Lenin’s death the Party was in the steel hands of Lenin’s most worthy disciple, Joseph V. Stalin.

After Stalin’s death, the revolution was betrayed. Modern revisionism scored a worldwide victory,* dominating the international communist movement, as represented by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of China, and the Party of Labour of Albania. But the lessons of the October Revolution live on immortal, and shall continue as the guide to the workers of all countries, as the model to their emancipation from the shackles of wage slavery. A battle was lost, but the class war continues, and will inevitably continue until imperialism is finally overthrown.

When we speak of the lessons of the October Revolution, we must immediately turn our attention to the lessons in building the party that led it to victory.

In studying the development of the Bolshevik Party, it becomes immediately obvious that the Party was built on the basis of the drawing of sharp lines of demarcation against all shades of revisionism.

The Bolsheviks knew that after the death of Engels

EDITORIAL (cont. p.4)

* For the Bolshevik League’s analysis of the inter-imperialist contradictions, and for our recent analysis of the international communist movement, see the founding documents of the Bolshevik League.

in 1895, the old social democratic parties had degenerated into parties of peace with the bourgeoisie, into parties of social reform. These parties preached peaceful transition to socialism, based on the theory of the productive forces, i.e., that capitalism would peacefully degenerate because of the level of development of the productive forces.

The task of further developing the theory of Marxism was left to Lenin, who further elaborated Marxist orthodoxy, proving that capitalism had developed to its highest and last stage, the stage of imperialism, the era of the downfall of capitalism and the victory of proletarian revolution.

The Bolsheviks maintained that capitalism could be overthrown only by violent means, through social revolution. The Bolshevik Party led the Lefts internationally in a split from the old parties of the Second International, and set about to organize the Third Communist International along new revolutionary lines. The Bolsheviks fought and routed the opportunists of their own land — the economists, the Mensheviks, the liquidators, the ostvoists, the Trotskyites and Bukharin's opposition block.

It was the Bolsheviks who led this fight on an international scale, by showing that indeed the Party becomes strong by purging itself of opportunist elements.

Thus it stems from all this that the Bolshevik Party is irreconcilable towards compromisers and capitulators, and revolutionary in its attitude towards the bourgeoisie and its state power.

Only the Party of a new type maintains firm consistency in matters of principle, and flexibility in matters of tactics. The Bolshevik Party possesses iron discipline, infernal cohesion, and monolithic unity, because it is organized along new revolutionary lines.

"The Bolsheviks wanted to create a new party, a Bolshevik party, which would serve as a model for all who wanted to have a real revolutionary Marxist party." (*History of the CPSU(B)*, International Publishers, p. 140)

Such is the party which must be taken as the model by all who are seriously convinced of the need to apply the Marxist-Leninist thesis of social revolution in all countries. Bolshevism is synonymous with proletarian internationalism.

In learning from the Bolshevik Party, the Bolshevik League of the US pays close attention to its internal cohesion and monolithic unity, based on unity of political line.

The Maoists and all present-day Mensheviks have destroyed the true meaning of "unity," distorting how real unity is achieved and stubbornly worked for.

Lenin placed great emphasis on the question of unity. He said:

"To establish and consolidate the party, means to establish and consolidate unity among all Social-Democrats. Such Unity cannot be decreed, it cannot be brought about by, let us say, a meeting of representatives passing a resolution. Definite work must be done to bring it about." (*Lenin, Iskra No. 1*, "Draft Declaration of Iskra and Zarya")

International Publishers, pp. 16-29)

The ideological, political and organizational unity of the Bolshevik League was worked for, persisted upon, and achieved by the work done by the CUSB. The two groups which formed the Committee, US Leninist Core and Demarcation, from their inception recognized the need to draw lines of demarcation with all forms of opportunism, in order that real unity amongst Marxist-Leninists could be established. Demarcation and the US Leninist core (repulsing the circle fever of the big and small cliques in the U.S.) formed the CUSB, liquidating the two circles in order to regroup the Lefts on the basis of ideological and political unity. This would enable the Lefts in the US to come to the elaboration of a single plan, the implementation of which will result in the formation of the political Party of the Proletariat.

The Bolshevik League has been formed to enhance the task begun by the C.U.S.B.

The formation of the Bolshevik League was made possible because the US Bolsheviks ruptured with the revisionist-dominated international communist movement, welded in the rupture with the "theory of three worlds," Mao Zedong "Thought", and the centrist trend internationally which is led by the PLA.

This rupture was made possible because the two groups split with the social chauvinists and centrists in our land. This, however, cannot be taken to mean that the fight against them is over. In fact, we are only finally in a position to carry out that struggle in an organized way for the very first time; thus, the fight has just begun. This fight would mean nothing unless the opportunists are driven out of the working class movement.

Place Revolutionary Theory in the Forefront

The Bolshevik League takes as its fundamental starting point that revolutionary theory be placed in the forefront as the guide to all practical activity. It is a revolutionary movement that we strive to create. And, as Lenin said, without revolutionary theory there is no revolutionary movement. The theory of the class struggle, the materialist conception of American history, and the materialist analysis of the present economic and political situation in the US, will be correctly appraised only through the application of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory.

The US Bolsheviks are faced with an enormous, untouched field of work. That is the side of the theoretical work of the Bolshevik League, the side dealing with the question of the elaboration of the Party's program. The completion of this work will represent the consolidation of ideological unity amongst all US Marxist-Leninists. The theoretical side of our work will be systematically dealt with in the pages of our regular publications and through special pamphlets. All members of the Bolshevik League uphold that it is the constant duty of every communist to study Marxist-Leninist theory. That is the systematic and consistent study of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the classics of Marxism-

EXTRA! EXTRA!

CHINA'S BOURGEOISIE NEGATES OWN EXISTENCE

The statesmen and ideologues of China are beset with a serious problem. How to fool their proletariat and the world proletariat into thinking that China is socialist, while trying to build up their crisis ridden capitalist economy.

Recently, the capitalist politicians in the so-called Communist Party of China have been trying to paint China as socialist by claiming that "the landlords, rich peasants and capitalists no longer exist as classes." (*Beijing Review* No. 46, Nov. 16, 1979, "Fundamental Change in China's Class Situation"). Hua Guofeng, at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, declared that the capitalist system of exploitation has been abolished. He stated that "As classes the landlords and the rich peasants have ceased to exist. For historical reasons, the capitalists of our country constitute a part of the people . . . After nearly thirty years of struggle and education, most members of these classes who are able to work have been transformed into working people . . ." (Ibid) Well, according to this grandiose declaration then China should be prospering on a socialist path. However, reality shows otherwise. China today is in a devastating economic and political crisis reflecting that of the world capitalist system. Unemployment, an obvious symptom of capitalism, is rampant in China. Among the youth alone, unemployment is numbered at over 10 million. Emigration, due to the conditions in China, has been increasing. The Chinese government has even resorted to exporting human labor to other countries to deal with the unemployment problem, while at the same time, making profit off this form of export of commodity. Remember that

under capitalism labor power is a commodity to be bought and sold. China's economy has been ransacked with rising prices and inflation. Crime, prostitution, delinquency, etc. all have been on the increase.

As a matter of fact, in *Beijing Review* No. 46, it is stated that in China "capitalists have recently been given back their bank deposits and have been allowed to once again draw high pay . . ." Apparently, during the reign of Mao Zedong, Lin Biao, and the so-called gang of four there was a certain restriction of private competitive capitalism. However, with Huo Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping, the choice is that of increasing the role of private capitalism, along with increased foreign imperialist penetration to construct their capitalist regime. That capitalism has existed in China since 1949 is beyond a shadow of a doubt. The Chinese themselves state that "prior to 1956, our policy towards state-capitalist enterprise was to allocate about a quarter of their total profits to the capitalists. After the nationwide switch over to state private joint operation by whole trades in 1956, we began to pay the capitalists a fixed interest for their confirmed private shares in the enterprises . . ." (Ibid) And 1956 was supposed to be the year which Mao and the CPC claimed that the socialist transformation of the economy in China was completed. How more amusing can these bourgeois politicians of China get? Well, amusing enough to try and claim that classes no longer exist in China today.

By 1939, the USSR, led by J.V. Stalin and the Bolshevik Party, had indeed established socialism. Stalin in his report to the Eighteenth Congress of the CPSU show through concrete data how the whole system of indus-

EXTRA! EXTRA! (cont. p. 11)

OOPS! CHINA SAYS RUSSIA IS "SOCIALIST"!!

The Chinese bourgeoisie continues to be in a political crisis which will throw the world's Maoist and "Three Worldist" advocates into more of a crisis. If one follows the most recent Chinese revisionist politics, then according to it, half, if not more of the capitalist world is "socialist."

According to an article which appeared in the *New York Times*, Nov. 10, 1979, p. 3, the Chinese Communist Party has been circulating an important document which claims that the Russian Party is no longer revisionist, that the USSR is no longer imperialist, but in fact has always been "socialist". (sic!) This document (which is said to be a summary of debates in Deng Xiaoping's braintrust, the Academy of Social Sciences) states that the USSR is still socialist because its means of production are owned by the state. Well according to this logic, all the sectors of the U.S. economy which are controlled by the state (e.g. Post Office, Railroad, welfare, etc.), all the industries nationalized in the imperialist countries such as in England (with a supposedly "labor" government), Austria, etc. are all examples of socialism. Goes

to show how in fact the Chinese and Russian socialism is nothing more than state capitalism embellished in socialist phraseology. Since the late 1950's and early 60's, when the Russian imperialists cut all aid and ties with China and Albania, both these countries from their social nationalist perspectives hurled cries of Soviet revisionism and Soviet social-imperialism. They were never able to show how capitalism was restored in the USSR. Their claims of a "peaceful degeneration" of the USSR is a convenient way to cover up the great conspiracy which led to the restoration of capitalism. Hence, their incapacities of exposing the restoration of capitalism, for to do so would have exposed their role in this great conspiracy and the real character of their economies.

Now, due to recent negotiations between the Chinese and Russians, they both have agreed to call each other "socialist" to try and deceive the proletariat of the world. In these negotiations, China seeks renewed trade and cultural exchanges with Russian imperialism. However, there is more than just this. The Russians have proposed to withdraw some of their military forces from Mongolia

Fiasco In Spain

The Collapse of the Opportunist International

Recent events in Valencia, Spain (of which we speak later) have given conclusive evidence to what has long been suspected: that international opportunism is in deep political crisis and owing to this crisis has adopted the tactics of social-fascism – the violent suppression of criticism of the *line* of international opportunism. This fact has grave implications for the struggle against opportunism and the attempt to rally the Lefts, internationally, to the banner of Leninism. A serious approach to this question must examine 1) where did the tactics of social-fascism spring from? 2) what gives it strength? and 3) how is social-fascism to be combatted?

It would be sheer fallacy for one to conclude that the origins of these social-fascist tactics are to be found merely in the conditions existing in recent years. This shallow approach to the question would negate the fundamental fact that opportunism, principally in the form of centrism, has dominated the “international communist movement” since the death of Stalin and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Further, it would be a mistake to even equate the domination of opportunism internationally with the existence of a communist movement. With the death of Stalin and the violent overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the *only* socialist country the world has *ever* known, opportunism was unleashed on a scale previously undreamt of. The restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union merged the many varieties of existing opportunism (and increased its number and the variety of its shades) into one torrent of anti-socialist, anti-communist propaganda. This victory of international opportunism could only occur with the assistance and in alliance with international finance capital, with imperialism. The victory of opportunism did not occur *within* Leninism, but *against* Leninism. To forget, for one moment, this absolute truth, is to perpetuate the idea that within Leninism is contained the seeds of opportunism. This idea is entirely anti-Leninist and constitutes the main propaganda weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie in its battle to further enslave the proletariat to bourgeois liberal labor policy.

This victory of international opportunism was achieved violently – through the forceful suppression of opposition to opportunism – through the tactics of social-fascism. An examination of the events surrounding the removal from their posts (and subsequent disappearance) of a great number of leaders of the Soviet and other communist parties – *leaders who were defenders of Stalin and Bolshevism* – will bear this out. The origins of the present tactics of social-fascism, therefore, are not to be found in recent years; rather they are to be found in the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the subsequent victory of opportunism on a world scale.

Hand in hand with the victory of opportunism internationally, and indispensable to its growth, came the renunciation of Leninist norms of relations between parties, embodied in the infamous 1957 and 1960

COLLAPSE (cont. p. 14)



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Bob Avakian: 'THE JERK' IS LOOSE!

Many people around the US have seen a large dark poster bearing the face of a man who looks like a cross between the devil and Lou Costello. That man is Bob Avakian, chairman of the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party. The poster campaign was to publicize the trial of Avakian and other RCP stalwarts for their raid on the Chinese embassy in January, 1979, during Deng Xiaoping's trip to the U.S. We were told for months in the RCP literature that Avakian was the most dangerous man in America, that he was the best leader the U.S. working class has ever had, etc. The U.S. government intended to “railroad” Avakian and the other “Mao Tse-tung Defendants”, the RCP blared, because RCP was seen by the government as “the most dangerous revolutionary organization in this country.”

How disappointed the motley crew that makes up RCP must have been when the government dropped *all* the charges against Avakian and company. From reading RCP literature, one would have expected they'd at least cut off his hand, or, maybe, have confiscated his cap. But alas, Avakian and his entourage have been let go scot free. (Maybe Bob's dad, Judge Avakian, who is a California State Judge, put in a good word for junior and his pals.) No martyrs today.



The bourgeois courts *do* work in their class interest, of course. After granting Avakian wide publicity in their T.V., radio, and newspapers, they have let him go because Avakian is too important *for* them to have locked up. Avakian has succeeded in widely discrediting Marxism-Leninism and associating communism with his own cult following and revolution with RCP's social-fascist antics. Although the government is appealing the dismissal of these charges, at this point the bourgeoisie prefers Avakian running around loose, especially to prepare for RCP's 1980 May Day rally, which will most likely attempt to provoke a police attack so RCP can finally have some martyrs. This will further serve the bourgeoisie by giving them another pretense to unleash a wave of terror against the working class and oppressed masses.

Avakian is a leader all right, but not of the working class. His petty bourgeois and lumpen brigade is vying with CWP for leadership of the social-fascist trend. All these social-fascist groups have nothing in common with communism, and are only social props for the bourgeoisie that must be swept away along with their ruling class masters by the revolutionary proletariat. ★

CPUSA(ML):

What so proudly they hail...

The U.S. bourgeoisie has made increased calls for U.S. patriotism while whipping up a war hysteria around the events in Iran. Such appeals have not fallen on deaf ears among the phoney “communist” parties that abound in the U.S.! One of the most disgusting responses of thinly veiled support for imperialism was that of CPUSA(ML), one of the main contenders for the PLA franchise in the U.S.

In the December 1, 1979 issue of their newspaper *Unite*, CPUSA(ML) tries to reconcile bourgeois nationalism with proletarian internationalism by squeaking, “We need to demonstrate again the *real internationalist patriotism* [emphasis BL] that brought us to support the Iranians' effort last winter to topple the Shah.”

This is out and out social chauvinism, an attempt to promote and justify U.S. patriotism among the proletariat. To CPUSA(ML), the problem is not that the bourgeoisie is whipping up patriotism but whipping up the *wrong kind* of American patriotism. Instead, CPUSA(ML) calls for “real American patriotism”. The reason CPUSA(ML) so studiously avoids appealing to the working class on the basis of its *class* interests is simple. CPUSA(ML) is actually appealing to the labor aristocracy, the bribed

upper stratum of the working class to whom patriotism is sacred and inviolable. But to the proletariat, there can be no above class “love of country,” as CPUSA(ML) pretends. This is chauvinist, bourgeois ideology, pure and simple, that seeks to ally the proletariat with the bourgeoisie. And CPUSA(ML) is pushing it more loudly these days in a desperate attempt to gain a foothold in the labor aristocracy to prop up its rapidly fading “party”.

To the class collaborationist line of patriotism, the Bolsheviks counter with proletarian internationalism. This is the only banner that serves the interests of the proletariat. Centrist, which claims to oppose the social-chauvinist theory of the “three worlds,” is, as we have again seen with CPUSA(ML), merely thinly covered social-chauvinism. And CPUSA(ML)'s centrist mask is wearing very thin these days. ★



at their twilight's last gleaming...

The crisis in Iran has provided the Carter administration with the opportunity to go full scale into the expansion of the Rapid Deployment Force, which has been in the planning since at least 1977. This force consists of units from all the branches of the Armed Services. It is "designed to enable the United States to apply military power rapidly in the event of a crisis in underdeveloped nations in the 1980's." (*New York Times*, Dec. 6, 1979) This force is designed to be in a position to carry out a full scale invasion in less than a week. The Middle East is one of the main areas for which its use is planned. (The Caribbean is another) This counter-revolutionary military unit, designed to quickly crush by force any revolutionary uprising and to protect vital raw materials, will cost \$9 billion over the next five years. It is intended to be able to sustain an invasion for one month, until regular forces are brought in.

As further preparation for war, the U.S. has moved a naval fleet of 20 warships, including two major aircraft carriers, to the Arabian Sea. At the same time, Russian ships and warplanes are in the same area, as these two rival imperialist powers monitor each other's military preparations. The imperialist great powers, aided by the reactionary bourgeoisie in the countries of the Middle East, have turned the region into an armed camp, as a focus of their fierce and deadly rivalry over control of oil. In this last year, the U.S. has poured over half a billion dollars worth of jets, tanks, armored vehicles, and other military equipment into North Yemen, a country where conditions are so bad for the working people that almost its entire work force, a million workers, emigrate to Saudi Arabia and other countries for work. The Russians have carried out similar activities in South Yemen. Saudi Arabia has been armed to the teeth by the U.S., and now North Yemen is reported to be obtaining MIG-21's from Russia, as well as arms from the U.S. (*New York Times*, Dec. 3, 1979) The entire Middle East has been turned into a powderkeg.

Scenarios are being made public, not only for war in the Middle East, but for Europe as well. There is speculation as to how many tens of millions of people would be killed in such a war. These speculations provide a basis for the placement of nuclear missiles in the NATO countries, the fruits of Secretary of State Vance's recent trip to Europe. At the same time, contradictions are sharpening within the U.S. bloc, as well as between the U.S. and Russian blocs. Japan made its own private deals for Iranian oil, and in exchange aided the Khomeini regime in getting around economic pressures placed on it by U.S. bloc banks. The U.S., in turn, applied pressure to Japan to join in the campaign of economic blockade against Iran, and Japan went along.

Numerous provocative incidents of terrorist attacks on U.S. military and embassy personnel have taken place world-wide, in recent weeks, in Pakistan, Libya, Puerto Rico, and Turkey. Seemingly unrelated, these acts have been utilized in the press to add further fuel to the campaign of chauvinism and "Great" Power patriotism being whipped up in the U.S. Knowing that many terrorist groups are set up by the political police, or

heavily infiltrated, and that often the police agents are the ones pushing most forcefully for provocative acts (one example was the recent case at Cerro Maravilla in Puerto Rico) the possibility must be considered that these acts are part of a coordinated international plan. Indeed, a sentiment in favor of war to "protect American citizens" and to "save American honor", is being created, through campaigns to display the American flag, ring church bells, demonstrations calling for invasion, and with many racist slurs towards Iranians, including calling for deportation of all Iranians. This very dangerous chauvinist call, must be denounced, as representing a danger to all emigrant workers and oppressed nationalities, who can become targets of such reactionary campaigns. This is precisely the type of national chauvinism that is the ideological basis for war and fascism.

And what role was played by the Pope, who visited Turkey in the last week of November? This strange visit, to a country that is 99% Moslem, took place under tremendous security. The fascist Turkish government repressed demonstrations that took place in opposition to his visit. His purpose was said to be to heal the split in the church that has existed for 800 years! An urgent question!

Just a few days later, the Turkish minority in Iran, under the leadership of Ayatollah Shariat-Madari, who supports a more pro-U.S. position, took up arms against the Khomeini regime. Further steps in the international campaign to isolate Khomeini so that invasion can be justified. Little wonder that after the NATO meeting it was reported that the "Allies and the Vatican have been very helpful." (Channel 2 News, Dec. 5, 1979)

The Turkish minority in Iran estimated at about 6 million Azerbaijani people, along with other oppressed nationalities, such as the Kurds, have objected to the new Islamic Constitution. The Khomeini regime carried out a nationwide election that endorsed a constitution giving Khomeini absolute powers, for the rest of his life. The vote was boycotted by many people, but exact figures have not come out. Khomeini is utilizing the people's hatred of the Shah to further strengthen his profoundly reactionary regime.

Back in the U.S., the Shah has been moved to high security protection at Lackland Air Force Base in Texas and now to Panama, with the pretense of medical treatment virtually dropped. More details have been brought to light that show by what means this butcher plundered Iran, in partnership with the U.S. imperialists, particularly the Rockefeller group. This information confirms once again how high are the stakes in Iran for the U.S. bourgeoisie. Much of the Shah's plunder was carried out through bank loans and bank transfers (mostly out of the country), aided by the Chase Manhattan Bank (Rockefeller owned), as well as a bank holding company, First Wisconsin, just to give a brief example. So far, documents have revealed over \$50 million of such transfers, and over \$570 millions in unrepaid loans. (*New York Times*, Dec. 5, 1979) Much of the Shah's plunder was channeled into the N.Y. based Pahlavi Foundation, which has as a director former Secretary of State William Rogers, the

predecessor of Henry Kissinger. The N.Y. office admits to assets of \$31.7 million, and international assets have been estimated to be close to \$3 billion. (*New York Daily News*, Nov. 14, 1979)

To accumulate such enormous sums, the Shah together with the imperialists, has left Iran in a state of poverty, backward and undeveloped, with about one half the population being peasants living in small, isolated villages. There is an estimated 40% unemployment. Agriculture is so underdeveloped that one third of all food is imported, thus making the country vulnerable to a blockade. Rural people flock to the cities seeking work, only to find overcrowded conditions, rising food prices, and still no work. Even oil workers, who represent a stable and regularly employed sector of the Iranian working class, receive a starting salary of the equivalent of only \$8.10 per day! (*New York Times*, Dec. 6, 1979) It is easy to see the source of superprofits amounting to billions of dollars of plunder, when comparing the living conditions for the proletariat and peasants to the \$27 billion income from oil revenues that has flowed into the hands of the Shah, the imperialist bourgeoisie, and sectors of the Iranian bourgeoisie that benefited from his regime. Clearly the workers and peasants do not benefit from the oil wealth. It is for these billions that the imperialist bourgeoisie wants to invade Iran, to recapture control of the country, and it is for these billions that rival sections of the Iranian bourgeoisie are now seeking control.

The Russian imperialists, seeking to get on the good side of the Khomeini regime, have supported its demands although with a criticism for this breach of rules, and voted with the U.S. for the UN resolution calling for release of the hostages. They have made statements against the U.S. naval build-up in the Arabian Sea, but have been silent on the threat of war, trying to see what gains they can make out of this situation.

All the left forces in Iran support the Islamic Republic, and from what can be determined, all support the seizure of the embassy. There may be some who have been critical of Khomeini, but they have either been eliminated or have gone underground in this repressive regime. The Russian imperialists have remained silent on the question of the Islamic Republic. And what is the position of the Party of Labor of Albania? This charlatan party, which has deceived the international movement for years into thinking that it fights for the banner of Marxism-Leninism, represents the only country in the world that openly supports the seizure of the U.S. embassy, an act of provocation that puts the Iranian people, all the people of the Middle East, in grave danger, indeed could be a trigger for an all-out imperialist war. What do they have to say of the threat of war? *Nothing!* Incredible enough, they speak of the build up in the Arabian Sea only in terms of "pressure on the Iranian people."

What do these phoney communists have to say on the subject of the Islamic Republic? What do they say about the new Islamic Constitution giving Khomeini absolute power for life? *Nothing!* They pretend that it does not exist, or that it is dreamed up by the imperialists. They

Correspondence



The recently distributed leaflet *Iran: Reaction vs. Reaction* by the Bolshevik League of the U.S. indeed denounces both "U.S. imperialism and the Khomeini Islamic counter-revolution."

When the Shah of Iran, despite his unlimited military spending budget and ruthless army and SAVAK was overthrown, Ayatollah Khomeini went back to Iran to sabotage the revolution.

Khomeini, pushing pan-Islamism world-wide, is thoroughly counter-revolutionary. It was indeed his mission to see that the Iranian revolution was defeated. Due to the feudal reactionary character of Islam, Khomeini himself has become an unstable element with reference to U.S. imperialism in Iran.

This entire incident of the seizing of the embassy in Tehran and holding hostages was sparked deliberately by the U.S. imperialists to muster sympathy internationally, making the U.S. look like the "victim". After the war in Vietnam, where the proletariat learned many lessons, there is no other way for the bourgeoisie to justify a military invasion of Iran other than as the victim rather than the aggressor. Khomeini, realizing he is losing control and stability in Iran, is deliberately playing into this and provoking the U.S. into war.

With the wave of "great nation chauvinism" being blasted throughout the bourgeois media, whipping up war hysteria and bringing to the fore the most reactionary sentiments, as it so clearly states in the article, "It is essential for the working class to know the truth about the events in Iran."

Bolshevik League of the U.S. is the only genuine Marxist-Leninist organization in the U.S. that has put forth a concrete Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation in Iran.

Comrades, it is with great enthusiasm that this leaflet was received; especially at a time when the imperialists are desperate for a war to redivide the world and are so willing to send the international proletariat to slaughter for its own greedy means. Only through the triumph of socialism will the proletariat end wars and begin to build a world in the interest of the proletariat and the toiling masses free of exploitation. Now in the U.S. there is an organization ready to take on the historic mission of the proletariat, and give a genuine and concrete analysis of the world situation! ★ *A Correspondent*

say, "The matter of religious beliefs is a matter that has to do only with the consciousness of men." This has nothing whatever to do with the Marxist-Leninist position that opposes *any form* of religious state rule, that seeks to expose the reactionary nature of religion as the "opiate of the people". By ignoring the threat of war and pretending that the Islamic Republic does not exist, the PLA further exposes its charlatan nature. The eagerness of Albania to obtain oil from Iran causes it to stoop so low as this treachery to the people of

Worked To Death

The month of December is advertised as a merry holiday season filled with jollity and good spirits. For many workers and oppressed peoples the holiday season is overshadowed by increased economic pressure which often plunges them into debt and desperation. For postal workers it is a time of forced overtime on top of forced overtime and speedup on top of speedup. This is particularly true of the mechanized Bulk Mail Centers, built by the postal service in its desire to compete with mailers like United Postal Service (UPS) which were capturing large shares of the very profitable bulk mailing market. This new automation has resulted in fewer jobs with a greater workload. At the New York Bulk (NYB) and Foreign Mail Center (FMC), in Jersey City, N. J., the machines run almost nonstop in December. The day shift works from 7 A.M. to 6:30 P.M. The night shift works from 7 P.M. to 6:30 A.M. This leaves half an hour on each end for "maintenance" of the machines.

Lunches and breaks are "split" so that part of a crew is always there to run the machines and load the trucks. Management's records of the amount of mail moved are kept by computer count attached to the machines. Thus, they keep the machinery running even when the workers are unable to keep pace. This hazardous equipment could be aptly nicknamed "Jaws", because inefficient design and poor maintenance make it the teeth of death and destruction.

This was driven home on December 15th on the NYB and FMC high-volume docks. Loaders returning from lunch made the horrid discovery of their fellow mailhandler, Mike McDermott, brutally mangled and literally eaten alive by the machine in his truck. Had any of the safety devices been in working order, the rollers would have cut off before dragging in his entire arm, head, and shoulder.

This hideous death has saddened and enraged more than McDermott's fellow postal workers. It saddens and enrages proletarians everywhere who daily experience the million and one terrors that capitalism visits upon the working class in its brutal quest for maximum profit.

In contrast to the genuine sorrow and anger, there are the crocodile tears of those who seek only to capitalize on this young worker's murder. Postal Management, fearful of public exposure, expresses "shock" and looks for "human error" to shift the blame onto each other or onto the victim himself. The American Postal Workers Union (APWU) local led by Moe Biller has jumped into the spotlight in an attempt to head off any outburst by workers in response to this outrage. He and the other union officials are seizing this opportunity to restore their credibility among the workers, which has been at an all-time low since the wildcat firings in July, 1978. The LIUNA local is maintaining its usual silence in contrast to Biller's noise, but both unions act as partners with management to preserve the capitalist system.

To complete the defense of bourgeois interests are the

TERRORISM (from p. 1)

The U.S. imperialists have colonized Puerto Rico since 1898. The U.S. bourgeoisie has plundered and raped the natural resources and labor power of Puerto Rico, controlling 80% of the country's economy. Presently Puerto Rico imports all its foodstuff, and all consumer goods from the U.S., making it the 4th largest consumer of American goods.

Military control by U.S. generals for over 40 years, passed on to civilian control after mass protest, in the 1940's. The U.S. control now assumes the character of U.S. groomed puppets who are "democratically" elected to head the Free Associated State, the present status of Puerto Rico.

To be sure, the democratic bourgeois elections insure

opportunists who aspire to positions in the trade union bureaucracy. These walking vultures are elated at having a new tragedy to feed on. Their campaign to capitalize on the firings in July, 1978, was running out of steam. Workers were angry that these "committees" of "militants" had accepted no accountability for their role in the '78 fiasco, and were beginning to question why their donations to the fired workers are never getting past the "committees". They are grabbing at the death of Mike McDermott as a chance to get their pictures on nationwide television. This is a stepping stone to high-paying union jobs in the future.

These self-proclaimed "communists" of the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters (RWH), Proletarian Unity League (PUL), League of Revolutionary Struggle (LRS), and assorted nameless trotskyites are more dangerous enemies of the proletariat than the outright union bureaucrats, because they come into its ranks disguised as "socialists" or "Marxist-Leninists". They leech off the spontaneous working class movement, seize hegemony over it, and keep it on the right; i.e., on the path of reformism. These opportunists are contemptuous towards the working class and express disdain for Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory, promoting instead economist and out-right social-chauvinist treachery.

Aiming to maintain the working class within the bounds of bourgeois ideology, they sabotage real communist work which seeks to divert the working class away from bourgeois ideology and bring it (i.e., the working class) under the hegemony of scientific socialism - Marxism-Leninism.

The aim of the socialist revolution is to bring to an end the exploitation of man by man.

Only the socialist revolution will change fundamentally the conditions which now force the working class to sell its labor power to the capitalist.

The socialist revolution is **against** the bourgeoisie and its dictatorship, and it is victorious precisely because it is carried out **without** the bourgeoisie and for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In order that the proletariat may achieve its aim, i.e., the seizure of political power by force, it must be led by its political party, for no army can go to war without its general staff. However the opportunists oppose the proletarian army, and serve another general staff, that of their "own" bourgeoisie. Thus, for years they have discredited and brought shame upon the very word communism, serving as local agents of the bourgeoisie among the proletariat.

Thus, two conclusions can be drawn from this, another tragic example of what occurs where the means of production are privately owned:

- 1) The labor hacks and the opportunists must be driven out of the working class movement.
- 2) The fight for immediate demands of the working class, such as safe working conditions, must be carried out by the working class itself and with the aim of overthrowing the bourgeois order and for the establishment of the rule of the proletariat. ★

that those elected are favorable to U.S. domination, whether through the present Commonwealth status or by those pressing for statehood.

There are also pro-independence factions in Puerto Rico. These are divided in accordance to those favoring independence but (!) maintaining *relations* with the U.S. - and on the other hand those in favor of independence but (!) *developing* relations with the Russian imperialists. The former is the social-democratic party, the Puerto Rican Independence Party (P.I.P.), and the latter is the pro-Cuban revisionist grouping, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (P.S.P.).

As the general crisis of imperialism widens, and the inter-imperialist contradictions sharpen, these pro-independence factions are more clearly taking the side of one

TERRORISM (cont. p. 12)

EXTRA! EXTRA! (from p. 5)

try and agriculture was socialized and how the USSR was proceeding towards communism. And not through state capitalism, but through the socialist ownership of means of production. The capitalist class was eliminated - in the countryside and in the cities. In 1939, of the total industrial output, 99.97% came from the socialist sector. Socialized agriculture consisted of state farms and collective farms. No unemployment existed. Exploitation of man by man had been abolished. Meanwhile, the capitalist world was in a tremendous economic crisis. War for repartition was the only way out for the imperialists in the late 1930's. Yet, the Soviet Union was progressing unaffected by the devastated capitalist world economy. In 1937, the USSR held their elections in which 98.6% (i.e. 90,000,000 electors out of a total of 94,000,000 electors) voted for the bloc of the Bolsheviks. Less than 1%, (i.e. 632,000 electors) voted against the bloc of Bolsheviks. Indeed socialism had proven to be victorious in the Soviet Union of Lenin and Stalin.

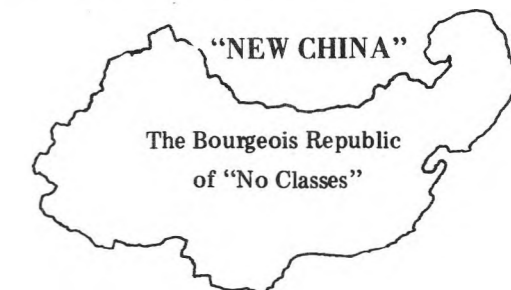
However, these Chinese imperialists claim to have socialism with unemployment, inflation, crime, etc. They claim to have no classes of landlord and capitalists, yet have given back banks, capital and property to Chinese capitalists and have promoted joint-capitalist ventures with imperialist countries guaranteeing these imperialists that "they will not get less returns (i.e. superprofits - BL) from their investments in China than in other countries." (*Beijing Review* No. 41, Oct. 12, 1979)

They claim to have a socialist dictatorship of the proletariat, the most democratic regime that can ever exist in the present epoch, yet when they had their recent elections it was reported that 38% of the electors voted for other bourgeois parties. Indeed the peoples of China are showing their lack of faith in their supposedly "socialist" government. As a matter of fact, if there exists no capitalist class, then why does there exist over eight bourgeois parties (e.g. the Revolutionary Committee of the Kuomintang, the Democratic League, the Democratic National Construction Association, the Association for Promoting Democracy, etc. - *Beijing Review* No. 44, Nov. 2, 1979) And these parties have "participated in the work of the central and local governments" (Ibid) since the founding of the People's Republic of China. So let no one be fooled into thinking that the openly bourgeois parties have not participated in running the so-called "socialist" regime of China.

According to Marxism-Leninism, the proletariat as *one* class, has only *one* basic aim - the abolition of private property, the elimination of class society, i.e. the creation of communist society. Thus, the proletariat through its vanguard party will lead the dictatorship of the proletariat in the construction of socialism. It is not a bourgeois democratic regime with many parties (reflecting the various factions amongst the imperialists). J.V. Stalin makes it clear where he states: "... the leader of the state, the leader of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is *one* party, the party of the proletariat, the party of the communists, which does not and

cannot share leadership with other parties." (J.V. Stalin, "Problems of Leninism," *Selected Works*)

It needs only one party, the Bolshevik Party. This is how the Soviet Union, led by Lenin and Stalin constructed socialism. This is how the Bolsheviks see constructing socialism in the U.S. and throughout the world. Ours will be a Soviet Republic modeled after the Great October Revolution led by Lenin and Stalin, and not the state capitalism of Khrushchev in Russia, Mao Zedong in China, and Enver Hoxha in Albania. ★



OOPS! (from p. 5)

(i.e. on the Sino-Soviet borders) in exchange for Chinese consent to join a "non-aggression pact." And why are the Russians interested in such a "non-aggression pact"? Knowing that China is in alliance with the U.S. imperialist bloc, the Russians seek to lessen the tensions with the Chinese imperialists in the east. Knowing that its semi-colonial ally, Vietnam, will keep China busy, while the Russian imperialists can concentrate their military forces in the west to be able to cope more with the military buildup of the U.S. imperialist bloc. For the Chinese warmongers, who have been hoping for imperialist war to breakout in Europe, rather than in South-East Asia (to no avail), the Russian proposal gives it something to think about. Thus, if one notices recent *Beijing Reviews*, indeed the Chinese have dropped the terms Soviet revisionism and Soviet social-imperialism, and instead just refer to Russia as a "hegemonist" superpower, bent on military expansionism. Nevertheless, the Russian proposal to withdraw its forces to the limit that existed in 1964 is not enough for the Chinese imperialists. The Chinese want the Russians to withdraw all their troops thereby (a) ensuring that any Russian initiation of war will start in Europe and (b) will make the Chinese imperialists that much more sure that in their confrontation with the Vietnamese for the seizure of territory in south-east Asia, it will assure them, if at least for a short while, of no direct Russian intrusion.

Of course, history has shown what "non-aggression" pacts amongst imperialists bent on war mean. It's like a sheet of bounty towels trying to hold together under the Niagara Falls.

It will indeed be interesting to see how the social-chauvinists and all the "Maoists-in-a-mess" will explain this one. How will CP(M-L) and LRS(M-L) explain that their "socialist" China who is in a bloc with U.S. imperialism views their main rival, "Soviet hegemonism", as a "socialist" country? ★

TERRORISM (from p. 10)

or the other of the imperialist blocs.

Deals are in the working. Already the two "great" imperialist powers negotiated the release of the four Nationalist prisoners, in exchange for various CIA agents held in Cuba for many years.

In the Caribbean, (a region equally important to both blocs of Imperialist Powers) the U.S. and the Russians are fighting with each other for redivision of world markets and spheres of influence.

Securing control over this region has strategic importance for both. The U.S. occupies 13% of the territory of Puerto Rico with military installations. Part of the NATO naval forces are presently being trained in Vieques, Puerto Rico. Vieques forms part of the "Atlantic Fleet Weapons Range".

Intelligence gathering, spying and plots against genuinely revolutionary struggles are carried out by the CIA, Naval investigation service and Navy intelligence, in coordination with the local colonial police.

The military installations are used as a base to launch military invasions of other countries in the Caribbean and the rest of Latin America, to keep imperialist rivals out and to violently repress genuinely revolutionary struggles.

The U.S. utilizes its repressive state machine to police the sea-lanes through which vital materials, such as oil, are shipped to the U.S. Much of this oil is fuel for military planes and ships. A lifeline has been created in the event of the outbreak of imperialist war.

The inter-imperialist contradictions for redivision of the world resemble those which led to the first world war. It is a hostile contradiction between two blocs of imperialist powers, over the grabbing of each others territories. The world has been divided and redivided, boundary lines have been established and re-established. Whole nations have been partitioned and re-partitioned. There is nowhere for the imperialist to go but for each others territories, in search of markets and sources of raw materials.

The general crisis of imperialism — the crisis of over-production tearing at the economies of the capitalist countries, the general political crisis, and the military buildup that is actively taking place, is a clear indication of where the imperialists are headed.

In this light we pass to examine the recent terrorist activity in Puerto Rico.

The Release of the Four Nationalists from U.S. Prisons

The four Nationalist prisoners were released after serving over 25 years in U.S. prisons.

Much of the history which led to the four Nationalists' imprisonment is widely known. It was the result of a rebellion, led by the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico in 1950, and later a revolt in 1954, which was brutally crushed by the U.S. military, crushed far beyond the threat which the rebellion posed. The forces who composed the Nationalist Party ascribed to terrorist tactics, symbolic of the desperation of reactionary property-owning class forces being ruined by the forced development of capitalism as a result of imperialist aggression. The

Nationalist Party and its leader Albizu Campos, dreamed of returning to the days of Spanish colonialism, they termed Spain "the mother country". These elements supported feudal monarchy, and later fascism.

The Nationalists were smashed and dispersed, and the campaigns to release those remaining in the U.S. prisons, became a common ground for the new petty bourgeois forces.

The class conscious proletarians, while denouncing the unjust tyrannical treatment of the Nationalists at the hands of U.S. imperialism, demarcate from the bourgeois nationalist politics and dangerous tactics which they utilize.

Many petty bourgeois radicals in Puerto Rico and in the U.S. claim the release of the "4" was the outcome of their tremendous organizing efforts. One example of such "organizing" is the numerous terrorist groups that sprung up in the name of Puerto Rican independence, carrying out terrorist actions demanding the release of the "4".

Of course these desperate actions of small isolated bands of frustrated petty bourgeois elements and agent provocateurs, does no harm to imperialism, in fact it assists the imperialist propaganda, i.e., ascribing terrorist acts to the communists. Each terrorist attack brings an increase of the actual numbers of military personnel, for the purpose of infiltration and repression of the mass movements. After the terrorist acts of this month, "Navy personnel are now travelling in small vans that have police-car escorts. Riding shotgun in the vans are Marines that the Pentagon flew to Puerto Rico after the bus ambush!" (*Time Magazine*, Dec. 17, 1979)

Side by side with the terrorists are the reformists, those "independentistas" who claim to be "leading" the workers.

These are the ones who have secured or are out to secure trade union positions. These spend 90% of their time negotiating "better contracts", raising the political status of Puerto Rico as a negotiating item across the bargaining table, to secure for themselves morsels from the hands of imperialism. These sections of the petty bourgeoisie and labor "leaders", would rather rise to power by "peaceful" means, riding on the backs of the proletariat, in order to institute a "free" government favorable to either imperialist bloc, "free" to trade with the best bidder.

Although differing in tactics, the terrorists and reformists support each other. The independence movement in Puerto Rico is a movement of the petty bourgeoisie. It is controlled by bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements interested in becoming the ruling bourgeoisie in Puerto Rico. The movement attracts petty bourgeois, lumpen and labor aristocratic elements.

Some claim to be "Marxist" in order to pretend to be fighting for something fundamentally different than capitalism.

Thus there are a number of "Socialist Parties".

These "parties" are ransacked by crisis and disunity, desperate to achieve an immediate goal, the rise to power of new exploiting forces.

They spread anti-communist politics, with the aim of weakening the proletariat in Puerto Rico, keeping it iso-

TERRORISM (cont. p. 13)

TERRORISM (from p. 12)

lated from the international proletariat by infesting its consciousness with disgusting bourgeois nationalism. By openly supporting Russian imperialism and the Cubans, these opportunists have succeeded in driving certain sections of the proletariat into rejecting the revolutionary struggle for political secession through proletarian revolution, fearing that Russia or Cuba might move in to pick up where the Americans leave off. This assists American imperialism in fact, because the fallacy is spread that the U.S. is needed to protect Puerto Rico from other invaders — the bourgeois fallacy that the oppressed cannot live without the oppressors.

This movement of *independentistas* was weak and losing ground, discredited among the masses of people. The four Nationalists were released and put at the head of it with the mission of "uniting" it.

The four Nationalists are aligned with Cuba. They are favorable toward Cuba's role, which consists of opening up another sphere of influence for Russian imperialism in Latin America. Its role has been diplomatic intrigue in Puerto Rico's case, while in other situations, e.g., Angola, Cuba clearly carried out military mercenary activity in favor of Russian imperialism.

This is unimportant to bourgeois nationalists who are interested in one thing — securing their own home market.

The solution being paraded as a favorable possibility is the one reached in Nicaragua. The Sandinistas represent some of the very same forces above analyzed. The Sandinistas were selling the revolution to the highest bidder even before they rose to power, and finally settled for a 22 million dollar selling price from the World Bank.

In Nicaragua, both imperialist "great" powers have a foothold. Especially U.S. imperialism. The Sandinistas have worked out deals through the International Monetary Fund.

In this world of so-called "non-aligned" countries, it is the masses of people who carry the burden of tremendous exploitation, starvation, unemployment, total impoverishment, in order that these bourgeois elements fatten their pockets and bank accounts. The masses are squeezed dry in order to pay enslaving loans to the imperialists.

To be sure, Puerto Rico would be another "non-aligned" country where the *independentistas* would rise to power in a "free", semi-colonial Puerto Rico.

The positions being taken by the Nationalists are not surprising; though they are raised as heroes, patriots, etc., the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico has a history of seeking alliance with one imperialist "great" power against the U.S. imperialists.

The Nationalist Party has a foul history. During the anti-fascist war, i.e., World War II, the Nationalist Party sided with the Axis forces. Albizu Campos, ascribed to the bourgeois philosophical point of view which claims that the "enemy of my enemy is my friend".

In the late 1930's, the Spanish fascists, led by Franco and aided by the German and Italian fascists, succeeded in establishing a fascist regime following the bitter and bloody Spanish Civil War. The Nationalist Party more than ever called for the return to the "mother country."

The Nationalist Party sided with the Axis forces who were out for domination of the world, for the destruction of bourgeois democratic liberties and who were running roughshod over the principles of sovereignty of small nations, i.e., oppressed nations.

The fascists were out to destroy the fortress of true democracy, the State of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the only socialist country in history, the USSR.

The Nationalists sided with the fascists against the USSR.

Nationalism, chauvinist bourgeois politics, which views one's nation above all others was the guiding ideology of Albizu Campos and the Nationalist Party.

This vile act of the Nationalists was used by U.S. imperialism to strengthen its grip, as the defender of "democracy" in Puerto Rico and, of course the world. U.S. imperialism came out of WWII a victor, possessing the greatest grip over the world imperialist economy. In the post-war years, in Puerto Rico Operation Bootstrap was launched, industrializing the country, ruining the peasantry and further grabbing Puerto Rico by the throat.

Yesterday the Nationalists flirted with the fascist forces; today they are making overtures to the Russian imperialists through an alliance with Cuba. They have secured a position from where to negotiate a deal that will inevitably sell out the revolution.

Just recently a conference was held in Mexico (Nov., 1979). Among those who attended were the Nationalists, Lolita Lebron and Co. Those attending this conference for "Puerto Rican Independence" were revisionists old and new. Even the social-democratic parties of the Second International in Latin America were given a platform from which to sabotage the revolution.

It was not at all suprising the coalition of forces that attended, i.e., the Second International Parties and parties like the CPUSA.

As the crisis of imperialism intensifies, and as the U.S. nears another economic catastrophe, the economic crisis in Puerto Rico (already economically devastated) is that much more heightened.

The alignment of forces is shaping up. In 1982 another referendum over the status of Puerto Rico will be held. Much preparation is being carried out in the Congress of the U.S. to secure the continued domination of U.S. imperialism over Puerto Rico. Various options are being discussed. The present status is unstable; it gives rise to opposition; it has outlived its value. Statehood has not secured the position of strength among the U.S. bourgeoisie for which certain sections of the U.S. bourgeoisie have been lobbying, for over two decades. The fact is that financing the state bureaucracy could be too costly for the U.S. bourgeoisie. The no-tax laws for corporations for 10 - 20 years would also be liquidated.

In Puerto Rico statehood is rejected by an overwhelming margin of the population. "Independence" is an option — one which would guarantee the continuation of economic control, under the guise of political independence. This semi-colonial status would be carried out by tremendous enslaving loans while the state machinery would be financed by the local bourgeoisie in power.

There is evidence that the U.S. would prefer to retain

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Moscow Declarations. These declarations, signed by eighty-one parties, buried the previously existing Leninist norms of criticism and self-criticism under a mound of dirt known as "fraternal relations." The gist of the matter was to consolidate all of the shades of international opportunism under one banner, to attempt to ensure the impossibility of the rise of Bolshevism through the official renunciation of Leninism. With the complete unanimity expressed in Moscow, in 1957 and 1960 the temporary victory of opportunism was assured.

Soon, however, rifts in the alliance of the opportunist international began. The Moscow leaders demanded complete adherence to their line and economic subordination to their imperialist designs. The rift became a breach when the Chinese leaders demanded the right to develop capitalism in accord to their own bourgeois national interests. It is this fact, and this alone, that enables one to understand the splits and re-splits that have occurred within international opportunism. It is the existence of opportunism *in state power* that characterizes the opportunist international. It is the interests of these bourgeois states, which, given the law of uneven development of capitalism, sets them at loggerheads to one another, and determines the *political* differences that arise among them. In the Soviet Union, China and Albania — to mention only the most prominent "socialist" countries — the bourgeoisie rules under the guise of socialism.

With the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union (the world socialist market (of which China and Albania were members) was surrendered to world capitalism. This was with the blessing and assistance of the social-nationalist leaders of both China (Mao Zedong) and Albania (Enver Hoxha). Try as they did to conceal from the world proletariat the capitalist character of their economies, the present crisis of imperialism has brought this fact out in bold relief. Both Albania and China are thoroughly dependent on the export of capital from imperialist great powers. Both are racked with unemployment (as many as twenty million in China!), both are actively advertising the availability of their natural resources to the imperialist world market. Albania's per capita income is nearing \$400, both are in serious economic straits. In a word, both are governed by the economic laws of capitalism and not of socialism.

Politically, neither is able to conceal any longer the bourgeois nationalist line that is in state power. The theory of "three worlds" to which the Chinese Communist Party is committed is blatant in its collaboration with imperialism and opposition to proletarian revolution. E. Hoxha's recently published diary, *Reflections on China*, is truly a reflection of opportunism all along the line. The shameless attempts on the part of Hoxha to shield with a diary his long standing approval of the line of Mao Zedong in every aspect of political and economic life should be sufficient proof of the bourgeois dealings this social-nationalist has undertaken for forty years.

The international working class must be reminded at every occasion that neither Mao nor Hoxha advanced the slightest opposition to the restoration of capitalism in

the Soviet Union. That neither uttered a word in protest at the Twentieth Party Congress of the Soviet Party, when the immortal work of Lenin's greatest disciple, J.V. Stalin, was viciously attacked by the agent of world finance capital, N. Krushchev.

Hence our first question, viz., from where did the present tactics of social-fascism employed by the international opportunists arise, is answered by an examination of the significance of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the surrender of the world socialist market to the clutches of world capitalism. On a number of occasions, Stalin spoke of the terrible danger that would befall the *international proletariat* if the restoration of capitalism (for which international imperialism in alliance with Trotskyism was plotting) in the Soviet Union was not prevented. Stalin spoke not merely of the economic dangers, but also, and principally of the *political* dangers that this blackest day would signal. It stands to reason that given the fact that the Soviet Union was not only the bulwark of international socialism economically (and the organization of the world socialist market with the Soviet Union at the head bears this out) but also, the bulwark of communism politically, that restoration would mean the end of the *political* fortress of socialism from which the world-wide proletarian revolution gained its strength. To have abetted this crime of restoration, for which Mao and Hoxha are guilty, is to have abetted world capitalism in its struggle to tear from the proletariat its socialist fatherland, and hence the base of world socialist revolution.

Thus, both the CPC and PLA, who rose together against the Soviet Union, against Stalin, and against the political and economic base of the world socialist revolution, are principals in the victory achieved by international opportunism over the working class movement.

Hence, to answer the second question, viz., where does international opportunism find its strength, the examination must necessarily lead to the existence in power of various social-nationalist bourgeois parties. International opportunism, through its various state powers, and allied from the beginning with world capitalism, had tremendous means at its disposal to consolidate its victory. International opportunism controlled the international "communist" press, through the Tirana and Peking publishing houses. With vast amounts of capital gained in the exploitation of their proletariat and peasantry, these bases of social-nationalist opportunism financed the organization of various groups in other countries (e.g., the bankrolling of the Revolutionary Union in the U.S. by the CPC, for which concrete evidence has been unearthed). With the assistance of the bourgeoisie (certainly its most "enlightened" sections) in the capitalist countries, these opportunist groups were given every forum from which to express their programmes of reform, while every embryonic murmur of Bolshevism was ruthlessly persecuted and crushed. Mao's *Red Book* (which was more *read* than *red*!) became a favorite with the petty bourgeoisie, as the works of Lenin and Stalin virtually disappeared in the vaults and archives of Moscow, Tirana and Peking — all

these are facts. Anyone who denies the undeniable link between the opportunists in state power and the spread of opportunism internationally must be blinded by the striving to assist the bourgeoisie in the spread of anti-communism.

A similar situation existed after the outbreak of the First World War and the turn to the shelter of the bourgeoisie by Kautsky, Plekhanov and others. Lenin chronicled the worth of these opportunists to the bourgeoisie when he said in response to the question, wherein lies the strength of opportunism? **"It is because behind Sudekum are the bourgeoisie, the government, and the General Staff of a Great Power. These support Sudekum's policy in a thousand ways, whereas his opponents' policy is frustrated by every means including prison and the firing squad. Sudekum's voice reaches the public in millions of copies of bourgeois newspapers (as do the voices of Vandervelde, Sembat, and Plekhanov), whereas the voices of his opponents cannot be heard in the legal press because of the military censorship!"** ("The Collapse of the Second International," *LCW*, 21:247, Moscow, 1974) Does not the voice of Mao and even Hoxha reach the public in millions of copies? But enough!

The events in Spain which we mentioned in the beginning must now receive our attention, for it strikingly portrays the damage done by the international opportunists in the sphere of international relations.

The recently concluded "Third International Youth Camp" held in Valencia, Spain, marked another chapter in the disgraceful annals of the relations existing within the so-called International Communist Movement. This event represented in detailed expression the complete absence of Marxist-Leninist norms among a *section* of those labelling themselves Marxist-Leninist. The result of this Camp was a communique, signed by eleven parties or organizations, alleging "agent provocateur" activity on the part of other parties and organizations, allegations made to stifle criticism. This is the only conclusion that can be drawn by a thinking person, certainly by any who consider themselves Marxist-Leninist. The baselessness of the charges, the complete lack of evidence corroborating them (and none has been brought forth) and the utter lack of principle exhibited by the eleven signees give ample reason to draw from this sordid affair the conclusion that an attempt was made to *forcefully* stifle debate and discussion on questions vital to International Communism. This, and only this, interpretation stands up to the scrutiny required by Marxism-Leninism. It has long been the practice of opportunism to abdicate political debate in favor of charges of "provocateur" activity, precisely (and only precisely!) against those with whom they disagree for whatever reason.

Centrism is a political trend of bourgeois thought (and clearly of bourgeois relations) which has cunningly concealed its true programme, its true politics, behind the label of "Marxism-Leninism". Centrism disdains to *reveal* its views, while Communism disdains to *conceal* its views. Stalin referred to the characteristic fact that centrism seeks to bury differences, while attempting to reconcile Marxism to opportunism. The Youth Camp Communique signed by the eleven parties and organizations clearly

sought to bury differences that had arisen among the attending groups. Further, it mentioned not a single word of the political positions advanced by those labelled "provocateurs" and in fact shed absolutely no light on the questions around which the beginnings of debate had been attempted.

To evoke the title Marxist-Leninist requires more than mere bestowal of such a title by its bearer. It requires, if one is a true communist, and not simply a petty bourgeois philistine, the adherence to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. And the strictest adherence, at that. But, one must ask: "Where in these teachings have these people who have paraded as Marxist-Leninists found *any* such writings that would compel them to act in such a philistine, bourgeois, and social-fascist manner?" Obviously they have not found any sources in the works of Marxism-Leninism that could compel them to resort to such activity. Only the worst scoundrel could so lightly trample on Communist principles and in exchange substitute social-fascist activity. The source of the utter betrayal of Marxist-Leninist norms by these scoundrels is in fact the *opposition* to Marxism-Leninism, and the *centrist opposition* in particular. One cannot forget with what rabid hatred Kautsky (father of centrism) attacked Lenin and the Bolsheviks with slanders of "provocateur", etc. One would be foolhardy to forget that Trotsky was for many years a foremost representative of centrism and life-long opponent of Marxism-Leninism. Are the activities and slanders carried out by Kautsky and Trotsky any different than those pursued by the centrists of the "International Youth Camp" Communique? Not at all. The aim is to prohibit debate, whether "peacefully" or through forceful means — in either case it remains nothing less than the undemocratic and unprincipled maneuver of social-fascism.

In order to shed light on the difference between principles guiding true Marxist-Leninists and the lack of them guiding their opponents, we must review the history (though briefly) of the norms of international relations of Marxism-Leninism.

I. Marx, Engels and the First International Working Men's Association

Since Marx and Engels founded scientific socialism, the matter of international norms governing the relations between various parties *and* organizations has been a serious problem among the class conscious workers. Marx took it upon himself, first in the Communist League (whose *Manifesto* is the classic of the foundation of Communism), and later in the First International Working Men's Association, to elaborate the theory and demonstrate the practice of principled norms among the proletarian parties.

To formulate the matter from the scientific standpoint, i.e., from the standpoint of the relations between classes in modern society, one must demarcate between the proletarian and bourgeois positions on the question of relations between parties and organizations internationally. It is widely known that the "norms" of bourgeois parties are characterized by unprincipled relations

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by V.I. Lenin



surd to refer to changed circumstances and succession of periods. Work for the establishment of a fighting organisation and political agitation must be carried on under all circumstances, no matter how "drab and peaceful" the times may be, and no matter how low the "depression of revolutionary spirit" has sunk. More than that, it is precisely in such conditions and in such periods that this work is particularly required; for it would be too late to start building such an organisation in the midst of uprisings and outbreaks. The organisation must be ready when that moment arrives and immediately develop its activity. "Change tactics in twenty-four hours!" In order to change tactics it is necessary first of all to have tactics, and without a strong organisation, tested in the political struggle carried on under all circumstances and in all periods, there can be no talk of a systematic plan of activity, enlightened by firm principles and unswervingly carried out, which alone is worthy of being called tactics. Think of it! We are now told that the "historical moment" has confronted our party with the "absolutely new" question of — terror! Yesterday the "absolutely new" question was the question of political organisation and agitation; to-day it is the question of terror! Does it not sound strange to hear people, who so completely fail to understand the relationship between the questions, arguing about radical changes in tactics?

Fortunately *Rabocheye Dyelo* is wrong. The question of terror is certainly not a new one, and it will be sufficient to recall briefly the long established views of Russian Social-Democracy on this question to prove it.

We have never rejected terror on principle, nor can we ever do so. Terror is a form of military operations that may be usefully applied, or may even be essential in certain moments of the battle, under certain conditions, and when the troops are in a certain condition. The point is, however, that terror is now advocated, not as one of the operations the army in the field must carry out in close contact with the main body and in harmony with the whole plan of battle, but as individual attack, completely isolated from any army whatever. In view of the absence of a central revolutionary organisation, and the weakness of the local revolutionary organisations, terror cannot be anything else than that. That is why we declare that under present circumstances such a method of fighting is inopportune and inexpedient: it will distract the most active fighters from their present tasks, which are more important from the standpoint of the interests of the whole movement, and will disrupt, not the governmental forces, but the revolutionary forces. Recall recent events. Before our very eyes, broad masses of the urban workers and the urban "common people" rushed into battle, but the revolutionaries lacked a staff of leaders and organisers. Would not the departure of the most energetic revolutionaries to take up the work of terror under circumstances like these weaken the fighting detachments upon which alone serious hopes can be

placed? Would it not threaten to break the contacts that exist between the revolutionary organisations and the disunited, discontented masses, who are expressing protest, and who are ready for the fight, but who are weak simply because they are disunited? And these contacts are the only guarantee of our success. We would not for one moment assert that individual acts of heroism are of no importance at all. But it is our duty to utter a strong warning against devoting all attention to terror, against regarding it as the principal method of struggle as so many at the present time are inclined to do. Terror can never become the regular means of warfare; at best, it can only be of use as one of the methods of a final onslaught. The question is, Can we, at the present time, *issue the call* to storm the fortress? Apparently *Rabocheye Dyelo* thinks we can. At all events, it exclaims: "Form into storming columns!" But this is merely a display of excessive zeal. Our military forces mainly consist of volunteers and rebels. We have only a few detachments of regular troops, and even these are not mobilised, not linked up with each other, and not trained to form into any kind of military column, let alone storming column. Under such circumstances, any one capable of taking a general view of the conditions of our struggle, without losing sight of them at every "turn" in the historical progress of events, must clearly understand that at the present time our slogan cannot be "Storm the fortress," but should be "Organise properly the siege of the enemy fortress." In other words, the immediate task of our party is not to call up our available forces for an immediate attack, but to call for the establishment of a revolutionary organisation capable of combining all the forces and of leading the movement, not only in name but in deed, *i.e.*, an organisation that will be ready at any moment to support every protest and every outbreak, and to utilise these for the purpose of increasing and strengthening the military forces required for decisive battle.

The events of February and March have taught us such a thorough lesson that it is hardly likely that objection will be raised to the above conclusion on principle. But we are not called upon at the present moment to settle the question in principle but in practice. We must not only be clear in our minds as to the kind of organisation we must have and the kind of work we must do; we must also draw up a definite *plan* of organisation that will enable us to set to work to build it from all sides. In view of the urgency and importance of the question we have taken it upon ourselves to submit to our comrades the outlines of such a plan. We have described this plan in greater detail in a pamphlet now in preparation for the press.

In our opinion, the starting point of all our activities, the first practical step to take towards creating the organisation we desire, the factor which will enable us constantly to develop, broaden and deepen that organisation, is to establish a national (All-Russian) political

newspaper. A paper is what we need above all; without it we cannot systematically carry on that extensive and theoretically sound propaganda and agitation which is the principal and constant duty of the Social-Democrats in general, and the essential task of the present moment in particular, when interest in politics and in questions of Socialism has been aroused among wide sections of the population. Never before has the need been so strongly felt for supplementing individual agitation in the form of personal influence, local leaflets, pamphlets, etc., by a general and regularly conducted agitation, such as can be carried on only with the assistance of a periodical press. It would be hardly an exaggeration to say that the frequency and regularity of the publication (and distribution) of the paper would serve as an exact measure of the extent to which the primary and most essential branch of our militant activities has been firmly established. Moreover, the paper must be an All-Russian paper. Until we are able to exercise united influence upon the population and on the government with the aid of the press, it will be Utopian to think that we shall be able unitedly to exercise influence in more complex and difficult, but more effective forms. Our movement, intellectually as well as practically (organisationally), suffers most of all from being scattered, from the fact that the vast majority of Social-Democrats are almost entirely immersed in local work, which narrows their point-of-view, limits their activities and affects their conspiratorial skill and training. It is to this fact of being scattered that we must ascribe the vacillation and the hesitation to which I referred above. The *first step* towards removing this defect, and transforming several local movements into a united national (All-Russian) movement is the establishment of a national All-Russian newspaper. Finally, it is a *political* paper we need. Without a political organ, a political movement deserving that name is impossible in modern Europe. Unless we have such a paper, we shall be absolutely unable to fulfill our task, namely, to concentrate all the elements of political unrest and discontent, and with them enrich the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. The first step we have already accomplished. We have aroused in the working class a passion for "economic" factory exposure. We have now to take the second step: To arouse in every section of the population that is at all enlightened a passion for *political* exposure. We must not allow ourselves to be discouraged by the fact that the voice of political exposure is still feeble, rare and timid. This is not because of a general submission to political despotism, but because those who are able and ready to expose have no tribune from which to speak, because there is no audience to listen eagerly to and approve of what the orators say, and because the latter can nowhere perceive among the people forces to whom it would be worth while directing their complaint against the "omnipotent" Russian government. But a change is now taking place, and a

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The question, "What is to be done?" has been very prominent before the Russian Social-Democrats in the past few years. It is not a matter of choosing the path we are to travel (as was the case at the end of the eighties and the beginning of the nineties) but of the practical measures and the methods we must adopt on a certain path. What we have in mind is a system and plan of practical activity. It must be confessed that the question as to the character of the struggle and the means by which it is to be carried on — which is a fundamental question for a practical party — still remains unsettled, and still gives rise to serious differences which reveal a deplorable uncertainty and ideological wavering. On the one hand, the Economist tendency, which strives to curtail and restrict the work of political organisation and agitation is not dead yet by a long way. On the other hand, the tendency of shallow eclecticism, masquerading in the guise of a new "idea" and incapable of distinguishing between the requirements of the moment and the permanent needs of the movement as a whole, still proudly raises its head. Such a tendency has entrenched itself in *Rabocheye Dyelo*. The latest statement of "principles" published by that paper — a sensational article bearing the bombastic title: "A Historical Change" [*Rabocheye Dyelo Leaflet*, No. 6] strongly confirms our opinion of it. Only yesterday, we flirted with Economism, expressed our indignation at the severe condemnation of *Rabochaya Mysl.* and "modified" the Plekhanov presentation of the question of fighting against the autocracy; but to-day we quote the words of Liebknecht: "If circumstances change within twenty-four hours then tactics must be changed within twenty-four hours"; now we talk about a "strong fighting organisation" for the direct attack upon and storming of the autocracy; about "extensive revolutionary, political [how strongly this is worded: revolutionary and political!] agitation among the masses"; about "unceasing calls for street protests"; for "organising street demonstrations of a sharply [*sic!*] expressed political character," etc., etc.

We might have expressed satisfaction at the *Rabocheye Dyelo* having so readily adopted the programme we advocated in the very first number of *Iskra*, *viz.*, establishing a strongly organised party, for the purpose of winning, not only a few concessions, but the very fortress of the autocracy; but the absence of anything like a fixed point-of-view in the *Rabocheye Dyelo* spoils all our pleasure.

Rabocheye Dyelo takes Liebknecht's name in vain. Tactics in relation to some special question, or in relation to some detail of party organisation may be changed within twenty-four hours; but views as to whether a militant organisation, and political agitation among the masses, is necessary at all times or not cannot be changed in twenty-four hours, or even in twenty-four months for that matter. Only those who have no fixed ideas on anything might do a thing like that. It is ab-

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very rapid one. Such a force now exists — the revolutionary proletariat. It has demonstrated its readiness, not merely to listen to and to support an appeal for a political struggle, but to fight boldly in that struggle. We are now in a position to set up a tribune for the national exposure of the tsarist government, and it is our duty to do so. That tribune must be a Social-Democrat paper. The Russian working class, unlike other classes and sections of Russian society, betrays a constant desire for political knowledge; they demand illegal literature, not only during periods of unusual unrest, but at all times. Given that demand, given the training of experienced revolutionary leaders which has already begun, and given the great concentration of the working class, which makes it the real master in the working class quarters of large towns, in factory settlements and small industrial towns, the establishment of a political paper is a thing quite within the powers of the proletariat. Through the medium of the proletariat, the paper will penetrate to the urban petty bourgeoisie and to the village artisans and peasants, and will thus become a real national political paper.

But the role of a paper is not confined solely to the spreading of ideas, to political education, and to procuring political allies. A paper is not merely a collective propagandist and collective agitator, it is also a collective organiser. In that respect, it can be compared to the scaffolding erected around a building in construction; it marks the contours of the structure, and facilitates communication between the builders, permitting them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organised labour. With the aid of, and around, a paper, there will automatically develop an organisation that will be concerned, not only with local activities, but also with regular, general work; it will teach its members carefully to watch political events, to estimate their importance and their influence on the various sections of the population, and to devise suitable methods to influence these events through the revolutionary party. The mere technical problem of procuring a regular supply of material for the newspaper and its regular distribution will make it necessary to create a network of agents of a united party, who will be in close contact with each other, will be acquainted with the general situation, will be accustomed to fulfill the detailed functions of the national (All-Russian) work, and who will test their strength in the organisation of various kinds of revolutionary activities. This network of agents* will form the skeleton of the organisation we need: namely, one that is sufficiently large

to embrace the whole country; sufficiently wide and many-sided to effect a strict and detailed division of labour; sufficiently tried and tempered unswervingly to carry out its own work in its own way, in spite of all adversities, changes and surprises; sufficiently flexible to be able, if necessary, to renounce an open fight against overwhelming and concentrated forces, and yet capable of taking advantage of the awkwardness and immobility of the enemy and attack at a time and place where he least expects attack. To-day we are faced with the comparatively simple task of supporting students demonstrating in the streets of large towns; to-morrow, perhaps, we shall be faced with more difficult tasks, as for instance, supporting a movement of the unemployed in some locality or other. The day after to-morrow, perhaps, we may have to be ready at our posts, to take a revolutionary part in some peasants' revolt. To-day we must take advantage of the strained political situation created by the government's attack upon the Zemstvo. To-morrow, we may have to support the population in their protest against the outbreaks of some tsarist Bshibuzuk, and help, by boycott, agitation, demonstration, etc., to teach him such a lesson as will compel him to beat an open retreat. This stage of military preparedness can be reached only by the constant activity of a regular army. If we unite our forces for the conduct of a common paper, that work will prepare and bring forward, not only the most competent propagandists, but also the most skilled organisers and the most talented political party leaders, who will know at the right moment when to issue the call to battle, and will be capable of leading that battle.

In conclusion, we desire to say a few words in order to avoid possible misunderstandings. We have spoken all the time about systematic and methodical preparation, but we had no desire in the least to suggest that the autocracy may fall only as a result of a properly prepared *siege* or organised attack. Such a view would be stupid and doctrinaire. On the contrary, it is quite possible, and historically far more probable, that the autocracy will fall under the pressure of one of those spontaneous outbursts or unforeseen political complications which constantly threaten it from all sides. But no political party, if it desires to avoid adventurist tactics, can base its activities on expectations of such outbursts and complications. We must proceed along our road, and steadily carry out our systematic work, and the less we count on the unexpected, the less likely are we to be taken by surprise by any "historical turn."

Iskra, No. 4, May 1901.



* It is understood, of course that these agents can act successfully only if they work in close conjunction with the local committees (groups or circles) of our party. Indeed, the whole plan we have sketched can be carried out, only with the most active support of the committees, which have already made more than one attempt to achieve a united party, and which, I am certain, sooner or later, and in one form or another will achieve that unity.

Editorial (from p.4)

Leninism, applying this study to the concrete conditions of the world and the U.S.

In order to carry out the work of the Bolshevik League and implement its line, every member must be guided by revolutionary theory. In order to understand the complexities of world economics and politics, every member of the Bolshevik League must study hard and improve his or her knowledge and understanding of the laws of the revolution by mastering scientific socialism.

It can never be forgotten that the US movement has been amongst the most theoretically impoverished movements in the western hemisphere.

The active promotion of phrasemongering and thorough belittling of theory for years has left its imprint. Bad study habits must be overcome. To the degree that revolutionary theory is studied and applied by members of the Bolshevik League, to that degree will it be better able to resolve problems, eliminate deficiencies and correct defects in its work. Through the systematic study and application of revolutionary theory, the political line will continue to develop and the basis for the elaboration of the Party's program will be firmly established.

Leading politics cannot develop without a firm base in revolutionary theory. Without leading politics, the work of propaganda cannot be raised to its proper level, and the vanguard cannot be rallied to communism.

Any member of the Bolshevik League who neglects his or her studies will drop behind. Continual neglect of revolutionary theory will inevitably lead to deviations from the political line.

"Of course," said Stalin, "theory becomes purposeless if it is not connected with revolutionary practice, just as practice gropes in the dark if its path is not illuminated by revolutionary theory. But theory can become a tremendous force in the working-class movement if it is built up in indissoluble connection with revolutionary practice; for theory and theory alone, can give the movement confidence, the power of orientation, and an understanding of the inner relation of surrounding events; for it, and it alone, can help practice to realise not only how and in which direction classes are moving at the present time but also how and in which direction they will move in the near future. None other than Lenin uttered and repeated scores of times the well known thesis that 'Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.'" ("Foundations of Leninism," SCW 6:92)
Democratic Centralism

The Bolshevik League of the US is a Democratic Centralist Communist group.

The Bolshevik League insists upon the strictest discipline from all its members. Discipline begins with the understanding that this is not a formal discipline; it is a class conscious discipline because every member is convinced that discipline is necessary in order to maintain the internal unity of the Bolshevik League, which strives for the unity of the workers of all countries.

It is a matter of the sense of duty, a manifestation of a Bolshevik's ardent desire constantly to strengthen Len-

inist norms and construct the Bolshevik Party, in order to overthrow the bourgeois state and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Stalin in his article "Proletarian Class, Proletarian Party," wrote that those could be regarded as Party members who "... deem it their duty to merge their wishes with the wishes of the Party and to act in conjunction with the Party." (SCW 1:66, Red Star Press), p. 66)

Without discipline, the Bolshevik League cannot function. Without its members assuring its iron-like discipline, it cannot fight the opportunists who are constantly on the look-out for laxity on questions of discipline and organization to sabotage the work.

The Bolshevik League cannot tolerate violations of its internal discipline. Members and candidate members must never forget that they are communists and must always act accordingly. The members of the Bolshevik League are responsible for it, and the Bolshevik League is responsible for each and every one of its members. Infractions of discipline are indications of serious problems, many times reflecting the lack of Party spirit, individualism, or worse yet, contradictions with the line, carried out through organizational sabotage.

The penalties observed for breaks of discipline in the Bolshevik League are: a warning, reprimand, suspension and lastly expulsion from the Bolshevik League.

The Bolshevik League operates on the basis of the co-optive system. We have not yet developed the political or organizational maturity to pass over to the elective system.

Centralism is the guiding principle. There is one leading center in the Bolshevik League, the Central Committee, which directs all the work of the Bolshevik League in accordance to a single plan.

The Central Committee as the highest leading body is responsible for the development of the political line of the Bolshevik League, and for assuring its implementation.

The members of the Central Committee have achieved monolithic unity of ideological and political line and have been selected on the basis of their ability to grasp Marxist-Leninist theory. They are capable of interpreting the world according to its realities, and are capable of providing practical leadership on the question of implementation of the line.

The Central Committee is responsible for convening the conference of the Bolshevik League. At the conference of the Bolshevik League discussions on the question of line are reviewed, amendments and resolutions passed, and decisions taken. At the conclusion of the conference, all decisions are binding on all members and candidate members of the Bolshevik League, and must be carried out resolutely.

Conferences will be periodically convened.

In intervals between conferences the Central Committee assures the implementation of the decisions of the conference.

The lower bodies are subordinated to the higher bodies. All decisions by the higher bodies are absolutely binding on lower bodies and the minority is subordina-

ted to the majority.

Generally speaking, a Maoist interpretation and distortion of this principle has been prevalent. In re-organizing all the work on the basis of new revolutionary lines, the Menshevik suppression of Leninist organizational norms must be thoroughly eliminated.

"The principle of the minority submitting to the majority," said Stalin, **"the principle of directing Party work from a centre, not infrequently gives rise to attacks on the part of wavering elements, to accusations of 'bureaucracy,' 'formalism,' etc. It scarcely needs proof that systematic work by the Party as one whole, and the directing of the struggle of the working class, would be impossible without putting these principles into effect."** ("Foundations of Leninism," SCW 6:183)

Every member and candidate member of the Bolshevik League must defend his or her democratic rights by fighting for and defending the Marxist-Leninist line, norms and organizational principles of the Bolshevik League. The Bolshevik League will prevent and not tolerate the slightest indication of factionalism within the group. Factions lead to many centers and a number of centers means the liquidation of one common center in the Bolshevik League. The absence of a common center leads to the disintegration of unity of will and action, and represents the presence of an anti-Leninist platform in contradiction with the Marxist-Leninist line of the Bolshevik League.

To assure the continued strengthening and development of the Marxist-Leninist line and in order that the inner iron discipline and unity of the Bolshevik League is maintained, the consistent application of Bolshevik criticism and self-criticism is absolutely essential.

The Maoists and all present-day Mensheviks vulgarise criticism and self-criticism, and degrade it to the level of psychological encounter sessions. The individual and his or her hangups become the gutter-type discussion, which has been dressed under the stolen term "criticism and self-criticism."

Through the vulgarization of criticism and self-criticism, all Mensheviks betray a fear of *Bolshevik* criticism, and display a most disgusting philistine cowardice towards admitting mistakes.

In describing the identical phenomenon among the parties of the Second International Stalin showed how these parties had a habit of "... concealing their mistakes, of glossing over vexed questions, of covering up their shortcomings by a deceptive show of well being which blunts living thought and prevents the party from deriving revolutionary training from its own mistakes — a habit which was ridiculed and pilloried by Lenin." (Ibid., p. 89)

In contradistinction, Lenin and Stalin taught the Bolsheviks to criticize defects in their work and to learn from mistakes in order to raise the level of the training within the Party and among non-Party masses.

Lenin and Stalin taught that if we want to train and steel party workers, we must not be afraid of offending people, we must not be afraid of honest, bold and frank

criticism. When there's no timely criticism, defects are many times driven below the surface, and become much more serious a problem and harder to root out.

On the other hand, bold and timely criticism of defects in the work helps people to perfect themselves. It stimulates discussion of the work and people are propelled forward, conscious of the methods to employ in correcting their weaknesses in order to keep to a minimum the defects in the work and finally eliminating the most minor defect. By focusing the attention towards discussion of how to improve the work, modest, quiet, unseen activity will strengthen the overall work of the Bolshevik League. There's no room for conceit and boastfulness in the Bolshevik League; modesty is the hallmark of a Bolshevik. Difficulties are overcome by hard, persistent work.

There are some people who drown in a glass of water, who whine and complain about everything. They must not be pampered. They must be criticized and shown how this attitude is totally alien to the very spirit of Bolshevism and runs counter to the party spirit. They must be taught, through patient persuasion; their education must be uplifted and they must be shown through practical resolutions how to overcome obstacles.

Bolsheviks do not allow themselves to be daunted by difficulties. They go out and boldly overcome them, in accordance to scientific methods.

Resolving problems doesn't end then; new ones always arise. These *too* must be solved; they will never go away by themselves. It's an endless process, but a process which if handled in accordance with a single plan, will propel everyone forward, towards a single common goal.

The Maoists and modern-day Mensheviks talk people to death. They humiliate people and beat them back into submission; mistakes are blown out of proportion and opportunism is concealed, thus creating the basis for factional disputes and unprincipled blocking.

In contrast the Bolsheviks are never indifferent towards defects and mistakes, and wage a struggle of extermination against any and all manifestations of opportunism.

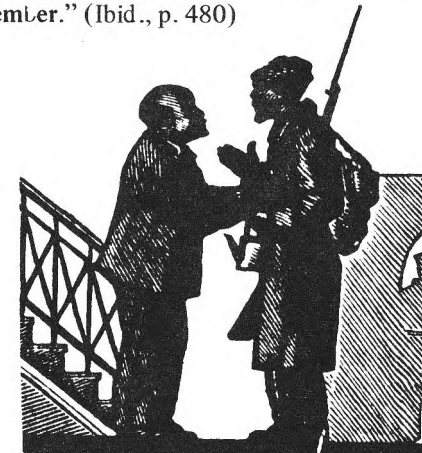
The opportunists insist on democracy over centralism and are always advancing the "broad democratic principle." The Mensheviks' aim is to degrade discipline and weaken the single plan through organizational sabotage. Endless debate, minutiae, intellectual pin-pricking or twattle is used as a weapon against the Bolsheviks, to paralyze the practical activities of the Bolsheviks. **"The only serious organizational principle for the active workers of our movement,"** wrote Lenin, **"should be the strictest secrecy, the strictest selection of members and the training of professional revolutionaries. Given these qualities something even more than 'democratism' would be guaranteed to us, namely, complete comradesly, mutual confidence among revolutionaries."** ("What Is To Be Done," LCW 5:480)

Loose talk and meddling into affairs that are not the concern of those interested in detailed information is highly dangerous.

We must operate on the basis of "need to know" — i.e., everyone needs to know that which is necessary to carry out his or her tasks. Intrusion into the affairs of the organization on the part of any individual, member or not, must not be tolerated.

The political police is quite active and relies on slackness in questions of secrecy to conduct its gathering of information.

The centralization of all the activities of the Bolsheviks on the basis of a single plan and the direction of the work by one center is absolutely essential to maintain strict secrecy and the strictest selection of members. It is harmful to the cause of the proletariat to lose sight of the fact that we labor under the conditions of the ruthless dictatorship of the bourgeoisie no matter how "democratic" and legal its mask may be. The bourgeoisie will stop at nothing to smash the Bolshevik Revolution. Thus, secrecy and mutual confidence are mighty weapons against the bourgeois dictatorship; weapons which manifest seriousness, revolutionary maturity, and steadfastness in matters of principle. **"They,"** i.e., the revolutionaries, said Lenin, **"have not the time to think about toy forms of democratism (democratism within a close and compact body of comrades in which complete, mutual confidence prevails), but they have a lively sense of their responsibility, knowing as they do from experience that an organization of real revolutionaries will stop at nothing to rid itself of an unworthy member."** (Ibid., p. 480)



Establish the Bolshevik Press in order to Build the Bolshevik Party

Having established the structural principles of the Bolshevik League, we now pass to the urgent question, the practical application, the matter of the practical activity of the Bolshevik League.

The Bolshevik League bases the organization of its practical activity modeled on the *Iskra* plan elaborated by Lenin in 1900. That is to say, the organization which we strive to develop, will be built around a regularly published periodical which will take as its name *Bolshevik Revolution*.

This periodical will represent a definite trend in complete accord with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. As we see it, it will stand for the consistent development of

these ideas in the spirit of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, demarcated from and resolutely rejecting the opportunist revisions introduced by the Maoists and all present-day Mensheviks.

This periodical will be a transition to a nation-wide newspaper. Lenin in his brilliant organizational plan for *Iskra*, stressed the importance of such a newspaper to perform the function of collective propagandist, collective agitator, and collective organizer.

"A newspaper," said Lenin, **"is what most of all we need, without it we cannot conduct that systematic, all around propaganda and agitation, consistent in principle, which is the chief and permanent task of Social-Democracy in general and, in particular, the pressing task of the movement. . . ."** ("Where To Begin," LCW 5:20-21)

Guided by Lenin we will begin first with the question of collective propagandist and collective agitator as it applies to the specific conditions in the US.

In the U.S., interest in politics and in questions of socialism in general is almost non-existent amongst the proletariat. This is due to the positions gained by the labour aristocracy and the conditions of national privileges, coupled with an entire history of over 3 decades of the dominance of revisionism. This makes it that much more urgent to interject scientific socialism within the working class movement; it is a question of immediacy. This work can be systematically carried out only by the publication of a regularly published and distributed periodical. The *Iskra* plan is 1000 times applicable.

The so-called communist movement in the US has been a vehicle for the suppression of communist literature in the working class. The working class is flooded with the rag-sheets distributed by the dozen or more revisionist parties in this country.

There has been a systematic coordinated conspiracy. The opportunists and the bourgeoisie in conjunction maintain the proletariat in total darkness on matters of politics in general. We must not be discouraged by this state of affairs, but we must understand that this situation calls for a revolutionary plan, for an organization that is capable of reaching *lower and deeper* into the proletariat. A frequent, regularly published periodical will serve as the vehicle to build that revolutionary organization; it will serve as the vehicle to establish firm links in the working class.

It is up to the Bolsheviks to stir up the interest of the proletariat in questions of politics and arouse in them an ardent desire to learn about the questions of proletarian revolution and socialism. A regularly published periodical will serve as the vehicle to carry out propaganda as the chief form of activity.

Through the regular publication which systematically conducts propaganda and agitation, links will be made and strengthened in the proletariat; it will reach out to those who are able and ready to speak up against atrocities carried out by US imperialism throughout the

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world. There are many oppressed nationality workers from a great number of countries in the US. Many today have to murmur about the barbaric conditions they have encountered at the hands of US imperialism – the immigration police, the cut-throats that exploit them over and above all other workers through blackmail threats of deportation.

Many atrocities are committed every day against women, youth, and all strata of the population.

Today these murmurings go unnoticed. There is nowhere that the masses can go and express their real sentiments and disgust with this bloodsucking system.

A platform must be provided to all those ready and able to make exposures – a platform, a tribune, as Lenin called it, from which they can voice their grievances against the US government.

A platform is needed which will reach the attention of a receptive audience. And the audience, the proletariat, must be trained to respond to every form of tyranny. This work has nowhere begun. This is another reason for the low level of class consciousness among the proletariat. Only a regularly published and distributed Bolshevik periodical can provide this political training on an all-national scale.

But the publication will not be limited solely to the dissemination of ideas, to political education and the establishment of links.

The periodical is not only a collective propagandist and collective agitator – it is also a collective organizer.

“In this respect,” wrote Lenin, **“it may be likened to the scaffolding round a building under construction, which marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders, enabling them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organized labour.”** (Ibid., p. 22)

Through the work of a regularly published and distributed periodical, a permanent organization will be erected that will partake in general activity, that will, said Lenin, **“train its members to follow political events carefully, appraise their significance and their effect on the various strata of the population and develop effective means for the revolutionary party to influence those events.”** (Ibid., p. 22-23)

The regular publication and distribution of the periodical will necessitate the development of a network of agents who will promote the local distribution. This network of local agents will maintain constant contacts with one another, know the overall situation, and be trained in carrying out their regular functions in nationwide work.

This network of agents will work successfully only if they take active part within the groups and study circles of the Bolshevik League.

Lenin called this network of agents the **“skeleton of the party we need.”** (Ibid., p. 23)

As the network of agents develops and grows, we will begin to pass from the periodical publication onto a regular political newspaper which is more frequent in its publication and has expanded in its distribution and in terms of political maturity.

On the basis of the network of agents, the organization will develop sufficiently large to embrace the whole country. It will then be possible to effect a strict and detailed division of labor. It will grow in experience and know how to conduct its work in a systematic way and on a consistent basis under all circumstances. In this way we will assure that it is not derailed by the occurrences of twists and turns in events, but pursues a single plan that takes those turns into consideration.

Today, we must take advantage of the tense political situation, the general crisis of imperialism, the threat of war brewing over the situation in the Middle East, and the depreciation of the living conditions; we must take advantage of the weak position the bourgeoisie is in and show the proletariat that the only way imperialist world war can be prevented is by the overthrow of imperialism.

Today we must muster the forces for the development of the organization we desire to build, for it will be too late to do the work of preparation at a time of a revolutionary outbreak.

People must be trained and ready for political activity at all times. Lenin said that **“we must train people who will devote the whole of their lives, not only their spare evenings, to the revolution.”** (“The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement,” *LCW* 4:371)

The question of assuring regular and consistent training of people who will consciously devote the entire of their lives to revolutionary work is a question of conscious acceptance of the political line. But not only of political line – as Stalin said, once line is determined, everything then rests with cadres, with organization, with the implementation of the line.

The proper organization of the work rests with the question of specialization, and division of labor. Different people are better equipped to efficiently carry out different areas of specialization. We must develop specialists in the following fields:

Writers: This entails the rooting out of vestiges of dead dogmatic formulas inculcated through years of the spread of phrasemongering. A revolutionary style consistent with the living essence of Marxism-Leninism must be developed. The audience to whom we are writing must at all times be kept in mind.

Our writers must be able to express the propagation of Marxism-Leninism in clearly defined terms in order to raise the level of the proletariat. Lenin, in his work, “A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social-Democracy,” showed how communists must put out their literature in different forms, keeping in mind that amongst the proletariat there exist the advanced, intermediate and the broad lower stratum of the proletariat. Lenin stressed very clearly that: **“It is quite possible that a socialist newspaper will be completely or well-nigh incomprehensible to them (even in Western Europe the number of Social Democratic voters is much larger than the number of readers of Social Democratic newspapers), but it would be absurd to conclude from this that the newspaper of the Social-Democrats should adapt itself to the lowest possible level of the workers.”**

“The only thing that follows from this is that dif-
EDITORIAL (cont. p.23)

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ferent forms of agitation and propaganda must be brought to bear on these strata – pamphlets written in more popular language, oral agitation, and chiefly – leaflets on local events.” (*LCW* 4:282)

So our writers must keep in mind the audience they are writing for, for in our literature we will develop theoretical articles, propaganda, agitation, and articles of political exposures. The literary style differs according to whom the literature is aimed at. In this period our aim must be clear – the widespread propagation of communism amongst the proletariat, particularly in order to rally the vanguard to the side of communism, to the task of the construction of its party.

We need to develop propagandists. People who specialize in this field will be able to conduct lectures, lead study circles, and, in a convincing and authoritative manner, rally the proletariat to the program of Bolshevism.

To aid our writers, our propagandists, agitators, etc., we will need researchers who have the skill to gather data and information in order to improve the quality of all our literature.

Agitators are also needed who will be able to arouse the slightest discontent from even amongst the lower stratum of the proletariat. We need various types of agitators who can apply various methods of getting our political line across. Lenin in “A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social-Democracy” quotes a passage of Kautsky (in the days when Kautsky was still a Marxist) which provides clarity on the importance of agitators. **“Agitational methods must be adopted to individual and local conditions. Every agitator must be allowed to select those methods of agitation that he has at his disposal. One agitator may create the greatest impression by his enthusiasm, another by his biting sarcasm, a third by his ability to adduce a large number of instances, etc. While being adapted to the agitator, agitation must also be adopted to the public. The agitator must speak so that he will be understood; he must take as a starting-point something well known to his listeners. All this is self-evident and is not merely applicable to agitation conducted among the peasantry. One has to talk to cabmen differently than to sailors, and to sailors differently than to printers. Agitation must be individualized, but our tactics, our political activity must be uniform.”** (Ibid.,)

It is not everyone who can do this important job well. For the distribution of the literature good agitators are needed, who are capable of addressing the public with short, enthusiastic statements in regard to our publication. They must be able to arouse in the public an interest in reading the material. Agitators are able to select from the material what will interest that specific audience. Needless to say this is an important field of work in the overall development of the single plan.

We now pass to the field of organizational work, i.e., of organizers.

Those people of the likes of Babushkin and Cecilia

Bobrovskaya, the agents of Lenin’s Iskra organization. Organizers are people who are extremely conscientious, the ones who ensure the competent functioning of our apparatus. They are people who follow things through from beginning to end in spite of all difficulties. They are people capable of organizing a meeting, finding meeting places, and assuring that all concerned are notified. It is the organizers who maintain the distribution network properly organized, following up on distributors, assuring everyone has plenty of literature, posters, etc. Organizers are always on the alert for new distribution points; good organizers ensure that the production of literature proceeds uninterrupted, because they understand that the literature is the basis around which the organization is built.

Organizers are practical people. When some people are good at elaborating on the problem, nine times out of ten it is the people who are good organizers who are able to come up with solutions. Talented organizers are therefore able to win people to communist work, on the basis of perseverance in organizational matters, by showing people the implications of where real revolutionary work leads them.

The field of translation is also an area where specialization is of immense importance, because *Bolshevik Revolution* will be published in two separate languages, a Spanish and English edition. Here the question of literary ability in the specific language is extremely important. The meaning of an entire concept can be lowered in terms of politics, or entirely lost, without special care given to the raising of the literary style in translation. Translations cannot be approached in a mechanical fashion. Thus an understanding of the politics being conveyed is the most important matter. We look forward to the day where our publications can be published in many more languages; these two languages are an essential beginning because of concrete conditions in the US.

These areas in brief are just some of the fields in which we have begun to develop specialists in the work.

There are of course other areas of specialization which we will not go into at this particular time.

What is important to remember is that everyone will receive work. Everyone’s abilities are important and necessary for the work of producing and distributing a regularly published periodical.

The size of the publication will vary, but the *consistency* of it cannot. It must be a regularly published monthly with leaflets and short pamphlets in intervals within the month’s span.

Why is the question of consistency so important?

Because, as Lenin said, the distribution apparatus must never become idle. It must be developed to the level of perfection, kept constantly well supplied. Only in this way will the links be maintained with the working class, and network of agents trained through the distribution of *all* our literature.

For years there has been talk of propaganda as the chief form of activity in this period of Party construc-

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tion. Yet for the first time the basis to carry out the chief form of activity is finally being established. Without the application of the Iskra plan, inevitably the desire to do propaganda work will remain just that — a desire.

Throughout this work, the rallying of the vanguard of the proletariat to the side of communism will also be converted from wish to a reality. The periodical has a specific function in rallying the advanced workers. The advanced workers are rallied to leading politics; thus it is through the leading politics of the press that the advanced workers will begin to acquaint themselves with the questions of scientific socialism, with the positions of the proletariat on international and domestic questions, and will begin to respond to the question of the task of organization.

Said Lenin: "The newspaper that wants to become the organ of all Russian Social Democrats must, therefore, be at the level of the advanced workers; not only must it not lower its level artificially, but, on the contrary, it must raise it constantly, it must follow up all the tactical, political and theoretical problems of world social democracy. Only then will the demands of the working class intelligentsia be met, and itself will take the cause of the Russian workers and, consequently, the cause of the Russian revolution, into its own hands." ("A Retrograde Trend in Russian Social-Democracy," *LCW* 4:280)

The level of propaganda must be consistently raised in order to meet the demands of the working class intelligentsia. The Mensheviks, who are not even capable of conducting intelligent economic agitation, by their failure to attract advanced workers conclude that there aren't any in the US.

The facts, however, are that the advanced workers are not interested in bourgeois journalism which is dressed in "socialist" garb. The bourgeois press itself does a better job than the opportunist ragsheets in simple fact-recording and analysis from the point of view of bourgeois literature.

Such dull publications as *Unite*, with headlines recording the disaster of DC-10's, will put anybody to sleep.

This is the aim of all the opportunists — to lull the workers into a trance as a step towards convincing them that there is something to gain from concluding deals with the bourgeoisie. In exchange, the workers must learn to accept their exploitation "militantly."

The advanced workers are indeed not rallied by the opportunists who tell them to go form a militant trade union caucus, lead it, and run for shop steward as a stepping stone to the higher echelons of the Union bureaucracy. The advanced workers have long been convinced of the fact that the union bureaucracy is totally corrupt. The advanced workers are concerned with how all workers are to emancipate themselves from the shackles of wage slavery. Thus they are willing to study Marxism-Leninism, and are the most capable of grasping it. It is the responsibility of the Marxist-Leninists to take scientific socialism to them, through the vehicle of a regularly published periodical. This periodical must train them

to follow political events in the world and at home very carefully. It accomplishes this with an appraisal of what it all means, and an analysis of what effect these events are having on the various strata of the population.

Through the consistency by which it is published and distributed, the advanced workers will begin to view the periodical as their own. They will begin to ask the distributors of *Bolshevik Revolution* for a few more copies and become distributors themselves. This activity must be encouraged. In fact it is necessary that distributors be developed from among the readership of the periodical, so much more efficient and widespread will the distribution of the periodical become.

The advanced workers will form discussion groups with friends, in the family, or at work. The contents of *Bolshevik Revolution* will assist them in these discussions and encourage them to take up the study of the classics of Marxism-Leninism. The exposures done in the Bolshevik periodical of the practical implications in the revisionist theories of the opportunists, will help the advanced workers detect those agents of the bourgeoisie within their midst and help them rouse the workers in struggle to drive them out of the working class.

As the advanced workers rally to the line, they will be encouraged to take up all the organization of the work into their steel-like hands. They will be rallied to the study circles of the Bolshevik League, where their training in Marxist-Leninist theory applied to the concrete conditions of the US will be systematically taken up.

"The most experienced and influential of the advanced workers," said Stalin, "must find a place in all the local organizations. The affairs of the organizations must be concentrated in their strong hands, and it is they who must occupy the most important posts in the organizations, from practical and organizational posts to literary posts. It will not matter if the workers who occupy important posts are found to lack sufficient experience and training and even stumble at first — practice and the advice of more experienced comrades will widen their outlook and in the end train them to become real writers and leaders of the movement. It must not be forgotten that *Bebels* do not drop from the skies, they are trained only in the course of work, by practice, and our movement now needs Russian *Bebels*, experienced and mature leaders from the ranks of the workers, more than ever before." (Stalin, *SCW* 1:156)

The study circle is an important level of organizational activity. We must develop a network of such workers' study circles as were built during the period of construction of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin.

"The object of these study circles," wrote Stalin, "was to create among the workers themselves a group that would subsequently be able to lead the movement. Therefore, these circles were made up of advanced workers — only chosen workers could attend them." ("The Russian Social Democratic Party and Its Immediate

Editorial (from p.24)

Task," *SCW* 1:12)

Such, in brief, comrades, is the relationship of the press to rallying the advanced workers. Now we pass to a final but very important point, that of correspondence.

Correspondence to *Bolshevik Revolution* will establish an important link between the Bolshevik League and the working class. Readers of *Bolshevik Revolution* who are able and ready to speak out against the bourgeoisie's atrocities will have a forum available to them in the pages of *Bolshevik Revolution*.

On the basis of this correspondence, one exposure in one locality can be spread across the country and the lessons drawn will teach the workers that their experience and struggle is a common one. More readers will become active correspondents breaking out of local isolation, thus becoming active in establishing all nation-wide work; they will establish links between themselves and all readers of the Bolshevik press. These correspondents will become active agents in the network of the Bolshevik mailing system, learning and developing secret methods of distribution and communication across the country.

These are only preliminary steps which must be taken in order to penetrate the working class and bring to it the science of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, i.e., Marxism-Leninism.

The forms which we have above discussed — distribution, circles, correspondence — are extremely important for establishing the network of agents and must be developed over a period of time. Such a network is what we must work hard to develop. The dozen or so Menshevik parties in the US are detachments of the international counter-revolution. Anyone can join them. There are no principles whatever involved in what they do. But the Marxist-Leninist Party that we are constructing is built along new revolutionary lines — a Bolshevik Party of the new type, a detachment of the international proletariat, a detachment of world-wide proletarian revolution.

OIL AND WAR (from p. 9)

Iran, suffering under a reactionary regime, and to the international proletariat and oppressed peoples in other countries who would be the victims of an imperialist war. Their drooling eagerness for the oil is so great that they heap lavish praise on the struggle of the Iranian people, which was indeed a great one, ignoring that it is counter-revolution that is now in power in Iran. They call Iran a "clarion call" to other peoples to follow. In the ultimate worship of spontaneity, they ascribe to the "Iranian people" eternal wisdom. "They are using and will always use properly this weapon (oil — BL) . . ." " . . . the Iranian people, by wisely exploiting the situations which have been created and those which might be created in the future, will know how to give the rebuff to all the enemies. . ." (from Albania Telegraphic Agency, Nov. 10, 1979 and Nov. 24, 1979)

Thus the "people", without regard to class, without regard to the absence of the class-conscious proletarian vanguard, is the repository of eternal wisdom. Conscious-

It is not all who can become members of such a Party. The Party is a union of class-conscious proletarians. The Party will be, as the Bolshevik League is presently, open only to those who voluntarily accept the discipline of the group, because they agree with the political line of the Bolshevik League. This unity of line is demonstrated by carrying out the political work of the group on the principle of unity of action and by financial support to the group. As the group grows from its loose forms of distribution, circles and correspondence, and expands its apparatus on a nation-wide basis, it will begin to tighten up those forms within the norms set forth by Lenin in which the Party is regarded as the sum total of its organizations, and the Party member, a member of one of the organizations of the Party.

At the same time that the Party is the sum total of all of its organizations, it is a single *system* of these organizations, the formal union of these organizations into a single whole.

The Party is not a loose conglomeration as the Mensheviks propose. On the contrary, it is the organized detachment of the working class. Only as a single organized whole will the Party be able to lead systematically the struggle of the working class, towards the seizure of state power, i.e. the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction.

It is this type of Party, modeled on the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin that the Bolshevik League devotes its entire energies to build.

It must be built from the top down, at its rudimentary level today, to the highest form of class organization. Building the Party is the chief task of all Bolsheviks, the main link in the chain is the Iskra plan. Towards the goal of founding the Party, we have established the periodical *Bolshevik Revolution*. ★

Central Committee
Bolshevik League of the U.S.
December, 1979

ness from within — and eternal, to boot! Such a perversion of boot-licking could arise only out of the crudest kind of social-nationalist self-interest, the same that kept Albania licking the boots of Mao Zedong for 25 years.

The only possible position for the U.S. working class to take is to oppose any invasion of Iran, to refuse to fight in any such imperialist war, to oppose the financing of weapons of imperialist war, to oppose the plans of the labor aristocrats to bring the working class into line behind the bourgeoisie by generating support for war in the unions. The U.S. proletariat must stand in solidarity with the Iranian proletariat and peasants, and refuse to be sent to slaughter for the sake of more billions of superprofits for the Rockefellers and the rest of the bourgeoisie. At the same time, the proletariat has to denounce any and all reactionary regimes, such as the Islamic Republic of Khomeini, which substitute one form of oppression for another. There can be no talk of national independence and sovereignty, control of one's own resources, or liberation of the working people without Socialist Revolution. In today's world, with every coun-

between one another — that they lie, slander and accuse each other of various maneuvers unceasingly. This is true not only of the “official” bourgeois parties, but of the “unofficial”, or “socialist” (now “Marxist-Leninist”) parties as well. At the same time, they seek to stifle any opposition (from within or without) of their favored policies. Debate remains confined within clearly set limits, and any voice raised outside these “accepted” limits is ruthlessly silenced. That is the norm among bourgeois parties, of whatever title.

The proletarian parties, on the other hand, were nurtured under the tutelage of Marx and Engels to employ fundamentally different norms. They were raised to debate, to discuss, to criticize and to do so in an atmosphere free of intimidation and abuse. And precisely because to the class conscious workers socialism is a serious conviction, debate and polemics must be insisted upon, criticism and self-criticism demanded. This was the central theme of Marx and Engels on International norms. No one was above reproach, no one eternally free of criticism. And the nine-year history of the First International Working Men’s Association bears this out more clearly than we can. This First International Communist Organization itself demanded the strictest adherence to the norms of debate and discussion. Marx and Engels were staunch opponents of sweet (or bittersweet!) phrases designed to lull one to sleep for the impending attack under cover of darkness.

Polemics, debate, discussion — this characterized the relations between proletarians of Marx’ and Engels’ time.

II. Lenin, The Collapse of the Second International and the Birth of the Third International

Engels took to directing the Second International at its founding in 1889. Under Engels’ and Kautsky’s (when Kautsky was still a Marxist) guidance the Second International prepared the groundwork necessary for the passing from the “peaceful” period of preparation of the proletariat for revolutionary action to the period of onslaught against capital. The Second International has a definite place in Communist History in this regard, but after Engels’ death lost all prestige and authority when, during and just before the First Imperialist World War, Kautsky and other renegades departed completely from revolutionary Marxism and adapted themselves and the policies of the International to the bourgeoisie. Kautsky and Co. deserted not only Marxist politics, but Marxist norms as well. Intrigue and unfounded slanders occupied the writings and speeches of the centrist Kautsky on the question of the revolutionary Marxist parties (and the Bolshevik Party of Lenin, principally).

As a result of departing from revolutionary Marxism in politics, departure from Marxist to bourgeois relations in the international arena ensued. There cannot be one without the other.

It fell to Lenin and the Bolsheviks to demarcate from the politics and activities of the degenerate Second International and to chart the path for the re-establishment

of revolutionary Marxist norms in international relations. The pursuit of open polemics and debate was of the greatest importance to Lenin. His works *Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, *How the Spark was Nearly Extinguished*, *The Collapse of the Second International*, and many others demonstrated with great clarity his abhorrence of silence on matters of principles. The series of writings on the mistakes of Rosa Luxemburg (*Critical Remarks on the National Question*, etc.) show with what dispassionate precision he criticized the mistakes of comrades deviating from the Marxist path. Lenin was an advocate of open debate, of criticism and self-criticism of one’s mistakes, and the honest rectification of errors. He was an opponent of silence, of slander, of unfounded charges, and intrigue.

Lenin directed the Communists to debate openly and in a principled manner not out of any petty bourgeois sense of morality, for this was entirely alien to him; he demanded it in order that one be able to judge how deep are the disagreements, how real the unity, and how great the conviction. Toy forms of democracy were a favorite enemy of Lenin; while principle and honesty in politics were the epitome of his life and work. This legacy he left Stalin to carry forth in the Third International.

III. Stalin, Opponent of Intrigue and Defender of Leninist Norms

After Lenin’s death, the task not only of directing the construction of socialism in the young Soviet Republic, but also of defending Leninist norms in the Comintern (Third International) fell to Lenin’s immensely capable comrade-in-arms Stalin. The norms of international relations between parties of the proletariat had already been tested in the course of seven decades, but they were to receive perhaps their greatest test in the years of the Comintern. The dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia was under constant attack with salvos launched almost daily from the pens of the opportunists and from the guns and explosives of the Trotskyite spies. In a time of such grave peril, it is a mark of true brilliance and generalship to be able, not only to preserve, but also to expand the norms of Marxism-Leninism in international relations. Ruthless and calculated struggle against all forms of opportunism, the painstaking correction of deviations within the Bolshevik Party and Comintern, and all the while exhibiting the greatest principle in relations — such was the work of Stalin. Leninist norms flow from Leninist politics. This cannot be denied and it fell to Stalin, the truest Leninist politician, to defend these norms to the end.

Did Stalin dream of haranguing the world with talk of “one single Marxist-Leninist line. . .”? Of course not! Only a philistine dreamer can talk so cheaply. Stalin outlined the existence of *two lines* in the Bolshevik Party, the line of the Party and the line of an opportunist bloc. Not merely did he outline the existence of another line than that of the Party, but he fought against it with all the strength and means at his disposal. Is this to say that Stalin did not fight for one monolithic line within the

COLLAPSE (cont. p.27)

party? Of course not. It was precisely because he did fight for the one line of Leninism within the party, precisely because he was the greatest defender of the one Leninist line, that he waged a ruthless struggle against all anti-Leninist lines and blocs. Did Stalin dismiss opportunism with a wave of the hand? Of course not. This would be disgraceful for a Leninist. The type of activity that is carried on in the international communist movement to day is a disgrace. It is shameful that under the stolen banner of Leninist norms are grouped parties and organizations (such as the eleven Communique signees) who seek to drag this banner through the mud with their unfounded and unprincipled charges.

Such in brief, is the history of the birth and development of the Leninist norms governing the relations among true communists. The disgraceful state of present relations stems from the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the official renunciation of Leninism in Moscow in 1957 and 1960.

IV. The Renunciation of Leninism: the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations

This is not the place to discuss the utterly disastrous and tragic consequences of the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, an occurrence that would signal, according to Stalin, the blackest day in the struggle of the international proletariat (take note, all who sigh about “temporary setbacks,” “tactical defeat”, etc.!).

But what must be said is that with the darkening of the clouds over the heads of the proletarians, certain charlatans came forth to capitalize (yes, capitalize!) on this blackest of days.

Groveling before the dictates of Krushchev and Co., every existing, “official” communist or workers (?) party, *without exception* was a partner to the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations which marked the renunciation of Leninist norms in international relations, and the institution of unprincipled, philistine social-nationalist maneuvering on the part of all of the signees. “Fraternal relations” substituted for criticism and self-criticism. “Non-interference in the internal affairs of fraternal parties” substituted for open debate and polemics. And slavish worship of revisionism and the bourgeoisie was substituted for class struggle against them. One must comprehend the significance of these revisions of major importance if one is to comprehend the present horrifying state of affairs in international relations.

The Leninist theses of judging parties not by their high sounding phrases but by their deeds is well known among not only the Communists, but the opportunists themselves. For this reason the opportunists are sometimes hard pressed to conceal their deeds behind revolutionary phrases, and when this occurs they are not adverse to actually bringing words into correspondence with their unprincipled deeds. Such are the words of the Moscow Declarations.

It does not require genius to see that the existence of practiced Leninist norms in international relations is of great danger to opportunism. Norms based on principle

greatly hamper the sabotage of the proletarian revolution, to which all opportunism is committed. The schemes of international opportunism, (whether social-chauvinist or centrist, it matters little) are served by the stifling of debate, the “conspiracy of silence” to which Lenin in his time was so opposed. It is a question of training and educating the class conscious workers with the ability to recognize and hence, *drive from the workers’ ranks*, open or concealed class enemies. It is a matter of the firmest principle that Marxism-Leninism carry on this training and education for without its success the achievement of power by the proletariat is a pious wish.

Is it defensible to assert that the signing and carrying out of the Moscow Declarations represented a conspiracy on the part of international opportunism? We think it most definitely is. Who among the signees of these declarations has raised a voice (after sufficient time to “find” a “lost” head) against them? The answer is obvious. We need only look at perhaps the most flagrant violation of Leninist norms communism has known as illustration of our allegations.

The Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania were both co-signers (co-conspirators?) to the Moscow Declarations. They have both been “exemplary” in carrying them forth. Their “fraternal” relations over the past eighteen to twenty years must then be of some significance in this matter.

Everyone recognizes that with the so-called Sino-Soviet split the CPC and the PLA played the major roles in the leadership of the “anti-revisionist communist movement” internationally. And it is no secret that with the break in relations between China and Albania two trends of opportunism have once again come to plague the communist movement. That China and those who support its “three worlds theory” have *openly* lined up in the U.S. — led bloc of imperialism, is by now no great revelation. But that Albania and all who support its “two super-powers” theory have more covertly lined up in the Russian — led bloc of imperialism is a great revelation. It is significant precisely because it is a number of PLA — cloned parties who signed the Youth Camp Communique, and significant secondly, because it was the PLA who since 1935 (according to Hoxha*) knew that Mao Zedong was an opportunist and yet conspired to hide this fact from the proletariat, who suffered and continues to suffer great pains at the hands of Mao’s “thought”.

Far from applauding Hoxha and the PLA for their belated exposé of Mao, we condemn them as the social-nationalist conspirators they have (belatedly) proven to be. Yes, Hoxha “reflects” on Mao’s revisionism, but he conceals his own sympathy for all of the Maoist policies and ideas that proved so beneficial in the fifteen or so years of Chinese export of capital to backward Albania. The CPC-PLA relations are an example of the banality and defense of opportunist norms that have resulted since the Moscow Declarations. COLLAPSE (cont. p.28)

* See Enver Hoxha, *Reflections on China*, for a crude and blockheaded attempt to disengage what has been engaged for twenty years, viz., CPC and PLA conspiracy to bring the proletariat under the wing of social-nationalism.

COLLAPSE (from p.27)

The tactics of the proponents of the theory of "three worlds" and the self-proclaimed "opponents" of this theory have now merged. This is not surprising when one considers the perilous position in which the bourgeois social-nationalists in China and Albania find themselves, and the increasing difficulty they have in portraying their countries as "socialist". The activities of their counterparts in other countries (the pro—"three world-ists" and the pro—"two superpowers" adherents) represent the actions of rats swimming towards a sinking ship.

Anyone who is capable of serious thought will be able to verify the relationship between the political crisis affecting the social-nationalist parties in state power and the emergence of social-fascist tactics on the part of their defenders in order to conceal the bourgeois nature of these "socialist countries." This is the essence of the matter. To fail to understand the significance of this relationship is to fail to understand the significance of "fraternal relations" among the opportunists. Opportunism internationally has been nurtured since the death of Stalin, by revisionism in state power. The existence of a number of so-called proletarian parties in each imperialist country is directly related to the revisionist parties in state power and their need to secure support for their policies and alliances. There are no countries free from the imperialist blocs, no countries outside the struggle for redivision of the world that drives the great powers towards war — and certainly the alliance of China and the U.S., Albania and Russia, require an explanation (and a great deal of sophistry) in the eyes of the class-conscious proletarians. Albania, China and the bourgeois governments of the imperialist great powers to which they are respectively allied desire the continued portrayal of these two countries as socialist, in order to deceive the workers with bourgeois social-nationalism.

Advocacy of class collaboration; abandonment of the idea of socialist revolution and revolutionary methods of struggle; renunciation of the class viewpoint and the class struggle, for fear of alienating the "broad masses", the "progressive peoples" (meaning the petty bourgeoisie and bourgeois nationalists); advocacy of social-pacifism or instigation of war; renunciation of Leninist norms and the crushing of criticism and debate — such, undoubtedly, are the political foundations of social-nationalism.

One can well understand why the opportunists are so fearful of exposure of their political line, of the deception they pass off as socialism and communism, and why they engage in the social-fascist quelling of any opposition. The collapse of the international communist movement is a fact — it has been replaced with an international association of opportunism. This fact has been proved through the polemics and is confirmed by the Youth Camp affair. Attempts by the centrists to cover up this collapse represents the further maneuvers of opportunism — the further striving to subordinate the Lefts within their opportunist "International."

It is time that the Lefts in each country deliver a resolute rebuff to the centrists. It is time to come out against social-fascism and the social-nationalism that nurtures and harbors it.

The Bolsheviks must pay heed to Lenin's words: "The social-nationalists do not call themselves, and do not admit to being, social-nationalists. They are lending, and are compelled to lend, every effort to hide behind a pseudonym, to throw dust in the eyes of the working masses, to cover up the traces of their links with opportunism, to conceal their betrayal, i.e., their having gone over in fact to the side of the bourgeoisie, and their alliance with the governments and the General Staffs. Grounding themselves on this alliance, and in control of all the important positions, the social-nationalists are, more than anybody else, clamouring for "unity" between the Social-Democratic parties and levelling the accusation of splitting tendencies, against all those who are opposed to opportunism." ("The Collapse of Platonic Internationalism," *LCW* 21:195, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1974 Edition)

It remains for us to answer the question of how to combat this social-fascist trend. Clearly the Bolsheviks must not combat them through falling prey to the provocation they exhibit. To do this would only play into their hands. To do this would reflect a failure to understand the balance of forces and the alliance of the social-fascists with the bourgeoisie.

To combat social-fascism, other, more mundane, but infinitely more revolutionary methods are required. Within the Bolshevik and Left press there must appear frequent and biting exposures of the activities of the social-fascists, the line of international opportunism and its various trends — the Bolshevik and Left press must further the exposure of the links between the social-fascist parties and groups in the various countries and the social-nationalist parties in state power that have raised and nurtured them. We must expose the alliance of these parties and groups with their "own" bourgeoisie, their General Staffs, and their political police. We must denounce the activities of opportunism, of all shades, within the workers movement, and among the movements of the oppressed nations, colonies and semi-colonies.

We must in all of this not forget our pressing duty; to construct truly revolutionary Bolshevik Parties in each country, parties able to rally the vanguard of the proletariat to their banner, the banner of Leninism. It is a long and bitter struggle that lies before us — one that requires the utmost in perseverance and attentiveness to detail — one that requires the firmest adherence to Leninism.



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POPE PROFIT (from p. 2)

have seen in recent months, John Paul II is Johnny-on-the-spot for the U.S.-led imperialist bloc, whether it be in Poland whipping up anti-communism to aid in penetration of the Soviet-led bloc, in Mexico trying to pacify and appease anti-imperialist sentiments, in the streets of Washington crying "God Bless America," in the UN preaching the viability of bourgeois "self-determination" for the Palestinians, or (through his emissary) in Iran assisting the U.S. bourgeoisie's political preparations for World War III.

All the prayers in the world have not protected the capitalist parasites who run the Catholic Church from inevitable crisis inherent in the imperialist system. And nothing, be it prayers or bombs, can stop the inevitable overthrow of all those who live off the labor of others. ★

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TERRORISM (from p. 13)

Puerto Rico under the facade of independence, rather than continue to give its competitors the possibility of making inroads into this, one of the oldest and most important of its colonial possessions.

In order to secure the independence that even the U.S. imperialists desire, a higher percentage of the referendum vote (historically kept at a 2% low) is needed. Thus it serves the U.S. interests to have a petty bourgeois movement of National Liberation.

The deal worked out with the Cubans for the release of the four, was a tactic to give a little now in order to maximize its chance at a deal in favor of U.S. imperialism over the long run.

The four have revived the splintered movement which up until recently was in dire crisis. The four Nationalists went from the U.S. to the San Juan Airport with a proposal to the independentistas – “Unite” – they said, and “if the leaders do not unite”, then “we’ll take it to the people”.

PSP responded favorably. Of course, PSP knew of the deal being worked out by the Cubans. PIP, the Social-Democratic party (a member of the Second International) is against the proposal. It seeks complete hegemony over the independence forces and a peaceful road to independence, being quite critical of the terrorist leanings of the pro-Cuba faction.

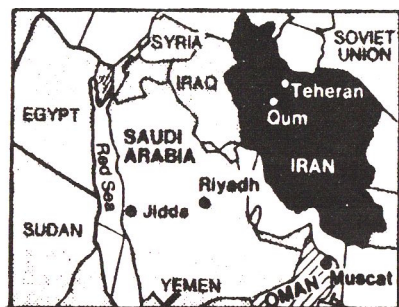
In the midst of this complex political situation, terrorist activities are increasing. These acts of extreme desperation do tremendous harm to the cause of proletarian revolution in Puerto Rico. Because of this, it is necessary to examine the origin and composition of these groups.

There are terrorist groups which develop spontaneously among inexperienced people. Some may very well be well-intentioned revolutionaries, who are disgusted by the total corruption of the leaders of the independence movement.

However, good intentions matter little when the end result of such activity is greater losses for the working class and toiling masses of the people. The recent killing of two naval technicians is utilized by the U.S. to increase its military occupation of Puerto Rico.

OIL AND WAR (from p. 25)

try, no matter how small, in either the U.S. dominated bloc, or the Russian dominated bloc, with national bourgeoisie compromised to one imperialist power or another, it is only the proletariat, in alliance with the peasantry, assuring hegemony through its own Party, its class conscious vanguard, that can assure genuine national liberation in the colonies and semi-colonies. ★



Others of these terrorist groups, (and there are literally dozens in Puerto Rico – and at least one in the States) are police fronts, formed for the precise purpose of carrying out such activity in order to unleash a wave of repression upon the masses of people.

Individual terrorism, of small bands of people, has absolutely no value for the proletariat, and is an indication of the activities of anti-proletarian elements. These activities must be denounced because they have no practical value whatever for the revolution, and, on the contrary, cause it great damage.

The U.S. is whipping up tremendous great nation chauvinism. The disgusting display of chauvinist rallies, and down-right racist slurs about Iranian people, the demands to deport Iranians, etc., are but the tip of the iceberg for which American society is being prepared by the U.S. bourgeoisie – i.e., to pick up guns and slaughter millions to protect the U.S. bourgeois interests throughout the world.

Now two Navy technicians, no doubt collecting intelligence data on Puerto Rico and from Puerto Rico on other locations in the Caribbean, are dead. Pictures of the funerals, sob stories, and the mourning families, will no doubt occupy much of the immediate hysterical broadcasts of the bourgeois press.

The U.S. government is soliciting support for itself. The question of danger for “American citizens” is being whipped up to increase the spread of war propaganda.

More incidents of the sort recently carried out in Puerto Rico no doubt will occur (as they are already increasing in many parts of the world, i.e., Pakistan, Libya, etc.)

The U.S. bourgeoisie is notorious for creating critical situations to bolster itself into positions of strength, and create public opinion favorable to itself.

Mourning for U.S. military personnel, is but a hypocritical maneuver of U.S. imperialism to further its imperialist aims.

Puerto Rico is a highly industrialized capitalist colony. Only 3% of the economy remains in agriculture. The proletariat is quite large in relation to the overall population. There are no feudal remnants to speak of, and the bourgeois democratic institutions were long ago established. The objective conditions are such that they allow the proletariat to carry out the Bolshevik revolution for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and socialism. The bourgeoisie strives unceasingly to prevent this from taking place. Thus it is creating a movement it can control or destroy according to its interests.

The proletarian revolution in Puerto Rico will succeed only if it is led by the Party of war against the U.S. imperialists and its internal lackeys, i.e., only if the proletariat is led to power by its political party.

Terrorism seeks to destroy this possibility by creating a crisis that will unleash repression against the class conscious section of the proletariat, the genuinely communist elements.

Individual terrorism benefits but one class in modern society – the bourgeoisie. ★

GIVE 'EM ENOUGH ROPE...

The Hidden Beliefs of C.P. (“Mus-Lim”)

The November 30, 1979 issue of *Bilalian News* (formerly known as *Muhammad Speaks*) published an article supporting the pro-U.S. Muslim guerillas in Afghanistan trying to overthrow the pro-Russian regime there. The newspaper introduces this article as being about “the Muslim war against that nation’s Russian backed Marxist military regime of Hafizullah Amin.” Such an article would normally not be noteworthy from this newspaper, which is published by the World Community of Islam in the West, formerly known as the Nation of Islam, or Black Muslims. Of course, the “Marxists” referred to here are not really Marxists at all, but actually stooges for the Russian imperialists who restored capitalism in the Soviet Union after J.V. Stalin died.

But what is noteworthy about this article is that it was not written by a regular reporter for *Bilalian News*, but by a writer for another bunch of phoney “Marxists,” the CPML. *Bilalian News* tells the article is written by “David Kline, a reporter for “The Call” newspaper of Chicago”, “forgetting” to tell its readers that this is the organ of CPML. CPML, of course, has no need to “forget” their communism, since they have always been revisionists. And this article is one more proof of that. In short, the article is an appeal by the Muslim guerrillas, with CPML as their advocate, for open support by U.S. imperialism. The guerrilla leaders told Kline that “they would welcome arms and some other aid from Washington.”

No wonder the viciously anti-communist *Bilalian News*, which displays an American flag on its masthead, finds no contradiction in printing an article from such “Marxists”. These are all agents of U.S. imperialism, so whatever labels they give themselves do not hinder them in cooperating in protecting the interests of their imperialist masters.

A few years ago WCW leader Wallace Muhammad visited China and came back with glowing reports. All that is left is for the CPML leadership to pilgrimage to that great center of the “Third World”, Mecca, and sink to their knees to pray for the speedy recovery of that dying beast U.S. imperialism. ★

The Least Valuable Politician Award

The “World” Series of 1979 is by now only a faint memory for most of those who watched it, but perhaps the most revealing play of the entire series was made after, not during the games themselves.

We have always pointed out that the political representatives of the bourgeois money bags ruled only so long as they were doing all that was asked of them, and furthermore, that they did it well. When they fail to conceal the causes of the misery of the masses behind sugary speeches, or when their “moral fiber” speech be-

Trotsky was Born-What a Pity

Recently the revisionists, centrists, Maoist and semi-trotskyist, have been intensifying their assault on Bolshevism through their attacks on J.V. Stalin. Books such as *On the Roots of Revisionism*, published by an amorphous group of intellectual philistines in the Bay Area of California, are just a heap of trotskyite, maoist, and revisionist attacks on the life and work of J.V. Stalin and the Communist International. These semi-trotskyites claim that it was the supposed “Soviet bureaucracy” of Stalin, the line of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, and the disolution of the Comintern that was the roots of revisionism and capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. They thoroughly cover up the great conspiracy to restore capitalism conducted by the capitalist world in conjunction with the Trotskyites, Titoites, Maoists, and Krushchevites who are the very ones which Stalin struggled against in defense of the Soviet Republic.

Now we know however, that in fact these semi-trotskyites are celebrating a centennial. That is, the centennial of the birth of their mentor, Leon Trotsky, the notorious gangster and counter-revolutionary. It is no wonder why the semi-trotskyites of *On the Roots of Revisionism* quote Trotsky, Mao, Hoxha, and their likes in their book in order to attack Lenin and the history of Bolshevism, by attacking J.V. Stalin. Well, to you Trotskyites and semi-trotskyites, we wish you the same end results as your leader Leon Trotsky. Sweet Nightmares! ★

gins to gather mildew or perhaps when their corruption begins to show, then it is decided, they must be replaced by someone who can do the job. And when those “behind the scenes” have made the decision to remove these politicians from office, all sorts of embarrassments befall them from the ridiculing of an alcoholic, foul-mouthed brother to the employment of almost unbelievably inept break-in artists.

So it is with a certain amount of confidence that we can predict the end of Jimmy Carter’s reign as President. Why? Because after the seventh game of the “World” series, commentator Don Drysdale not only choked the President with his forearm as he rushed to congratulate the real hero, Willie Stargell; but also because in comparison to the five-foot high World Championship trophy, the President rated a distant second as his nationally televised smile was obscured again by Drysdale and the trophy he presented to Stargell.

Finally, Carter was elbowed entirely off the hastily erected stage in the Pirates dressing room, as the commissioner of baseball was introduced.

The moral? If you have a bad season the money bags who own the team will put you on the trading block! ★

GREENSBORO

Political Suicide With No Condolences



The recent shooting of five supposed "communists" in Greensboro, North Carolina, by an armed band of Ku Klux Klan and Nazi Party fascists has been the subject of wide attention and commentary. The articles appearing in the bourgeois media have generally been sympathetic to those slain, who were all members of the so-called "Communist Workers Party" (CWP), until recently known as Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO). Virtually the entire opportunist "left movement" of the petty bourgeoisie and labor aristocracy painted CWP in a similarly sympathetic light, from the reformist "Guardian" newspaper to the Maoist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) to the various Trotskyite sects to even the pro-Russian imperialist CPUSA. Most also sent condolences. After the shootings, Carter dispatched a team of FBI agents to Greensboro to do an investigation. So the bourgeoisie and the opportunists were united as one in directing their main fire at the Klan.

But the Bolsheviks are sending no condolences to CWP. We are not seeking to unite with them or support them. Instead, it is our responsibility to expose how the activities of CWP objectively aided the fascists and the bourgeoisie, how CWP is not anti-fascist but actually social-fascist (socialist in word and fascist in deed), and how they stand directly against the fundamental interests of the proletariat.

The fact is that CWP has been actively seeking to provoke the Klan for some time. This past summer, a small armed band of CWPers broke up a Klan meeting, in China Grove, N.C., and declared them a bunch of "cowards". For the rally that ended in the shootings, they put out leaflets *inviting* the Klan to come to their rally for a showdown, again taunting them as "cowards" and "punks". The main slogan of this small march was "Death to the Klan", a strange twist of events, indeed, given the death of five CWP members! Clearly their intention was to provoke a confrontation with the Klan. And all the better, their leaders felt, if some CWPers get shot, for then they would have some martyrs struck down in battle with the hated Klan scum. This could serve to give their newly-founded "party" much publicity. So CWP asked for what they got. That is a fact.

But what CWP has done has actually *assisted* the fascists. As the general crisis of capitalism worsens, the bourgeoisie is turning more to promoting open fascist and chauvinist groups. Witness the recent rash of cross burnings. The likes of CWP are helping to whip up an anti-communist and fascist hysteria by portraying communists as provocative fanatics who needlessly endanger the lives of the working class and oppressed people and even spill the blood of their own members in the street to gain a little publicity. At the same time, such provocations are actually *a call to arms* for the fascists. They serve as "justifications" for whipping them up and for the fascists to flex their muscles. The bourgeoisie uses such incidents to prohibit public demonstrations on the grounds of avoiding "violence", as they did in Greensboro and elsewhere. And those opportunists not directly engaged in the provocations aid the fascists by demanding "police protection" from the Klan, when it is well-known that the police and the Klan are one and the same.

All this adds up to a conspiracy of intrigue that objectively aids the growth of fascism and takes place at the expense of the working class, the Black nation in the Black Belt South, all oppressed nationalities, and all communists and progressive people. For these reasons, CWP is not anti-fascist at all, but actually assists (knowingly or unknowingly, it does not matter)

the growth and development of the fascist movement.

The cause of this incident is not accidental, but rooted in the entire opportunist history of WVO, and now CWP. WVO had a long history of reformism and economism. Its base was almost entirely petty bourgeois (three of the five shot in Greensboro were doctors, for example). More recently they have been ardent supporters of the social-chauvinist theory of the "three worlds", and the "gang of four". They hailed China's aggression against Vietnam, and praised Khomeini and OPEC as "anti-imperialist". To promote their own anti-Leninist cause, they carried out social-fascist actions in the so-called "anti-revisionist" movement. In Boston in 1976, WVO brought shotguns into an open, public meeting to intimidate those exposing their opportunism. Also in 1976, in both Oakland and New York, they provoked fights at public forums with their rival opportunists, the October League. And more recently they attacked another rival "three worlds" group, the League of Revolutionary Struggle, with baseball bats and chains.

The last few years have not been good to WVO. After a period of growth, they began to shrink and lost members to RCP. They dropped all theoretical pretense, being mute on key international questions. Their trade union activity got some members positions in the trade union bureaucracy, but their "party" did not grow. All their reformist calls to "nationalize the oil companies" did not help them either. Faced with a deepening crisis, they formed their "party" in October, 1979 (without even bothering to put out a program, so they could conceal their real program of social-fascism). But they still needed a gimmick to grow. So they merely took the experience in social-fascist activity they got in the "movement" and brought it to the Klan. Yet even with all this, CWP remains in a deep crisis. The small turnout of a few hundred at their funeral march in Greensboro, after all the nation-wide publicity, is evidence of that.

Those opportunists who "criticize" CWP at all generally see "ultra-leftism" as CWP's problem. This conceals their reformist and social-fascist history and essence. What they demand is that CWP be *more* openly reformist.

There is no contradiction between CWP, social-democratic reformism and their social-fascism. As Stalin pointed out, the social-democrats and fascists assist each other and "**... are not antipodes, but twins.**" ("Concerning the International Situation", Sept. 20, 1924. *Works*. Vol. 6, pg. 294)

These events show the criminality of the Maoist dictum of "to be attacked by the enemy is a good thing." And hence, the Bolsheviks look with disdain on this political suicide and send no condolences. ★

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The writings of the great proletarian leaders, Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, appear in bold type, while our emphasis is expressed in italics. ★