The Central Committee of the Black Workers Congress, at its most recent meeting, took another step forward in attempting to more firmly adopt the method, stand and viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism. Most significant in this regard was the decision to unfold the current "two line struggle" throughout the entire organization and encourage the full participation of all cadre while condemning as bankrupt factionalism and 'mountain strongholds' in any quarter. Further, just criticism and self-criticism was conducted around violations of democratic centralism and unity was reaffirmed that in no way could we go forward if we failed to practice vigilance around this question.

The present "two line struggle" and accompanying study and discussion which is taking place throughout the organization is a good thing. It is not a sign of weakness or degeneration but a sign of our strength; the strength which has been developed in the process of prior struggles; it is a sign of our maturity.

The current period of struggle and study will have a most positive effect on the continuing growth and development of our organization and the communist movement. Further, it will undoubtedly prepare us to play even greater roles in carrying out our tasks as communist and marching forward in the ranks of the anti-revisionist communist movement towards building a party of a new type, and leading our class to victory over its enemies.

Why has the question of the internal life of our organization become so important in the present period??

The cause is to be found in the rapid deepening of the crisis of imperialism. Based upon our understanding of the program of Marxism, we know that crisis are inevitable under capitalism and that they assume greater proportions as capitalism sinks deeper and deeper into decay. Great changes are occurring in the world. Great changes are occurring in the U.S. The class struggle in the U.S. is daily becoming more intense, the imperialist have been forced to contract, so to speak. Such contraction is due mainly to the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism; a contradiction of which the principle aspect is the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations. The U.S. imperialist, find themselves in a position of being unable to extract super-profits from abroad; nevertheless, by their very nature, they will always attempt to maintain a maximum rate of profit. So the situation in the main is one where unable to continue maximum exploitation abroad, the imperialist are forced to contract and attempt to maintain their rate of profit by intensifying the exploitation and oppression of the U.S. proletariat. It is becoming increasingly difficult for the bourgeoisie to rule in the old way, (the reader must be aware that the situation is not one where the imperialist 'take their licks and go home', they really attempt to 'regroup' and go back stronger than ever, it is this nature of the imperialist which makes the threat of world war very real).

The increased attacks on the peoples living standards and their accompanying repressive measures have demanded ever increasing resistance from the working class. The year 1978 witnessed the greatest number of strikes in the history of the U.S., as ever increasing strata of the working class stepped forward, showing their willingness to fight the imperialist. Many of the strikes were wildcats and forced us to understand with greater clarity the words of Lenin: "The struggle against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism". So in as much as workers were forced to wildcat they fought the imperialist as well as their agents in the working class movement, the sell out trade union bureaucracy.

In the absence of a communist party to lead their fight, in the absence of any united course of action from the various tendencies of the anti-revisionist communist movement, the workers struggles have developed with a dominant spontaneous character. The attacks on and the resistance of the working class has exposed the pitifully small degree to which real communist influence exist in the workers movement. It has exposed how miserably we continue to lag behind the demands of the objective situation.

So it is then in this context that a "two line struggle" has come down front in the BTC. So it is in this context that we find ourselves looking inward - so to speak. In looking inward we find that we are still experiencing growing pains as a Marxist-Leninist organization (that we mean is lack of training in revolutionary work and lack of organizational skills, etc). We have defects in the internal life of our organization. These are defects which in the main have manifested themselves in a contradictionariness between our line as correctly stated and the incorrect way it has been put into practice by our different bodies. At this point let us briefly refer to Stalin on this question of defects:

"I have mentioned defects in our Party life that were exposed in the autumn of this year, and which brought up the question of improving internal Party
life. What are these defects in internal Party life? Is it that the Party line was wrong, as some comrades think; or that, although the Party's line was correct, in practice it departed from the right road, was distorted because of certain subjective and objective conditions?

"I think that the chief defect in our internal party life is that, although the Party's line as expressed in the decisions of our Congresses, is correct, the Party's line as effectively put into practice in the localities (not everywhere, of course, but in certain districts) it was in the localities (not everywhere, of course, but in certain districts) it was in an incorrect way. While the proletarian-democratic line put into practice in an incorrect way. While the proletarian-democratic line put into practice in the localities of our Party was correct, the way it was put into practice in the localities resulted in cases of bureaucratic distortion of this line.

"That is the chief defect. The existence of contradictions between the basic party line as laid down by the Congresses (tenth, eleventh and twelfth) and the way our organisations put this line into practice in the localities - that is the foundation of all the defects in internal party life..."

"I am also far from considering our central committee to be blameless. It too, has sinned, as has every institution and organization; it, too, shares part of the blame and part of the misfortune; blame, at least for not, whatever the reason, exposing these defects in time, and for not taking measures to eliminate them."


What are some examples of these defects in our internal organizational life/our theoretical understanding and practical application of the principles of democratic centralism; and our understanding of the need for a sound system of reporting and putting that into practice.

Comrades it would be an error to think that we could develop to perfection these organizational skills all at once. Such thinking is worthy of those clinging to metaphysics and crying before the real dialectical movement of the process. The development towards mastering the application of democratic centralism and a sound system of reporting - necessary for adequate 'sum-up' - is a process, and as such develops from the lower to a higher qualitative level. Why is it that these are such burning issues at present in the BCC? It is because our organization functions in a real living world and has developed from a lower organization functions in a real living world, and has developed from a lower level; and attempting to adapt ourselves, we have to a higher qualitative level; and attempting to adapt ourselves, we have to set higher tasks than those of the old periods. These higher tasks did not drop to us from the sky, but grew out of the real development of the class struggle and became recognizable to and adopted by us in the process of our participation in it.

What is then the difference between defects and deviations? The difference is that defects - lack of revolutionary training and organizational skill - are "entirely natural phenomena" in the beginning of various stages of a revolutionary process. These defects may be removed, provided they are recognized and a willingness exist to overcome them. Deviations on the other hand are defects which are regarded as virtues and a sham theoretical basis is built to support them. In other words, once a phenomenon is recognized as a defect and a plan of action or line is adopted for its removal, and one still persists in perpetuating this defect, it ceases to be a defect and becomes a deviation; thereby requiring a different method of struggle. If we fail to recognize such differences, then we will make gross errors and treat Marxism and Leninism collectivist, and in that we shall be unable to treat contradictions correctly. We will and up seeing all shortcomings as opportunities and all contradictions as antagonisms.

It is then in this context that we must reject as misleading those "ideological and political points" while recognizing our inadequacies, see them as supportive of the assertion that the "left" deviation is the main danger.

Let us look at these points.

1. INADEQUATE UNDERSTANDING OF THE ORGANIC RELATION BETWEEN THE STRATEGIC TASKS.

What is meant by this? To begin with, we have a line on this question which essentially says that all three tasks have to be carried out simultaneously, but the central one is Party building. Granted that we don't have reams and reams of paper detailing this, but, again we are Marxist-Leninist and we understand that once we set the general line it is further deepened in the course of putting it into practice.

Can the majority point to one document where the "organic relations between the strategic tasks" is not put forth and stressed in connection with the central task, (the party building study guide, the Communist, the document on factory nuclei, etc.) It is unclear at this point, that our comrades of the majority are looking for and what are these inadequacies remote and -Stagnant. And that the reason for such searching does not correspond to the historic development of the class struggle.

2. DENIAL OF THE ROLE OF PRACTICE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL LINE AND THEORY

Strange isn't it that such points should be made by the same forces who now criticize every ounce of real practice. If by practice, the majority means
"practice" of the old type, where we worked with no plan, method or policy and bowed spontaneously to every spontaneous development; then the role of such "practice" is now indeed being denied and our majority is indeed correct in this assertion. If on the other hand the majority is saying that: study this assertion. If on the other hand the majority is saying that: study this assertion. If we proceed to build factory nuclei; forum circles with the advanced; the attempts to build factory nuclei; forum circles with the advanced; the attempts to build factory nuclei; forum circles with the advanced...
head because they are afraid of a revolutionary crisis and are therefore ready to do everything in their power to drag the party back and not allow the growing crisis to develop. Hence I think that since the French Communist Party has to mould new revolutionary cadres and prepare the masses for the crisis, its immediate task is to rebuff the rightists and isolate them.”

Volume 8 Coll. Works J.V. Stalin Speech in th French Commission pg. 108

The situation in the Communist movement and the EMC is no exception from this general revolutionary law. Concrete expressions of the attempts to hold us back are manifested in such statements as “with the present line and leadership we are doomed”, we have “fatal flaws”, “there is a lack of confidence among our allies and within the EMC itself”, everyone is demoralized, “a cadre is going for long periods of time without carrying out organizational work”, while at the same time asserting that the line just happens to be developing in spite of our grave situation. Then these people say they have no solutions to our problems (other than the replacement of a few individuals). Let us make that seem to be an inevitable conclusion to these assertions, THAT THE EMC SHOULD LET DOWN AND DIE!??

The bourgeoisie in control of the state and their alien ideology in the Communist movement will do everything in its power to divert the growing revolutionary movement from its correct path and defeat it. Our latest C.C. resolutions and the originator of the “left line” theory have not been able to justify their position with a Marxist analysis. The raging class struggle and its demands on the Communist movement finds no mention in any of their “theses”. We question how our Central Committee majority could make any determination on this question and at the same time say that they could not “fully substantiate its views on the basis of Marxism-Leninism”.

Comrades our starting point in examining any question is a concrete analysis of concrete conditions, the class struggle. Not a concrete analysis of the role of individuals, as some seem hung up on.

We do not attempt to negate everything there is most definitely a left tendency within the EMC as stated in our first issue of the Communist. This tendency is no less dangerous and must be struggled against. But it is not the most immediate danger facing us. The main thing holding back the EMC from exercising its influence is by no means because we are outstripping or jumping ahead of the objective political situation, invoking the method of direct assault in the absence of the party etc.

Comrades we are lagging behind we are unprepared if anything. This can easily be seen by the reaction of the bourgeoisie to us. The general reaction of the bourgeoisie is to smash the left, examples are the EFP, Watermen, SLA etc. because of their ultra left positions and vivid isolation from the masses. That is not to say that the bourgeoisie does not take us seriously but by no means do they take us as seriously as they should. Even they understand our weaknesses and unpreparedness.

In summary, it is our position that: the present discussion is a healthy sign; that the conditions for the discussion is the intense attacks by the bourgeoisie on the masses, the spontaneous character of worker resistance, both of which together means changes in the intensity of the class struggle and higher tasks for communist; that the basis of the discussion is defects in our internal organizational life – we see defects as part of a spiral consisting of defects (if uncorrected)-deviations-opportunism-defects-etc; that the present presentation of “the two line struggle” are blurred – the two line struggle is indeed between the two ways of looking at the objective situation and what it demands, on the one hand a tendency says we must go backwards to build the party and another says we must move forward, in essence a struggle over the general line of the EMC; and that the main danger at present is the the right deviation and its conciliatory attitude towards right opportunism.

We caution comrades, to make “concrete analysis of concrete things” and not make the error of trying to understand the EMC in isolation.

The sharpest point class struggle is arround the attacks of the peoples living standards and in this context we feel that the EMC must move forward with its trade union conference and set as one of the main objectives, a proposal for united action between the various groupings in our movement. In this way we will be going even further in our role of uniting the communist movement.