

REPLY TO ATTACK ON CL pt.2

The reply of the Communist League (CL) to the "new left" revisionists is necessary for one reason--the exposure of these elements is a prerequisite to the defeat of the revisionist line of the Communist Party of the USA. We realize that the "new left" is merely a pimple on the backside of revisionism, yet currently history has inflated their importance by placing them in the position of a buffer between the forces trying to build a party of a new type and the forces of revisionism. The CL has watched the degeneration of these organizations over the past three years. It was clear that these groupings, many of whom are led by the same leaders of the old student movement, could and would not break with revisionism. Thus they are conciliators because they try to reconcile the politics of Marxism with those of revisionism.

Their first task was the maintenance of syndicalism over Marxism-Leninism within the theoretical movement. Over and over they have preached their syndicalism to various

groups of advanced workers. Within the past year there have been decisive defeats for the syndicalists. Thus quickly losing ground, these groupings united to attack the Communist League, hoping to gain in slander what they have lost in the objective struggle.

Marxism-Leninism holds that the laws of nature hold true for the social sciences as well as the physical sciences. It is precisely at this point that the "new left" attempts to strike, they advocate materialism in chemistry, idealism in politics. Their basic line is that the battle of the proletariat is against ideas (i.e. racism); 2) that the mass movement or the spontaneous struggle is the primary aspect of revolution, that spontaneity should lead consciousness; and 3) that the proletarian party will be built from the mass movement and 4) that the laws of Marxism-Leninism do not apply to the struggle in the United States of North America (USNA). This line is projected throughout their publications and in the attack, especially in the sixth

paragraph; "We are not interested in descending on progressive working class caucuses, splitting them up, and snatching away a few of its more active members only to ruin them and disillusion them by taking them out of the mass movement to form some mythological communist party headed by the CL." These projections completely contradict Leninism and fit hand in glove into the CPUSA's program.

This fundamental question was dealt with by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels over one hundred years ago in their Address of the Central Council of the Communist League (Engels/Marx, Selected Works, Vol. II, International Pub. New York, p. 162)

"At the present moment, when the democratic petty bourgeois are everywhere oppressed, they preach in general unity and reconciliation to the proletariat, they offer them their hand and strive for the establishment of a large opposition party which will embrace all shades of opinion in the Democratic Party, i.e., they strive to involve the workers in a par-

(cont. on p. 13)

CL Reply

(cont. from p. 3)

ty organisation in which general Social Democratic phrases predominate, behind which their special interests are concealed and in which the particular demands of the proletariat may not be brought forward for the sake of beloved peace. Such a union would turn out solely to their advantage and altogether to the disadvantage of the proletariat. The proletariat would lose its whole independent, laboriously obtained position and once more sink down to being an appendage of official bourgeois democracy. This union must, therefore be most decisively rejected. Instead of once again stooping to serve as the applauding chorus of the bourgeois democrats, the workers and above all the League must strive to establish an independent, secret and open, organisation of the Workers Party alongside the official democrats and make each local section the central point and nucleus of workers' associations in which the attitude and interests of the proletariat will be discussed independently of bourgeois influences."

Lenin also fought for the independence of the proletariat; the building of a proletarian organization with the emphasis on consciousness over spontaneity. The primary task of revolutionaries today is to build a Marxist-Leninist Party. This means an exhausting study and adherence to the science of Marxism. The strategic line of the Communist League is best expressed in the Introduction of the Constitution of the Communist League. It reads in part; "The Communist League was formed in 1968 by a group of Marxist-Leninists. The purpose of the CL is to organize and participate in the struggle of the working class against the US Capitalist class and in the struggle to establish a Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

"The CL is fully aware that 'If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary

(cont. from p. 12)

powerful support from the state have tremendously promoted the growth of industry, farming and livestock-breeding in Inner Mongolia. For many years now, the region has supplied the state with large amounts of animal, agricultural and side-line products and other capital and consumer goods, thereby contributing its share to building our great socialist motherland.

The revolution and production in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region today is unprecedentedly excellent and will get increasingly better. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the Mongolian, Han and other nationalities in the region together with the people in the rest of our country are uniting to win still greater victories!

party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs.' At this point in US history there is no revolutionary party.

"The CL cannot and does not consider itself a party. We believe that a revolutionary party will be built by the merging of true Marxist-Leninist groupings out of their common struggle in theory and practice against the revisionist ideology which is presently holding back the working class movement.

"The source of this revisionist ideology is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and their faithful running dogs, the Communist Party of the USA. Only by a hard and constant struggle can Marxism-Leninism be put in its proper place as the theoretical beacon lighting our way."

Replying to the economists and anti-party elements, Lenin wrote in What Is To Be Done?, Lenin, the Iskra Period, Book II, International Pub. New York 1929, p. 181;

".....Both these tendencies, the opportunist and the 'revolutionary' bow to the prevailing primitiveness; neither believe that it can be eliminated, neither understand our primary and most imperative practical task, namely to establish an organization of revolutionists, capable of maintaining the energy, the stability and continuity of the political struggle."

The "new left" charlatans characterize the struggle for organization as "storybook" revolution. The CL stands by Lenin, that the struggle for proletarian organization is absolutely crucial. "They are prepared to justify our inability to organize secretly by the argument that with the spontaneous growth of the mass movement it is not at all important for us to fight against the political police!!!" (ibid. p. 185) and "...but the struggle against the political police requires special qualities, it can be conducted only by professional revolutionists." (ibid., p. 185) Lenin further states that not only is the forming of a party the primary task of the revolutionists, but that in this party formation consciousness must lead spontaneity, and that the larger the mass movement grows the more the party is needed.

"I assert: 1) That no movement can be durable without a stable organization of leaders to maintain continuity; 2) that the more widely the masses are drawn into the struggle and form the basis of the movement, the more necessary is it to have such an organization and the more stable must it be for

it is much easier then for demagogues to side-track the more backward sections of the masses; 3) that the organization must consist chiefly of persons engaged in revolution as a profession; 4) that in a country with a despotic government, the more we restrict the membership of this organization to persons who are engaged in revolution as a profession and who have been professionally trained in the art of combating the political police, the more difficult will it be to catch the organization; and 5) the wider other classes of society are able to join the movement and perform active work in it." (ibid. p. 198)

This is not the line of the revisionist sycophants. From the Revolutionary Union (RU) comes the strategic call for a united front against imperialism not a party. They clearly develop the line that the party will be built from the struggle of the united front.

"It is therefore the primary revolutionary duty of the people of the U.S. to build a militant united front against U.S. imperialism." (A selection from The Red Papers #1, 2 and 3, Revolutionary Union, Chicago, Ill., p. 3)

And further;

"Our organization does have such a strategy; the United Front against imperialism, led by the proletariat. This means developing and linking up mass struggle around five spearheads of opposition to US imperialism." (Red Papers #4, p. 16, RU Chicago, Ill.)

Further the RU clearly states that the proletarian Marxist-Leninist party will be built from the mass movement and the united front (Red Papers #1,2 and 3, p. 56);

"While the building of a Communist Party at the earliest possible time is key to building the united front, work to begin building the united front should not wait for the formation of a Communist Party; in fact building the United Front is dialectically related to building a real vanguard party of the proletariat. At present the Black and Brown proletarian organizations that do have real ties with the masses can take the lead in the united front, and to some extent they already are. But in order to forge the maximum unity of the proletariat the organizations playing a vanguard role must draw around them the largest numbers of proletarian fighters as well as basic allies from other classes and strata and unite with as many middle forces as possible on the basis of the united front program to isolate the monopoly capitalist ruling class. As the strength of the united front grows, so will the strength of the proletariat, as the more backward workers are drawn into motion by the gathering momentum of the movement. And, as the workers movement gains impetus and more and more workers

(cont. on p. 14)

CL REPLY

(cont. from p. 13)

are brought into active struggle the building of a vanguard party of the proletariat as a whole will be the order of the day. This party, firmly rooted among the masses of working people, will be able to consolidate the united front among the proletariat and its allies, win over still broader sections of the middle forces, and establish its leading role. This is not a magic formula...."



V. I. LENIN

In his work The United Front Against Fascism (p. 25) Dimitroff clearly states that one of the most important aspects to building a United Front against fascism is the party of the proletariat. "...it depends on the existence of a strong revolutionary party, correctly leading the struggle of the working people against fascism." Dimitroff makes it clear that there can be no united front against fascism without a party, not that the two can be built at the same time but that the party must be built first. How is the proletariat to be represented in the united front, by learned individuals, or does the "new left" want us to rely upon the petty bourgeoisie or the CPUSA to represent us? The program of these organizations is distinctly anti-proletarian. They have taken the old bourgeois ideology from SDS and SNCC and smeared it with Marxist phrases. This will never do, the proletariat will continue to suffer and labor under the rule of the capitalist class without organized resistance until it has an independent multi-national Marxist-Leninist party to lead them. There will be no united

front against fascism until this party is built.

It should surprise no one that these "new left" groupings dwell upon the unconscious and lowest common denominator aspects of the movement. They like the old party just fine. The CPUSA does not challenge them, it supports them in several ways. Their syndicalism is never challenged, their white chauvinism can remain unscathed, but even more important, they know full well that the formation of a proletarian communist party and the destruction of the CPUSA eventually means that the petty bourgeois will follow the lead of the workers. Their entire lease on life is their attempt to lead and influence the petty bourgeois democrats. They do not want a real communist party within the USNA (United States of North America) because its formation would immediately begin to polarize the left and eventually the entire class against the revisionists. These events would undoubtedly expose the sham revolution advocated by the "new left". For these reasons they do not attack the revisionists. They contend that "the revisionists are too weak" and "they aren't worth the trouble" and many other variations of the same line that preaches "ignore the revisionists". In turn the revisionists find them suitable bed partners.

What more could the revisionists ask for, in their attack on the CL the "new left" claimed to be "interested in building a Third World led anti-war, anti-imperialist, and pro-socialist movement within the United States..". The line of the CPUSA is, needless to say, not concerned with building a communist party either. Presently the CPUSA's masquerade as the proletarian vanguard does immeasurable harm to the working class movement. Their line is the line of a mass movement, an "anti-monopoly coalition". Hence we shall see how these "new left" groups not only oppose the line of Marx and Lenin, oppose fighting revisionism and building an independent proletarian organization, but openly support the counter-revolutionary program of the revisionists. Gus Hall states in The Erosion of U.S. Capitalism in the 70's (p. 70, New Outlook Pub., New York 1971);

".....what this country needs, and what is now possible is a massive people's movement, a coalition of peoples movements, a coalition geared to the problems and currents expressed by the working class, Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican movements working closely with students and other sections of the population."

And further from the Main Resolution of the CPUSA;

"...we observe a growing trend toward the expansion of united front actions and the formation of coalitions..... These represent important advances in the process of devel-

opment of the anti-monopoly coalition." (p. 25)

And from his speech Capitalism on the Skids to Oblivion, (p. 74), Hall writes;

"It is in this new context of the mass upsurge that we must see the need for a new united left sector in every mass formation. The new initiatives must come from a united left. There can be a meaningful united left only if it sees as its main task that of being an initiator and leading force within the broader mass trends and movements."

The Communist League is neither impressed nor intimidated by the super-revolutionist "new left". To us the anti-Leninist program stinks just as much coming from the lips of Gus Hall or those of the RU

The "new left" tried to disguise its revisionist program by calling for the "united front against imperialism". They managed only to show their ignorance of Marxism. The "united front against imperialism" is a program for the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Its aim is to make use of the split in the bourgeoisie and to unite all aspects of society against imperialist aggression. To the "new left" the Communist League would like to ask, where is the national and comprador bourgeoisie in the U.S. capitalist class? Dimitroff makes this point very clear on page sixty eight of the United Front Against Fascism (Int. Pub., New York 1938).

"The changed international and internal situation gives exceptional importance to the question of the anti-imperialist united front in all colonial and semi-colonial countries.

"In forming a wide anti-imperialist united front of struggle in the colonies and semi-colonies, it is necessary above all to recognize the variety of conditions in which the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses is proceeding, the varying degree of maturity of the national liberation movement, the role of the proletariat within it and the influence of the Communist Party over the masses."

One of the main points in Imperialism by Lenin was the consolidation of the bourgeoisie under imperialism. As for tactics the Communist League prefers the tactics of Lenin to those of Gus Hall. Lenin states

"And it is therefore our duty, if we wish to remain Socialists, to go down lower and deeper, to the real masses. That is the whole meaning and the whole substance of the struggle against opportunism." (Lenin on Britain, FLPH, Moscow, p. 327)

But the "new left" prefers the fantasies of the "heroic urban guerrilla". They see them-

(cont. on p. 15)

CL REPLY

(cont. from p. 14)

selves as the daring heroes of history and the CPUSA fosters and finances this thinking in order to divert the energy of the youth and the interests of the advanced sections of the working class.

In return the "new left" collaborates with the CPUSA's political program and attempts to reconcile all anti-revisionist elements under the wing of the old party. The proof of this is the "new left" themselves. Having a thieves falling out, the leadership of the Revolutionary Union had a split. Basically the split was between the terrorists and the economists, not a split in principles (for each group is still prostrate to the idol of spontaneity). Much hoop-la and excitement was generated over the "split". Yet when confronted by Marxism-Leninism, each of the "mortal enemies" joined forces to attack the Communist League. Further, each demonstration and conference finds them in each others arms. Yet when any real battle against revisionism, for instance the battle against the revisionist line of "racism", is mounted; these groups all scurry to form a "united front to protect the revisionist masters". This is the closest thing to a united front they have ever been in.

Though they may protest loudly and claim to have been misread, facts are stubborn things and the facts point clearly to their role as conciliators of revisionism. They claim to stand aside from the battle between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists. The Communist League stands by Lenin, when he pointed out in What Is To Be Done? (p. 122 & 123);

"Since there can be no talk of an independent ideology being developed by the masses of the workers in the process of their movement then the only choice is: Either bourgeois, or Socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for humanity has not created a 'third' ideology, and moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or above-class ideology). Hence, to belittle Socialist ideology in any way, to deviate from it in the slightest degree means strengthening bourgeois ideology."

Over the years the revisionists have perfected to an art the ability of taking rising groupings of advanced workers and bringing them under the wing of the bourgeoisie. Now that the revisionists are being challenged, as small as the challenge might be, there arises a real need for the role of the conciliators, those elements who attempt to bring the Marxists and revisionists together not under the banner of struggle but under the banner of cooperation. We say no. We will stand solidly opposed to revisionism even if we have to stand alone.

Now that the conciliators have opened the attack, we are more than ready to fight. "We are marching in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and are under their almost constant fire. We have combined voluntarily, especially for the purpose of fighting the enemy and not to retreat into the adjacent marsh, the inhabitants of which, right from the very outset, have reproached us with having separated ourselves into an exclusive group, and with having chosen the path of struggle instead of the path of conciliation. And now several in our crowd begin to cry out-- let us go into this marsh! And when we begin to shame them they retort: How conservative you are! Are you not ashamed to deny us the right to invite you to take a better road!

Oh yes, gentlemen! You are free, not only to invite us, but to go yourselves wherever you will, even into the marsh. In fact, we think that the marsh is your proper place, and we are prepared to render you every assistance to get there. Only, let go of our hands, don't clutch at us, and don't besmirch the grand word "freedom"; for we too are "free" to go where we please, free, not only to fight against the marsh, but also those who are turning toward the marsh." (Lenin, op. cit. p. 97)

The Communist League again issues the invitation to all honest revolutionaries to struggle around the line of Marxism-Leninism and for unity, unity based upon principle and the desire to build a communist party of the proletariat which will lead the revolutionary movement of the working class.

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