

# STRUGGLE AGAINST OPPORTUNISM CONTINUES AT PHILADELPHIA FORUM

On December 14, 1974, the Thursday Night Study Group (an Asian Marxist-Leninist Study Group), sponsored a forum at the University of Pennsylvania. The second of its kind, the theme of the forum was "What Is To Be Done?". Representatives from the Workers Viewpoint and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization spoke out on: (1) the historical stage of the movement today, and (2) the central task of communists. Attended mainly by people already involved in organizations, the forum's purpose was to continue the polemics on the many burning questions that the communist movement has been and must continue to address itself to.

## CENTRAL TASK AND BUSING RAISED

The representative of the Workers' Viewpoint gave a historical analysis of the development of the communist forces. In speaking of the spontaneous struggles of the masses, he stressed the importance of building a genuine communist party as our central task and emphasized the importance of communists arming themselves with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought in order to give correct leadership and guidance to these struggles.

The comrade went on to focus on the busing issue and the current struggle in Boston, exposing the opportunist lines being put forward by the October League and the Guardian. These forces claim that we must demand that federal troops be sent into Boston to deal with the attacks against the Black community by white racists. This is, in essence, a reactionary line because the national guard, the police and other armed forces are that part of the state machinery that is used specifically to repress by force the mass struggles of the working class. And this repression has historically been used against the Black masses and other oppressed nationalities in this country. On what basis do the OL and the Guardian formulate this position which in no way will deal with the problem at hand?

From the floor, the OL tried to justify its position of calling for federal troops and also claimed that the OL does see the struggle of Black people in Boston as a struggle for self-determination. However, it was pointed out that in meetings in Philadelphia around this issue, the OL never raised the question of self-determination. In Palante, Vol.1, #1, we raised criticism of the OL and Guardian on this point: "They raise the right of self-determination of Black people only to knock it down

and reduce it to the right to 'intergration,' the 'right to protect and develop national culture.' They wind up tailing the Black bourgeoisie which has been raising 'integration' for decades. They slander the revolutionary efforts of such fighters as Malcolm X. They unite with the Black bourgeoisie represented by the NAACP and other forces on their bankrupt demand for 'integration' also on their demand for federal troops to be brought in."

Workers' Viewpoint went on to clearly point out that the busing issue was not a demand of Black people in this country; it was a trick used by the bourgeoisie to quiet down the Black masses who were dealing with the question of quality education as opposed to forced integration. The struggle of the Black community in Boston as well as in other parts of the country in regards to education is one that related to all working people in this country--what is the quality of the education our children are receiving? The fight for quality education includes the struggle against racism, for better conditions in the schools, for control over what is being taught--this is one aspect. The other aspects that we as communists must see is the struggle for self-determination and democratic rights and the right of self-defense against fascist repression and racist attacks.

## LEADING OR TAILING THE SPONTANEOUS MOVEMENT?

PRRW's speaker first summed up the communist movement--from the betrayal of the "CP" USA to the tremendous upsurge of the mass struggle during the 60's and 70's and the organizations that came out of these struggles. We presented that without a genuine communist party we cannot talk about revolution. A communist party is needed to wield the other two weapons, the United Front and the armed struggle--and that is why we hold that the central task of communists has been and still is the building of a Bolshevik communist party. (For further elaboration, see the party-building section of our pamphlet, In the U.S. Pregnant with Revisionism: the Struggle for Proletarian Revolution Moves Ahead.)

We put forward that communists must give leadership to the spontaneous struggles, merging the communist movement with the workers' movement in order to give these struggles a planned, conscious character. While doing this work, we must educate and agitate for the abolition of the entire system,

raising the political consciousness of the toiling masses and explaining how and why the economic and political needs of the people cannot be met under the present system of capitalism.

In terms of the Revolutionary Union, we criticized their position that party-building has only now become the central task since, according to them, we now have enough experiences to sum-up and can begin to focus on building the party. They still maintain that up until now, the central task has been the building of the revolutionary unity, consciousness and struggle of the class. We also criticized RU's practice. Their relationship to the mass struggles hasn't been from a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint of injecting scientific socialism into the spontaneous movement. They have consistently rejected taking Marxism-Leninism to the masses and instead prop up all kinds of "anti-imperialist work" and bow to the spontaneous movement of the masses.

(Just to note: the RU refused to participate in the forum as speakers, but they turned out to argue from the floor.)

The RU tried to distort what both speakers were saying when we presented that Marxist-Leninists must give the spontaneous struggles a conscious character. They lied and claimed that we were saying the spontaneous struggles are not to be dealt with, which was totally absurd because we all understand that the spontaneous struggles are part of the objective processes of society; they will occur irrespective of our will. The question facing communists is--are we going to lead these struggles and give them a political character or are we going to slavishly bow down, worship them, and tail after them?

## SOME DIFFERENCES WITH THE PSP AND CL

We also raised criticism of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and their deepening revisionist line. We pointed specifically to their "Divided Nation" theory which divides the class and retards the struggle of the multi-national U.S. proletariat; their conciliation with the revisionists of the "CP"USA domestically; and their position that the Soviet Union is still a socialist country and that a "socialist camp" still exists. This is not the position of the international communist movement; it is the position of the international revisionists with which PSP unites. (For

cont. on pg.10

**Philly** cont. from pg. 6

further elaboration see our pamphlet: Proletarian Internationalism or Revisionism, an analysis of Oct. 27th.)

The PRRWO holds that the main danger in the communist movement today is right opportunism. However, as Stalin points out:

"It should not be forgotten that Rights and 'ultra-lefts' are actually twins, that consequently both take an opportunist stand, the difference between them being that whereas the Rights do not always conceal their opportunism, the Lefts in-

variably camouflage their opportunism with 'revolutionary' phrases." (Stalin, "The Fight Against Right and Left Deviations," Vol. 8, Collected Works.)

With this in mind, we also raised criticism of the Communist League and the so-called "Party" they have established (the Communist Labor Party)--a party which has been pulled together based on theory, theory, theory--in abstract with no relationship to the mass struggles and composed of out-and-out opportunists!

KEY LINK TO PARTY BUILDING

We also spoke of what we feel is the key link to party building. We explained that the weaknesses of the communist movement, having their theoretical basis in the worshipping of the spontaneous movements and breaking the dialectic between objective and subjective factors, have a material basis in the isolation of the communist movement from the proletariat. If we are not based in the working class, we cannot speak of building a Bolshevik party of the working class, the advanced, organized detachment of the class.

The key link to party building is the building of factory nuclei. The factory nuclei is that basic unit which creates, in the real world, that inseparable link between the party and the proletariat. It is the nut of any communist organization. The factory nuclei is an illegal apparatus of the party, composed of communists in a particular workplace.

Conducting all phases of political and organizational work there, it is the factory nuclei which gives leadership to the struggles there. As an organizational unit of communists, it is the link between the communist movement and the workers' movement in the workplace.

The factory nuclei, while closed to the bourgeoisie, must always make itself known to the masses, bringing scientific socialism to the masses, conducting agitation and propaganda, and building class consciousness in the plant. One

of its tasks (not the only task) is to work within rank and file workers' committees or to form such committees where this is necessary. It is primarily through this unit that we recruit workers into the party.

Historically, this work has been very weak in the advanced capitalist countries. The Comintern (Communist International) criticized the "CP"USA and other parties very heavily for not developing the factory nuclei style of work--which in reality weakened their ties with the working class. As Stalin says, the party has to be tied to the class with all the fibers in its being. We hold that in order to build a genuine party that will truly represent the working class and oppressed masses, we must have a firm grasp of the importance of sinking our roots deep into the class and the importance of the factory nuclei in accomplishing this goal.

After our presentation, the RU tried to debate the point of building the factory nuclei. What they were talking about was having cadres at a workplace. But this is not the essence of the question--the revisionists and trotskyites have cadres in workplaces, but they don't fulfill Marxist-Leninist responsibilities. Nuclei style of work is not just placing cadres in industry.

As Marxist-Leninists, we must first look at the line that is being put across and on what basis is one organizing. If you are not interjecting scientific socialism into that workplace, uniting and developing the advanced, building study groups and other organizational forms, and dealing not only with the economic struggles, but also putting out a clear political analysis and line regarding our final goal--you are not doing the factory nuclei style of work.

CONCLUSION

We are sure that there are many other differences and questions that other organizations and individuals have regarding the presentations made at the forum and the questions and answers that followed. We are open to exchange our opinions and struggle to further draw lines of demarcation and unite with the honest and genuine Marxist-Leninists. At the same time, we commit ourselves, and urge all genuine communists, to deepen our base within the working class; so that, in this way, our debates and struggles will be one of both theoretical and practical experiences--coming from the application of Marxism-Leninism to work, in the real world, among the working class.

SMASH OPPORTUNISM TO BUILD A GENUINE BOLSHEVIK COMMUNIST PARTY!