

EXPOSE RWL'S 'LEFT' OPPORTUNISM ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The right deviation and its main representative -- OL -- is the main danger in the communist movement today. This also applies to deviations on the international situation. The Guardian, due to their all-round revisionism, is now flying a separate flag and has fully degenerated ideologically and politically. The October League (OL) only a few months ago laughed and ridiculed WVO's position that the slogan which best describes the current world situation is "two contending trends" -- either war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent war -- and not the out-of-context "revolution is the main trend." A few months later, they silently changed their position on revolution and war, and came out in bold headlines that read, "Factors for both war and revolution are on the rise" and described the current international situation as two factors fiercely "competing." Again, this change was done without self-criticism.

OL in fact is now, in their typical opportunist fashion, attempting to exploit this slogan to serve their current sham party building campaign. Exposed long ago as spineless and cornered on almost every position they take -- whether on the trade union question, strategy and tactics, united front, Watergate, community control, busing, their party building line or the role of theory -- they now have to resort to using the objective conditions as the basis for this "emergency situation" party building attempt. "Get into the party now, there will soon be a world war, it's urgent!" they cry.

The objective situation is a factor we must take into account. But the growing danger of world war and the task of turning it into a civil war means that we must redouble our efforts to build our party on the proletarian ideological plane, and grasp the key link of political line on both the international and national situations so much tighter. It means we must redouble our efforts to win the advanced to communism chiefly through our propaganda, build our factory nuclei and solidly root ourselves in the working class. It does not mean capitulating to opportunism, continuing their liberalism and Menshevism and building a party on a foundation of mud only to have it crumble to pieces in the trying period ahead.

OL's line on the international situation, whether on the question of the Shah of Iran or the "west bank mini-state", discredits the principled Marxist-Leninist position of Socialist China. It discredits the Leninist position on the international situation of correctly viewing the interrelation between the movements for countries' independence, nations' liberation and peoples' revolution, and correctly distinguishing the role of the state-to-state relations in the foreign policy of states which have achieved the dictatorship of the proletariat (such as China), from the role of the proletariat in imperialist countries such as here in the United States.

The inside-out Mensheviks -- the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO) and the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) --, as well as the August Twenty-ninth Movement (ATM), challenge the correct line on the international situation put forth by the Communist Party of China. Like the Communist League (CL) in the past, in the name of interpreting the CPC's line, they only distort it.

PRRWO has quite a track record on this question. First they walked into CL's party building motion years after CL displayed their thoroughly revisionist/Trotskyite line on the international situation. Then after the CL's infamous May Day 1974 report, they stayed in their party building motion for months.

Now RWL's new twist in adopting PRRWO's position that "Revolution is the main trend," is a sign of further decay and degeneration into 'left' opportunism, rapidly leading towards Trotskyism.

This seemingly "left" position covers the centrist position on Soviet social-imperialism taken by many marsh forces, those retrograde trends from the past movement of the 60's which have not taken a clear stand with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and against revisionism. In belittling the danger of world war, RWL and PRRWO are belittling the

role of Soviet social-imperialism as the main source of world war today! This position appeals to marsh forces, to relatively weak comrades who are not consolidated or don't understand the role of Soviet social-imperialism and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. This ideological trend appeals to backward instincts of comrades, as well as forces who historically had an incorrect or no position on Soviet social-imperialism. It is especially now appealing in its present phoney "left" cover, and this is what makes RWL/PRRWO's line so dangerous. We must seriously warn these organizations to check out their positions because they will hopelessly draw themselves out of the Communist movement with an incorrect line on the international situation.

The proletarian struggle in the US is part of the world-wide people's struggle against the superpowers and all reaction. Our struggle is part of the overall struggle and we must subordinate our strategy and tactics to it. This is a fundamental teaching on proletarian internationalism. An incorrect line on the international situation will direct our line of struggle away from the international class struggle, contradict it and objectively oppose and hinder the overall struggle. The objective international situation affects our domestic struggle tremendously. The Indochinese peoples struggle against US imperialism and our support for them, and in turn the effect of this victory on our present condition, is only one example of how the international situation is intimately connected to our tasks, strategy and tactics.

Our recent split with RWL/PRRWO was first triggered by their Menshevik line on organization, which we will elaborate in coming issues of the WV. A Menshevik line on organization is generally a good sign of opportunism on a whole array of questions. We warned RWL/PRRWO that they would open up the "floodgate" of opportunism, once they leached onto their opportunist organizational line. And surely, the flood has started and has quickly washed them away to the swamp.

A good indication of RWL's degeneration is shown in their methodology of sophistry and outright slander contained in vol.1, no.1 of their journal the "Bolshevik." In this article we would like to polemicize against their line on the international situation. We are reprinting the last section of their journal, "Revolution is the Main Trend," which represents the most "advanced" formulation of this opportunist line to date, to promote struggle on this crucial question and to also submit our line to the examination and criticism of comrades around the country. Due to space limitations we are unable to reprint RWL's entire journal, which for one reason or another has not been made available to the communist movement. We urge comrades wherever possible to purchase a copy of "Bolshevik" in order to facilitate the line struggle. In future issues of our newspaper we will expose RWL's opportunist lines on party building and other questions.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION SINCE 1970

First, we would like to lay out the context in which Chairman Mao issued the slogan, "Revolution is the main trend in the world today". In the May 20, 1970, statement in support of the Cambodian people's struggle against U.S. invasion, Chairman Mao said:

"A new upsurge in the struggle against U.S. imperialism is now emerging throughout the world. Ever since WW II, U.S. imperialism and its followers have been continuously waging revolutionary wars to defeat the aggressors. The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today."

Clearly, the full statement is not merely "revolution is the main trend in the world today". The full statement discloses the dialectical relation between revolution and the danger of world war the way it was in the world in May 1970. At that time, the focus of the fundamental contradictions in the world, the principal contradiction in the world, was clearly the one between U.S. imperialism and the Indochinese people, the one between imperialism and oppressed countries and nations around the world.



Today, 6 years later and after the complete defeat of U.S. imperialism in Indochina, the inter-imperialist contradiction, that is, the one between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, is rapidly on the rise. The sharpening of this contradiction is as clear as broad daylight -- Portugal, Cyprus, Europe (particularly now in Italy and Spain), the Middle East, contention for spheres of influence between the superpowers for Egypt (in particular in the last year), Angola and Southern Africa -- these are all indications of the intensified contention and competition between the two imperialist powers. The shifting of the hot-spots away from Indochina and mainly onto Europe is a sign of shift in the principal contradiction. From this intensified contention arises a greater danger of world war. So, on the one hand, the revolutionary movement for countries' independence, nations' liberation and peoples' revolution are on the rise; on the other hand, the danger of world war is also rapidly on the rise. This transitional period is characterized by the rise of both fundamental contradictions, the one between oppressed countries and nations and the superpowers and the one between the imperialists, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

RWL'S SOPHISTRY OF DISTORTING QUOTES AND SUBSTITUTING HALF-LEARNED TRUISMS FOR CONCRETE ANALYSIS OF CONCRETE CONDITIONS

In the section "Time: in the favor of the cause of the people", RWL quoted comrade Chiao Kuan-hua's U.N. speech in 1971:

"At present, the danger of a new world war still exists, but revolution is the main trend in the world today...The world will surely move toward progress and light, and definitely not towards reaction and darkness."

They underline the phrase "revolution is the main trend in the world today" but not the part of the same statement which says "the danger of a new world war still exists". Then they quoted the Press Communiqué of the First Session of the Fourth National People's Congress of the PRC in 1975 which stated:

"The congress pointed out that the present international situation, which is characterized by great disorder under heaven, continues to develop in a direction favorable to the people...The factors for both revolution and war are increasing."

Again, the RWL underlined the phrase "continues to develop in a direction favorable to the people" and didn't underline "The factors for both revolution and war are increasing".

Now comrades, the important thing we must bear in mind is that they first quoted comrade Chiao's speech made at the U.N. in 1971 when U.S. imperialism was still unleashing new wars of aggression in Indochina and when the focus of the world's basic contradiction was still the one between U.S. imperialism and the Indochinese people in Indochina.

The Fourth National People's Congress of the PRC was held in 1975, when U.S. imperialism was decisively kicked out of the 3 Indochinese countries and when the interimperialist contradictions over Europe had sharpened considerably.

Yet in both cases, RWL underlined the parts they want to stick in people's heads and they didn't underline the parts they didn't want people to grasp. But these are precisely the parts which concretely assess the danger of world war (in relation to revolution) in 1971 and 1975, which have undergone a tremendous change!

In the beginning of the "Bolshevik", the RWL comrades said,

"But, comrades, we are Marxist-Leninists, and therefore we have not only a telescope, which enables us to see broadly, see trends in their development, we also possess a microscope, which enables us to go deeply into the particular, to make 'concrete analysis of concrete situations'."

This is well said comrades, but what's wrong with it is that you have most blatantly violated this principle which you have so zealously advocated in dealing

with this large and critically important question and on the concrete changes in the last 5 years of the danger of world war.

What's the sophistry here? RWL counterposes the long-term question of what holds true historically in terms of our era against the concrete analysis of the current and present world situation. Socialism is inevitable and the world situation is developing in the direction favorable to the people of the world (or as Chiao Kuan-hua said, "adverse currents against the people and against progress, in the final analysis, cannot hold back the main current of the continuous development of human society.").

Look at the following statement by the RWL:

"During the entire period of imperialism the main trend in the world is revolution. Revolution is inevitable. It is described by the Chinese as an 'irreversible historical trend'."

Here, they are equating what holds true historically for the era of imperialism-- that socialist revolution is inevitable-- with the concrete analysis of the current and present world situation which must be as exact as possible in order to help us define our tasks and enable the people to be prepared for the immediate struggle.

In their distorted usage of the half-slogan, "revolution is the main trend in the world today", RWL, PRRWO, and ATM actually cut out the soul of Marxism, that is, concrete analysis of concrete conditions. In doing so, they dupe the masses with high-sounding phrases by covering up the actual content of imperialist preparations for war. Thus, they disarm and blunt the necessary preparation by the working class to turn a world war into a civil war, if world war comes before proletarian revolution.

This also draws out their dogmatism as the worst kind of petty bourgeois intellectualism. This methodology is to start with definitions and concepts and impose them on objective reality and to chant generalities and platitudes to replace particularities and concrete analysis. RWL tries to justify this hollow dogmatism by saying that: "Although this thesis contains a large number of quotes, we trust that comrades will struggle to study this, since we think that it lays the clear theoretical basis for the correct Marxist-Leninist line of 'Revolution is the Main Trend!'" (Bolshevik, 1st section) This is exactly what we have criticized PRRWO for:

...treating the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought or treating dialectical and historical materialism as some "basic forms" or logical categories [that] have led a mysterious existence somewhere before and outside the world, to which they are 'to be applied'." (WV, #4, p. 122)

THE STAND OF COMMUNISTS TOWARDS WAR

Communists do not oppose all wars; we are for civil war against the bourgeoisie and build actively towards it, and we are for wars of national liberation and countries' independence against imperialism. But we are against imperialist world war for it will cause a great deal of suffering for the working class of both sides

who will be slaughtered in defense of capitalist interests. But, world war and proletarian revolution are not mutually exclusive because under certain conditions, we can turn a bad thing into a good thing, an imperialist war into a civil war to overthrow the bourgeoisie. We put this forward at the same time we put forward our line on two contending trends.

In their position RWL does not have a correct stand nor take it as the duty of communists to oppose imperialist war, to lessen the danger of it by exposing the danger of world war to the working class and all the oppressed people in the U.S. and around the world. Nowhere do they state that they are opposed to imperialist war! They yell alot about the strategic "offensive", about socialist revolution, but in practice they reduce party building to the only task -- this is the same bankrupt "left" opportunist line held by PRRWO. It is really just their substitute for linking up the immediate struggles of opposing imperialist war preparations and exposing U.S. and Soviet social-imperialism with party building and our maximum program.

They state in the section "Great Disorder Under Heaven":

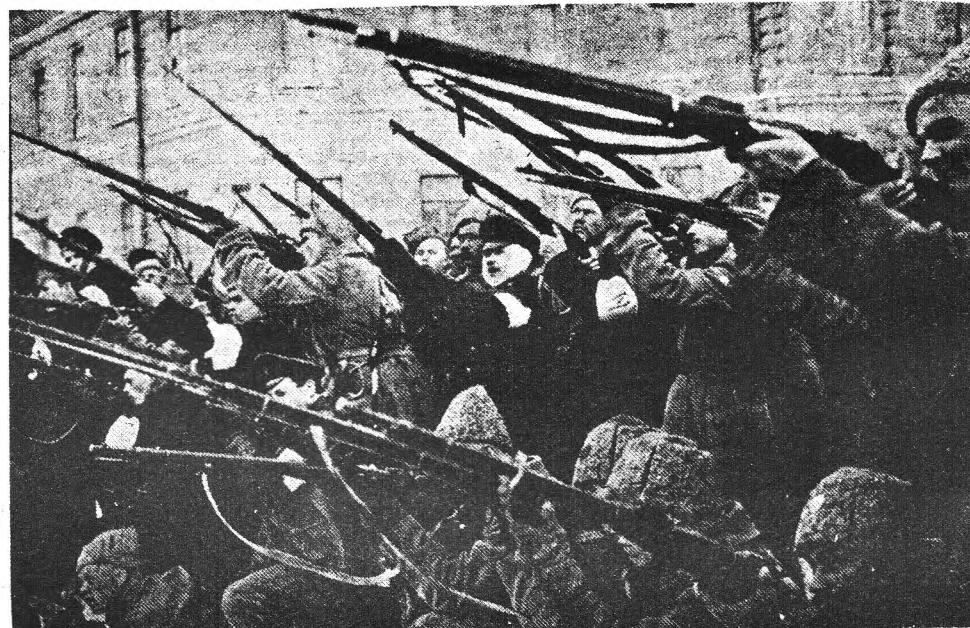
"These contradictions between the imperialists do inevitably lead to imperialist wars, but the war cannot stop revolution. Instead war accelerates the coming of the revolutionary situation. Whether revolution prevents war or war brings on revolution, as did World War I and World War II, revolution in any case will occur."

They take no communist stand on whether to prefer that revolution prevents war or war gives rise to revolution. They take the stand of the worst kind of petty bourgeois intellectual bystanders, that "revolution will occur" anyway, so just "wait for the great days to come".

They have "accidentally" forgotten the aspects of our minimum program in "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement", which is, to accomplish the task of the dictatorship of the proletariat, "the proletarian party must under the present circumstances actively lead the working class and the working people in struggles to... oppose imperialist arms expansion and war preparations, to defend world peace and actively to support the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations." (p. 18.)

Chairman Mao also said,

"We stand firmly for peace and against war. But if the imperialists insist on unleashing another war, we should not be afraid of it. Our attitude on this question is the same as our attitude towards any disturbance: first, we are against it; second, we are not afraid of it. The First WW was followed by the birth of the Soviet Union with a population of 200 million. The Second WW was followed by the emergence of the socialist camp with a combined population of 900 million. If the imperialists insist on launching a Third WW, it is certain that several hundred million more will turn to socialism, and then there will not be much room left on earth for the imperialists; it is also likely that the whole struc-



INSTEAD OF FIGHTING IN THE IMPERIALISTS' WAR THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS OF RUSSIA FOUGHT AGAINST THEM AND ESTABLISHED THE FIRST SOCIALIST STATE.

ture of imperialism will utterly collapse." (On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People. In Four Essays on Philosophy, p. 126)

This is the communist strategic view towards world war and revolution.

"Despise the enemy strategically, take him seriously tactically." We are opposed to world war, but we are not afraid of it. If the imperialists dare to launch one on a worldwide scale, we warn them it will eventually lead to their doom.

"Take (the enemy) seriously tactically". That is, communists must be prepared for world war and fascism, for as we said, world war will most likely bring about fascist rule and the bourgeoisie will try to liquidate communists in order to halt the conditions for fusion between the working class and communist movements. In order to turn a world war into a civil war, we must be prepared. That is why we have the proletarian outlook "the future is bright, but the road is long and tortuous".

"It was because it is not every revolutionary situation that gives rise to a revolution; revolution arises only out of a situation in which the above-mentioned objective changes are accompanied by a subjective change, namely, the ability of the revolutionary class to take revolutionary mass action strong enough to break (or dislocate) the old government, which never, not even in a period of crisis, 'falls,' if it is not toppled over." (Lenin, The Collapse of the Second International, p. 222)

As Chairman Mao said on the relation between world war and revolution:

"In given conditions, each of the two opposing aspects of a contradiction invariably transform into its opposite as a result of the struggle between them. Here the conditions are essential. Without the conditions, neither of the two contradictory aspects can transform itself into its opposite." (pg. 126)

Communists must always work actively to prepare for a civil war. Lenin pointed out that the Basle Manifesto correctly predicted a revolutionary situation once WWI broke out. But in each country, "... it is indisputable that a revolution is impossible without a revolutionary situation; furthermore, it is not every revolutionary situation that leads to revolution." He pointed out that the Paris Commune, the 1905 Revolution in Russia, "All these are perfectly clear ideas; they do not guarantee that revolution will take place, but lay stress on a precise characterisation of facts and trends," which help us to gauge the exact nature of the capitalist crisis and the exact nature of our tasks, and the preparation to turn the world war into a successful civil war to overthrow the bourgeoisie. The decisive factor is the subjective factor for revolution.

THE DIALECTICS BETWEEN WORLD WAR AND REVOLUTION

Comrades, here clearly in the Marxist Leninist classics, communists always apply the dialectics between world war and revolution as two aspects of identity of a contradiction. When one aspect is used, it is used inseparably from the other aspect in assessing the world situation. This dialectical concept is used over and over again in Lenin's theses on war and peace. (Lenin On War and Peace. Three Articles. 1970. Peking)

It is also used in Chairman Mao's writings, particularly in his famous interview with Anna Louise Strong, where he said:

"I think the American people and the people of all countries menaced by U.S. aggression should unite and struggle against the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries and their running dogs in these countries. Only by victory in this struggle can a third world war be avoided; other wise it is unavoidable" (Selected Readings, Mao, Peking 1961, p. 100)

These all indicate that the questions of world war and revolution form a dialectical unity of opposites that co-exist and transform into each other under certain definite conditions. When assessing the current or any other historical situation, Marxist-Leninists cannot use one factor without dealing with the other. Otherwise the assessment will be one-sided and subjective and we will make either right or "left" errors.

For RWL and PRRWO to obscure the significance of the line struggle by taking out the factor for world war in polemics, particularly in this period when the danger of world war is visibly growing, and use the world revolutionary trend in the most general sense, to equate it with the slogan "revolution is the main trend", "the revolutionary situation is continuing to develop in favor of the people", or "the world will surely move toward progress and light, and definitely not toward reaction and darkness", is to concretely distort the CPC's position which always gives their position on the current situation: whether revolution is the main trend and the danger of world war still exists but is small; or the danger of world war is great and the revolutionary people must be prepared to turn a bad thing into a good thing; or when they are in transition as they are today when both trends or the factors for both world war and revolution are rapidly increasing.

Today the world situation is in transition as the Chinese comrades depict it:

"The wind sweeping through the tower heralds a rising storm in the mountains. Great disorder signals great storms on the horizon."

Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in either case the international situation will develop in a direction favourable to the people and the future of the world will be bright, so long as the world's people are prepared against the growing danger of war." (Growing Danger of World War. Peking Review No.3, 1976)



THE REVISIONISTS' "PEACE" AND "DETENTE" ARE ONLY FRONTS FOR SUPERPOWER WAR PREPARATION. THIS IS SOMETHING THE RWL HAS NOT GRASPED. ABOVE, SOVIET TROOPS TRAIN.

RWL'S DISTORTED SLOGAN "REVOLUTION IS THE MAIN TREND" IS SO GENERAL, IT'S MEANINGLESS FOR DEFINING TASKS AND POLICIES

In playing with sophistry and avoiding taking a clear stand on the current situation and use of the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method (which in this case includes using the proper viewpoint of the dialectical relation between war and revolution at the present time), the RWL says in empty platitudes that "During the entire period of imperialism the main trend in the world is revolution. Revolution is inevitable." (Bolshevik, Introduction)

But this was used in the sense that, despite "twists and turns and reverses in the people's struggles, adverse currents against the people and against progress in the final analysis, cannot hold back the main current of the continuous development of human society. The world will surely move toward progress and light and definitely not towards reaction and darkness." (Bolshevik, "Time: In favor of the cause of the people") Then why, in the final analysis, does it have to be the main trend only in the entire period of imperialism? Why not in the pre-capitalist period, the pre-monopoly period of capitalism, or during the feudal era or the era of slavery or during the "entire" period of rise, leveling off, and decline as well?

Does not the very birth of capitalism already contain the seeds of its own destruction? Aren't the capitalists their own gravediggers from the very beginning? Used in the broad sense, the dialectics of history are such that the masses make history and it develops toward progress, which is the most fundamental law of historical materialism and the strategic outlook of communists which must be repeatedly reaffirmed, and is the sense in which RWL uses it here. But when separated from the particular current situation, it is either useless for defining concrete tasks and policies or, as in this case, is pure sophistry. For communists know

that at all stages or periods, the development of the principal contradiction intensifies the fundamental contradiction and "brings about the resolution of the fundamental contradiction to a higher level."

We have shown how "in the general sense," it is not only during the entire era of imperialism that the main trend in the world is revolution, but throughout all times since the beginning of class society and as long as classes and class struggle exist. But, in using the term to define concrete situations, can this be true?

PHILISTINES OF REVOLUTION PICTURE REVOLUTION AS RISING IN A STRAIGHT ASCENDING LINE

We must go back to another teacher, Stalin, on this question. He said, following the great tradition of Bolsheviks in concretely assessing the concrete conditions in 1925, in the report on "The Results of the Work of the 14th Conference of the RCP(B)," in the "International situation,"

"What is new and specific in the international situation which in the main, determines the character of the present period?"

The new feature that has revealed itself lately, and which has laid its impression upon the international situation, is that the the revolution in Europe has begun to ebb, that a certain lull has set in, which we call the temporary stabilization of capitalism, while at the same time the economic development and political might of the Soviet Union are increasing.

What is the ebb of the revolution, the lull? Is it the beginning of the end of the world revolution, the beginning of the liquidation of the world proletarian revolution? Lenin said that the victory of the proletariat in our country ushered in a new epoch, the epoch of world revolution, an epoch replete with conflicts and wars, advances and retreats, victories and defeats, an epoch leading to the victory of the proletariat in the major capitalist countries. Does the fact that the revolution in Europe has begun to ebb mean that Lenin's thesis concerning a new epoch, the epoch of world revolution, no longer holds good? Does it mean that the proletarian revolution in the West has been canceled?

No it does not.

The epoch of world revolution is a new stage of the revolution, a whole strategic period, which will last for a number of years, perhaps even a number of decades. During this period there can and must be ebbs and flows of the revolution. (Stalin, On the Opposition, p. 189-190)

Clearly, Stalin pointed out that the ebbs and flows of revolution, and the principal contradiction in each period, intensify the fundamental contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie all the way to communism.

"The world revolutionary movement at the present time has entered a period of ebb of revolution, but, for a number of reasons, of which I shall speak later, the tide must run again, and it may end in the victory of the proletariat. On the other hand, it may not end in victory, but be replaced by new ebbs, which in turn are bound to be followed by another rise in the tide of revolution." (Ibid, p. 191)

Now, was Stalin talking about the situation within the "period of imperialism?" He sure was!

It was 1925, more than a quarter of a century after the "entire period of imperialism" was ushered into the world. Now, definitely, the concrete international situation since 1925 has changed and we are not saying the world today is the same as 1925. Rather, it is the stand, viewpoint, and method of Marxism-Leninism that we must grasp and apply at all times.

Imperialism only intensified the ebbs and flows of revolution, "the epoch of world revolution," and epoch replete with conflicts and wars, advances and retreats, victories and defeats. Both World War I and World War II were brought about by imperialist powers redividing the world. During and around these periods, the principal contradiction internationally was among the imperialists. Only through the proper use of these contradictions, as in the manner of the great Stalin, and with the tremendous sacrifices of the great Russian people (20 million died heroically fighting in WW2) and of revolutionary people around the world, was the situation turned into a revolutionary situation. Or as Chairman Mao described it, "a bad thing turned into a good thing." 900 million people won socialism due to the victory of the revolutions in China, Albania, and other countries, and the proper utilization of the inter-imperialist contradictions in their united front tactic.

So what is this RWL nonsense that, "During the entire period of imperialism the main trend in the world is revolution" ?!

Isn't that the same philistinism, that Stalin ruthlessly exposed, of picturing revolution as a straight ascending line?!

That strategic period [the second stage of the revolution began in Feb. 1917], like the preceding one, was not marked by a steady rise of the revolution in a straight ascending line, as the philistines of revolution usually picture it, but by alternating ebbs and flows. (Ibid, p. 191)

What this all reveals is that RWL/PRRWO have a most static and elaborate Trotskyite viewpoint on the international situation. Nowhere in their position do they understand the extent of inter-imperialist contradictions and concretely, therefore, the communist strategy and tactics in utilizing the indirect reserves of contradictions among the enemy. Nowhere do they understand that the focus of the world's fundamental contradiction changes from period to period. The RWL and PRRWO and ATM (in their Revolutionary Cause) are still in the 1960's...or worse, we suspect they are living in a vacuum outside of concrete time, place or condition. To RWL the path of revolution is a straight path-- in a material-less vacuum -- with only their simpleton theory at work.

PHILISTINE INTERPRETATION OF CPC'S LINE: LINE STRUGGLE FOR SAKE OF LINE STRUGGLE

Check out this RWL line: "the Chinese line has taken the particular forms that it has in the struggle against the revisionist line of the 'CP'SU...' (Bolshevik, "Introduction") "and the current Chinese stress on the fact that the factors for both revolution and war are growing must be seen concretely in the struggle against the sham illusion of 'detente' pushed by the CPSU and parts of the US bourgeoisie. Earlier (in 1963 -- ed.) when the Chinese put forth the line clearly that revolution is the main trend in the world, they did so in the context of struggle against the bankrupt revisionist line of the 'CP'SU' that did not distinguish just from unjust wars and warned about the danger that any small spark might set off a nuclear holocaust." "They have struggled against the notion that 'detente is the main trend' and in doing so raise the growing danger of world war." (Bolshevik, "Revolution and War")

Comrades, what do all these quotes consistently say? They say the CPC changes their line, not because of the objective world or concrete development of the 4 fundamental contradictions in the world * and their interrelationship. They claim the CPC changed their line simply to oppose the "CP'SU, "opposition

for opposition's sake." Check it out again, "...why the Chinese line has taken the particular forms that it has in the struggle against the revisionist line..." "The Chinese current stress... must be seen concretely (!!) in the struggle against the sham illusion of 'detente.' They have struggled against the notion that 'detente is the main trend,' and in so doing raise the growing danger of world war." / (emphasis added)

They are saying that changes in the international situation have nothing to do with "Chinese changes of lines" that it's all in relation to a struggle against a wrong line! The struggle against an incorrect line only deepens the correct line -- it doesn't change the line. In the Peking Review article, "Growing Danger of World War," it is clear what the Chinese mean: "It must be pointed out that the increasing danger of war is an objective fact and failure to see this only aggravates the danger." If RWL/PRRWO disagree with the leading line of the CPC on the international situation, they should say so openly like the Guardian and other have done! There is no need to beat around the bush like the CL and the Guardian did, and then come out in bold relief!

Right after WWI why did Lenin cut the territory of the oppressed nations of the German fascists, resulting in the famous Brest-Litovsk Treaty? It was to divert the German fascists against the English & French bourgeoisie, to buy time for the Bolsheviks & the Russian working class to build up their armed forces, economy and to prepare against international capital to destroy the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In their struggle against the rightist revisionist line of the "CP'SU and Togliatti (PCI), the CPC, in an article "More on Differences Between Comrade Togliatti and Us" discusses how a static view of imperialism and the world situation can lead to a grave deviation. In it they said, "In analyzing the present-day international situation, Marxist-Leninists must grasp the sum and substance of the political and economic data on various countries... Obviously, only by comprehending these contradictions and by locating the focus of the specific contradictions, by analyzing them and their changes at different times and by locating the focus of the specific contradiction at a given time, can the political parties of the working class correctly appraise the international and domestic situation and provide a reliable theoretical basis for the policies. Unfortunately, these are the very contradictions that Togliatti and other comrades have failed to face seriously in their theses, and consequently their whole programme has inevitably departed from the orbit of Marxism-Leninism."

Inside-out Mensheviks, "left" in form but thoroughly right and social-democratic in content, follow the revisionist Togliatti in practice and methodology. Nowhere in RWL's international line did they attempt to "grasp the sum and substance of the politics and economic data on various countries." They eclectically pull a quote from here under one time and condition, then pull another quote from other times and conditions (like mixing up the 1971 and 1975 quotes of the CPC). Then they say these were merely polemical statements and not objective facts! These inside-out Mensheviks show no comprehension of "these contradictions, by analyzing them and their changes at different times by locating the focus of the specific contradictions at a given time..." Strangely enough these inside-out Mensheviks accuse WVO and others who "have done some thinking on this question of being "revisionist" and "social-chauvinist."

HAS THE WORLD SITUATION CHANGED? HAS THE DANGER OF WORLD WAR BEEN CONSTANT?

As the CPC has said, this period is characterized by storms on the horizon, it is a period of great change and great realignment that will result in a great new order. It is developing in a direction favorable to the oppressed people. This is unlike the RWL claim that "...The continuous and consistent position throughout both periods is that there is a danger of world war, but that the motion of history is forward toward revolution." (Bolshevik, "Revolution and War") (emphasis added)

Was it true that when the Chinese Communist Party's famous polemics came out against the modern revisionists headed by the "CP'SU, they did so in the context of struggle against bankrupt lines without relation to the objective world? And was it true that polemics dealt with periods where there was a "continuous and consistent position throughout both periods that there is a danger of world war?"

YES, there is constantly the danger of world war in the larger sense that as long as there is imperialism, there will always be a danger of world war. But to leave it at that is superfluous. HERE, the question is whether the danger of world war has increased or decreased or remained the same throughout both periods.

In reality, the CPC's polemics do deal with different periods over which the principal contradiction and the focus of the world contradiction had shifted. During World War II, the principal contradiction was clearly one between imperialist countries.

Right after World War II, the danger of world war was still great, but at that time U.S. emerged as a victor, the principal contradiction was one between U.S. imperialism and the socialist bastion of the world, the Soviet Union, which the U.S. imperialists wanted to destroy. In 1946, Chairman Mao said:

"But the fact that the U.S. reactionaries are now trumpeting so loudly about a U.S.-Soviet war and creating a foul atmosphere, so soon after the end of World War II, compels us to take a look at their real aims. It turns out that under the cover of anti-Soviet slogans they are frantically attacking the workers and democratic circles in the U.S. and turning 11 of the countries which are the targets of U.S. external expansion into U.S. dependencies. I think the American people and the peoples of all countries menaced by U.S. aggression should unite and struggle against the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries and their running dogs in these countries. Only by victory in this struggle can a third world war be avoided; otherwise it is unavoidable." (Mao, SW, 1961, p.100)

Chairman Mao's remark at that time was aimed at a pessimistic appraisal of the international situation at the time. In that context and concrete assessment of the concrete conditions, he said that a new world war could be prevented, provided that resolute struggles are waged against U.S. imperialism. So clearly at that time, right after World War II (1945-49) and around that period, the danger of world war was great. But by June 1950, after the victory of the Chinese Revolution

in 1949, together with the victories of the revolutions in Albania and other East European countries, "the victory of the Chinese Revolution brought about a tremendous change in the international balance of class forces." Comrade Mao Tse-tung pointed out in June 1950:

"The menace of war by the imperialist camp still exists, the possibility of of a third world war still exists. But the forces thwarting the danger of war and preventing a third world war are rapidly developing, and the political consciousness of the broad masses of the people of the world is rising. A new world war can be prevented provided the Communist Parties of the world keep on uniting and strengthening all the forces of peace and democracy that can be united." (Renmin Ribao, June 30, 1950 (emphasis added))

One of the polemics against the "CP'SU, "Two Different Lines on the Question of War and Peace," clearly points out:

In November 1957, at the meeting of fraternal Parties, Comrade Mao Tse-tung made a detailed analysis of the changes in international relations since the end of World War II and showed that the international situation had reached a new turning point. He vividly depicted the situation with a metaphor from a classical novel, "The east wind prevails over the west wind." He said, "It is characteristic of the situation today, I believe, that the East Wind is prevailing over the West wind. That is to say, the forces of socialism are overwhelmingly super-

* FOOTNOTE:

The contradictions between: 1) bourgeoisie & proletariat in capitalist countries, 2) imperialism and oppressed countries & nations, 3) among imperialists and social-imperialists, 4) between imperialist & socialist countries.

ior to the forces of imperialism." (On Imperialism and All Reactionaries are Paper Tigers).

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's main aim in stating that "the East wind prevails over the West wind" was to point to the growing possibility that a new world war could be prevented." (p. 14-17)

And since then, despite the fact that the socialist camp has disintegrated, due to the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and the degeneration of the "CPSU, national liberation struggles have continued to surge forward. The difference between the CPC and the revisionist "CPSU" was precisely over whether the principal contradiction was static -- still one between U.S. imperialism and Soviet Union, or one that is shifting to that between the third world and U.S. imperialism. Though CPC did not explicitly lay out in the 1963 "General Line" that the principal contradiction was one between countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and U.S. imperialism, they did point out that:

"The various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America; these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the storm-centers of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism.

The national democratic revolutionary movements in these areas and the international socialist revolutionary movement are the two great historical currents of our time....

The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America are pounding and undermining the foundations of the rule of imperialism and colonialism, old and new, and are now a mighty force in defence of world peace.

In a sense, therefore, the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on (emphasis added) the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the people of these areas...." (A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement. FLP, Peking. pp. 12-13)

RWL CLOSES THEIR EYES TO THE GROWING DANGER OF WORLD WAR, FEARING SHARP TURNS AND DISBELIEVING IN THEM, LIKE ALL REVISIONISTS

So clearly, comrades, according to CPC, the danger of world war was not "a consistent position throughout both periods" as RWL claims!!! It is clear that the danger of world war had decreased in the 50's and 60's compared to the late 40's after World War II because of the strength of the national liberation struggles and the existence of the socialist camp. (This is also diametrically opposed to the line PRRWO put forward at the joint forum of WVO and PRRWO in December 1975, which states that because national liberation struggles have been successful, the area of contention for both superpowers has shrunk, and that's why the danger of world war has increased.)

Now, there is another shift taking place, except this time, it is not the national liberation struggles and proletarian movements that are decreasing and the danger of world war that is increasing, only one going up. Both are rising. That's due to the decline of U.S. imperialism and the relative rise of Soviet Social-Imperialism, which is younger and more vigorous, and is social-fascist at home because of its centralized state apparatus and state-monopoly capitalism. Its contention for top-dog position with U.S. imperialism makes Soviet Social-Imperialism the principal factor for the rising danger of world war today.

Today, as we stated in Workers Viewpoint Journal, Vol. II, No. 2, p. 33-34, "the revolutionary situation for proletarian revolution and the liberation of all oppressed people around the world is better than at any time in the last two decades, but concurrently along with it, also comes the rising danger of world war."

It's too soon to say which one is the

main one precisely because this is a transitional period, when the situation is highly unstable. That's why CPC is not taking a position on whether world war or revolution is the main or principal trend in the immediate period ahead. That's why in all their statements they say, "on the one hand..., on the other hand." This must not be viewed as eclecticism, or, as PRRWO charged when we put forward "two contending trends", as the "theory of equilibrium," because "two contending trends" describes a highly unstable and rapidly changing situation where it is not clear which one is dominant. PRRWO seems unable to distinguish between these two different kinds of motion. Equilibrium means two trends are at rest. Rest is decidedly not what characterizes the situation today. Both these trends are rising rapidly.

RWL is taking a definite position in opposition to the CPC's line, but won't say it! Instead they put it negatively: "The Chinese have not put forth the line that revolution is no longer the main trend." (Bolshevik, section on "Revolution and War") But the CPC has not said that revolution is the main trend. In fact, their position is as clear as one can put it. And it is one that's opposed to RWL/PRRWO/ATM's!! Both the factors of revolution and world war are on the rise! They are definitely calling to the attention of the people of the world the aspect of world war, which is relatively new and hard for those of us who grew up after World War II to gauge. Also, many people around the world understand the nature of U.S. imperialism well, but still don't understand the superpower that flies the banner of "socialism", and therefore its particularly dangerous nature. It is no wonder that, since RWL believes that there is a consistent, smooth position throughout both periods in the past on the danger of world war, (while in fact, it is not "consistent" and smooth) they cannot understand today's ever more rapid and "inconsistent" position on the danger of world war in transition since the early 70's situation -- where the principal contradiction was between oppressed nations and U.S. imperialism. That's why they in fact do not understand the danger of world war today.

RWL further justifies this by saying: "to put forth 'two contending trends' represents a pessimistic view and defensive position." (Bolshevik, first section)

Lenin summed up, in "The Collapse of the Second International," that "a fear of sharp turns and a disbelief in them" are a basis for turning revisionist in the face of sharp turns like world war. This happened to the social-chauvinists in the Second International in the face of World War I, as well as to many in the CPUSA during World War II.

This also aptly describes the opportunists in RWL, who come out with "left" chants of "revolution is the main trend" to psyche themselves up and justify their fears and disbeliefs in sharp turns, in order to distort objective reality and create "optimistic moods" to fight their own pessimism.

To recognize reality -- the two contending trends -- would mean for them to be "pessimistic and defensive." True, we are facing a growing danger of world war, but the revolutionary trend is also surging forward. These opportunists are already taken in by bourgeois moods and trends of thought.

But for genuine communists, Stalin asked:

What do those fluctuations show? Do they show that Lenin's thesis about the new epoch of world revolution has lost, or may lose, its significance? Of course not! They merely show that, usually, revolutions develop not in a straight ascending line, not in a continuously growing upsurge, but in zigzags, in advances and retreats, in flows and ebbs which in the course of development steel the forces of the revolution and prepare for its final victory. (On the Opposition, p. 192)

Only genuine communists who take a clear proletarian stand against war and are not afraid of it, apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought to analyze

concrete conditions and do not close their eyes to it, can really lead the masses to make revolution to prevent war, and be prepared to turn war into revolution.

MORE SOPHISTRY AND ECLECTICISM FROM RWL; IS THERE A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN "TWO CONTENDING TRENDS" AND "BOTH FACTORS ARE RISING"?

RWL contends that WVO's line that "the international situation was characterized by two contending trends, war and revolution," is a revisionist position. However, they tag on an explanation which is supposed to be a self-criticism for accepting this line before, and a justification for the differences now:

"We conciliated with opportunism by failing to divide one into two and staunchly struggle against those aspects of line we saw as incorrect. A secondary aspect of the incorrect line raised by WVO was correct, that both the factors for war and revolution are rising. We were not clear on the meaning of 'two contending trends,' that is, on its tactical implications, but instead of struggling for the position that we did hold to in our Principles of Unity, of revolution as the main trend, we displayed a philistine attitude toward struggle and conciliated with the line of 'two contending trends!' (Bolshevik, First section, emphasis added.)

So according to this worst kind of demagoguery, our line has two aspects: the principal aspect is "two contending trends of world war and revolution," which is revisionist, and the secondary aspect is "both factors of world war and revolution are rising," which is correct. This is the so-called "divide one into two" methodology of these "dialecticians!"

But comrades, we have laid out our line on the international situation time and again. We said that as long as imperialism still exists, there will always be the danger of world war; we are opposed to world war and not afraid of it. Given the present intensification of the contention between U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social-Imperialism, an objective development independent of our will, we see the only way to prevent world war is to make proletarian revolution. As Chairman Mao pointed out, there is no other road. Given the dialectics of either revolution will prevent world war or world war will give rise to revolution, doesn't that mean we must work actively to make proletarian revolution, to oppose imperialist war preparation, to expose the "detente" line of the "CP"SU and the appeasement line of U.S. imperialism, such as the Helsinki Treaty of last year and the Sonnenfeldt Doctrine of this year? Doesn't that mean we must at the same time be prepared for the eventuality of world war if it occurs before proletarian revolution, so as to be able to live through the difficulty we will face to lead and take advantage of the significantly weakened and exposed position of the U.S. monopoly capitalists, and turn the imperialist war into a civil war to overthrow our own bourgeoisie? Given that we must actively build the revolutionary trend, doesn't that mean we must grasp even more tightly our task of building the party on the proletarian ideological plane and grasp the key link of political line, with factory nuclei as the basic units and propaganda as the chief form of activity?

This is our integral line on the international situation and the implications flowing from it. So what possibly can be the difference between using the words "factor of revolution" or "trend of revolution" vs. "factor of world war" or "trend of world war"? What "tactical implications" does RWL claim that they were not clear on?

The tactical implications we pointed out before are broad and varied. There can be correct or incorrect specific tasks and policies flowing from the application of the line on the international situation to the concrete conditions and practice of the proletarian revolution in the U.S. If RWL has disagreement with the specific tasks and policies flowing from this line on the international situation, they should lay them out clearly for comrades to examine. As with every line, when applied to diff-

erent specific conditions to define specific tasks and policies, we do and will continue to make deviations. And the more we struggle around them, the fewer mistakes we will make.

But the point here that RWL demagogues on, and the point we want to pursue -- and every genuine Marxist-Leninist must pursue -- is that RWL demagogically divides our integral line into two supposedly different aspects: "two contending trends" and "both factors are rising" which have no difference in content as well as tactical implication at all. Comrades, "one divides into two" is a law of dialectics, but as our great teacher Lenin warned all sham dialecticians, "All-sided, universal flexibility of concepts, a flexibility reaching to the identity of opposites -- that is the essence of the matter. This flexibility, applied subjectively = eclecticism and sophistry." (Philosophical Notebooks, Lenin Collected Works, Vol. 38, p. 110)

This is exactly the sophistry of the opportunists in RWL who try to apply flexibility subjectively, by claiming that "two contending trends" is revisionist and "both factors are rising" is correct. By saying revolution is the main trend and not one of two contending trends, by saying revolution is not the main factor but one of two rising factors, RWL is playing verbal acrobatics with words like "trends" and "factors", totally divorced from concrete analysis of concrete conditions and implications of concrete tasks and policies.

We have historical disagreement with PRRWO's and ATM's line on the international situation. We have struggled in previous forums against PRRWO's line of "revolution is the main trend" which negates the danger of world war rising concurrently with the revolutionary trend. This is a two-line struggle between opportunism and genuine Marxism-Leninism. There is no middle ground. The eclecticism of the opportunists in RWL mutates and wriggles in between these two diametrically opposed lines, and comes out with this demagogy of uniting with PRRWO's "revolution is the main trend" on the one hand, and agreeing with the so-called "secondary aspect" of WVO's line that "both factors are rising," on the other hand.

Although RWL's formulation takes on such a centrist form, both in theory and practice their line has full unity with the "left" opportunism of PRRWO -- negating the rising danger of world war and duping the working class, covering up the dangerous role of Soviet social-imperialism and feeding centrism.

This is the real character of RWL's "left" opportunism which runs through all their positions. Their line on the international situation is but one manifestation. (We will continue to expose these opportunists in future issues of our newspaper.)

RWL'S DEMAGOGY ON "DETENTE" ONLY EXPOSES THEIR OWN ERRORS

Check this out comrades! The RWL said once again in reference to the CPC's line, "They have struggled against the notion that detente is the main trend, and in doing so raise the growing danger of war. We must be careful not to confuse 'detente' with revolution and thinking that to say detente is not the main trend is equivalent to saying that revolution is not the main trend. This is evidently the error that WVO makes -- equating revolution with 'detente' or lasting, bourgeois peace." (Bolshevik, section on "Revolution and War")

Now the premise behind the first sentence in this statement is clearly one of seeing "detente" the same as "peace". That's why the RWL "theoreticians" who concocted this counterpose "detente" to the growing danger of world war. That's why they say the CPC raises the danger of war in "opposition" to the CPSU's "detente". This distortion of the CPC's line on "detente" continues. The CPC has never "struggled against the notion that 'detente' is the main trend, and in doing so raise the growing danger of war", as the RWL says. By reducing the struggle against the revisionist line of "detente" to whether it is the main trend or not, RWL again shows that it lacks even the fundamental understanding of imperialist

pacifism ("detente") and its role in preparation for war as put forward by Stalin in 1928:

"The most widespread method of lulling the working class and of diverting it from the struggle against the danger of war is present-day bourgeois pacifism [read: "detente"], with its League of Nations, its preaching of "peace", its "prohibition" of war, its talk of disarmament" and so forth.

Many think that imperialist pacifism is an instrument of peace. That is absolutely wrong. Imperialist pacifism is an instrument for the preparation of war and for disguising this preparation by hypocritical talk of peace. Without this pacifism and its instrument, the League of Nations, preparation for war in the conditions of today would be impossible.

There are naive people who think that since there is imperialist pacifism, there will be no war. That is quite untrue. On the contrary, whoever wishes to get at the truth must reverse this proposition and say: since imperialist pacifism and its League of Nations are flourishing, new imperialist wars and intervention are certain.

(Results of the July Plenum of the C.C., C.P.S.U.(B.), July 13, 1928. Collected Works, Vol. 11, pp. 209-210)

"Detente" is contention, is the growing danger of war itself as the CPC has made perfectly clear to the world repeatedly. They used the Munich Pact as an example of appeasement prior to WWII to show how it encouraged Hitler to war, to attack the west and then attack the Soviet Union. They pointed out the Helsinki pact to the whole world. This so-called European Security Treaty is actually a European insecurity treaty, a realignment of forces to gear up to a qualitatively higher level, to hotter, fiercer contention!!! They pointed out to the whole world the real significance of the recent Sonnenfeldt Doctrine that says to the Soviet social-imperialists, "Eastern Europe is your turf" and therefore, please leave us alone in Italy, Spain, Portugal and the rest of western Europe. This is an instant replay of WWII history, a second-time farce that would be sure to feed the Soviet social-imperialist's appetite for taking over Europe. The disintegration of NATO militarily, the transfusion of needed money and technology to the Soviet social-imperialists by U.S. and European capital; the permanent division of Germany, etc. These are all signs of appeasement under one grand strategy -- "detente" -- by the Soviet social-imperialists and some of the U.S. monopoly capitalists.

Comrades, the CPC did not struggle against the notion that "detente" is the main trend and in doing so raise the growing danger of war. When they struggle against "detente", they are struggling against the growing danger of war! It's our RWL "theoreticians" who don't understand what "detente" really is!! They said, "We must be careful not to confuse 'detente' with revolution, thinking that to say detente is not the main trend is equivalent to saying that revolution is not the main trend!! This is evidently the error that WVO makes -- equating revolution with 'detente' or lasting, bourgeois peace."

Comrades, what your own sophistry shows is not that WVO thinks that "to say detente is not the main trend is equivalent to saying revolution is not the main trend", nor is guilty of "equating revolution with 'detente' or lasting bourgeois peace". What it shows is that RWL in fact equates "detente" with "lasting bourgeois peace" and reveals the rightist essence of this "left" line! It shows the "depth" of RWL's understanding on the danger of world war and that's the fundamental problem here with their line on the international situation.

RWL'S "LEFT" OPPORTUNIST LINE FEEDS INTO AND UNITES WITH CENTRISM; TWO EXAMPLES: ANGOLA AND ALSC

As we said earlier, this "left" disguised position is a clear Menshevik position inside-out which covers up the danger of Soviet social-imperialism. It appeals to the retrograde trends and marsh forces as well as many comrades who lack understanding on Soviet social-imperialism and who came out of the anti-U.S.

imperialist movement in support of national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

By negating the rising danger of world war, RWL covers up the dangerous role of Soviet social-imperialism, the main source of world war. This is exactly what the Guardian and other centrist forces are peddling, namely, that the Soviet Union is still a socialist country, or it is revisionist but not social-imperialist. You are not only discrediting Marxism-Leninism and giving fuel to these centrist forces, your position is leading you to unite in theory and in practice with them!

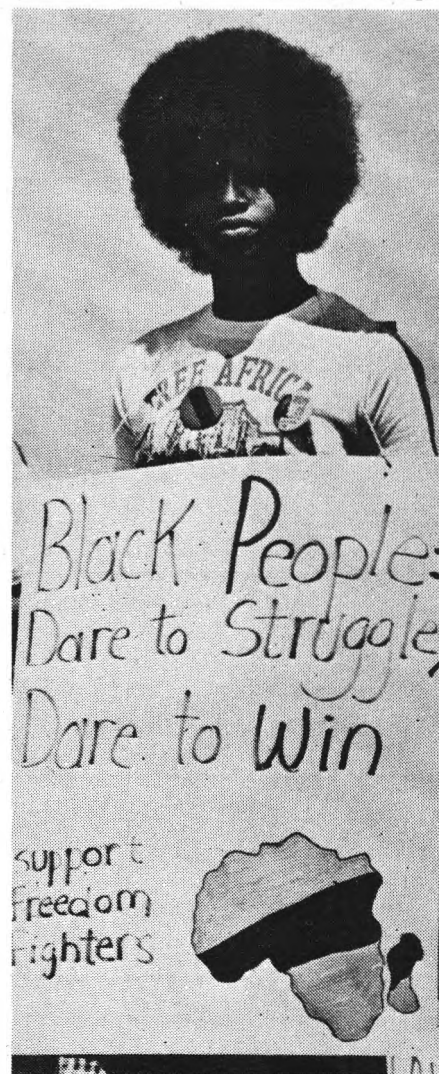
One of the clearest examples of the bankruptcy of this "left" opportunist line is its concrete application to the Angola situation. Does Angola signal that revolution is the main trend or does it signal the intensification of the contention between the two superpowers and the two contending trends of world war and revolution? Does it or doesn't it represent the fact that Soviet social-imperialism is taking the offensive to exploit and dominate Africa and trying to turn it into her neo-colony; while on the other hand the Angolan people have gained victory over Portuguese and U.S. imperialism, and the revolutionary liberation movements in other parts of Africa, such as Zimbabwe and Azania are also rising concurrently with Soviet social-imperialism's aggression? Which is the correct line -- two contending trends of war and revolution or revolution is the main trend -- to guide our position on the concrete situation in Angola?

At a recent WVO forum in Washington D.C., an RWL comrade was asked this question and tried to avoid taking a position. When further pressed, he came out straight that the Angola situation signifies that "revolution is the main trend", not the intensification of contention between the two superpowers, and not that the danger of world war is rising concurrently with the revolutionary trend. The logical conclusion RWL has to draw next is to repudiate their earlier position on Angola and support the MPLA, the Soviet Union's "aid for the revolutionary cause" and the Cuban mercenaries' "proletarian internationalism"!!!

Comrades, this is where your bankrupt "left" opportunist line has put you: right in the same bed with the revisionists and the centrists! Call a halt to this, and do a thorough repudiation of this "left" opportunism!

Comrades, there is yet another recent example of the bankruptcy of this "left" opportunist line in practice. Such was the recent African Liberation Day (ALD) in Washington where the RWL did no work to expose the role of Soviet social-imperialism and to support liberation struggles in Africa. They left the door open

(Con't on page 18)



REPRINT : RWL's Opportunist International Line

BELOW IS THE SECTION ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE JOURNAL, "BOLSHEVIK". WE ARE REPRINTING IT IN FULL TO FACILITATE PRINCIPLED POLEMICS ON THIS VITAL QUESTION.

PERHAPS, THE MOST REVEALING ILLUSTRATION OF THE DANGER THAT THIS 'LEFT' OPPORTUNIST LINE REPRESENTS, IS THE DRAWING BELOW WHICH INTRODUCES THIS SECTION OF THEIR JOURNAL. IN IT, SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM, THE MOST DANGEROUS SOURCE OF A NEW WORLD WAR TODAY AND U.S. IMPERIALISM ARE SHOWN AS DEAD AND COMPLETELY IMMOBILIZED, NOTHING COULD BE FURTHER FROM THE TRUTH. THE ONLY CORRECT VIEW IS TO SEE THEM AS WOUNDED PAPER TIGERS WHO ARE DYING UNDER THE BLOWS OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, BUT WHO ARE ALSO POSING A GREAT DANGER AS THEY DESPERATELY PREPARE FOR WORLD WAR

THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE STILL SAYS :

Revolution is the Main Trend!



Almost a year ago, a "new formulation" on the international situation appeared in the communist movement. This "new formulation" was developed and spread by WVO and stated that "the international situation was characterized by two contending trends", war and revolution. The theoretical justifications for this "new formula" were that the "Chinese Communist Party no longer puts forth revolution as the main trend," and that "the Communist Party of China puts forth the line that both the factors for war and revolution are rising." Their view of the effect of this changed situation on our strategy and tactics was not clearly laid out, although in practice, it soon became clear.

Comrades from the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization and the August Twenty-Ninth Movement struggled with this incorrect line, putting forth that revolution is the main trend, and that to put forth "two contending trends" represented a pessimistic view and defensive position.

Our organization adopted this incorrect line of "two contending trends". This particular error was part of the general error that we have made in regard to WVO. We conciliated with opportunism by failing to divide one into two and staunchly struggle against those aspects of a line we saw as incorrect. A secondary aspect of the incorrect line raised by WVO was correct: that both the factors for war and revolution are rising. We were not clear on the meaning of "two contending trends", that is, on its tactical implications, but instead of struggling for the position that we did hold to in our Principles of Unity, of revolution as the main trend, we displayed a philistine attitude toward struggle and conciliated with the line of "two contending trends". In the heightening two-line struggle with the Menshevik line on Party Building, we have come to a clearer understanding of the theoretical incorrectness of this line, and the disastrous effects it has on the correct tactics of proletarian revolution at this time. We have also developed a clearer understanding of how this line is part and parcel of their new contributions to revisionism.

We now repudiate the line of "two contending trends". Our error was rooted in our bowing to spontaneity, our seeking external solutions, like the fully developed line of WVO, for our internal struggle against opportunism, and developing our tactics for building unity within the revolutionary wing as a process, spontaneously, and not in a planned way. Our social basis and rationalist tendencies made us particularly susceptible for these "new formulations" - these "break-throughs" - these more fully developed ideas. These deviations led to our belittling dialectics, to our not dividing one into two.

As apart of our rectification, we see the necessity to heighten our struggle to grasp more tightly the key link of political line and contribute to the struggle against this incorrect line peddled by the opportunist WVO, which we helped to spread, but now hope to work in concert with other genuine forces to lay this erroneous line to rest.

As part of this rectification, we are publishing the following thesis. Although this thesis contains a large number of quotes, we trust that comrades will struggle to study this, since we think that it lays the clear theoretical basis for the correct Marxist-Leninist line of "Revolution is the Main Trend!"

INTRODUCTION

I. The line put forward by WVO of "two contending trends" and "war and revolution" is incorrect. During the entire period of imperialism the main trend in the world is revolution. Revolution is inevitable. It is described by the Chinese as an "irreversible historical trend". This paper will lay out several quotes from the classics and contemporary documents that reflect the correct understanding of war and revolution in the period of imperialism. It will also discuss why the Chinese line has taken the particular forms that it has in the struggle against the revisionist line of the "CP"SU, and what the consequences of the opportunist line "two contending trends" are in the movement today.

IMPERIALISM

II. "Imperialism carries the contradictions of capitalism to their last bounds, to the extreme limit, beyond which revolution begins."

"The first contradiction is the contradiction between labour and capital. Imperialism is the omnipotence of the monopolist trusts and syndicates, of the banks and the financial oligarchy, in the industrial countries. In the fight against this omnipotence, the customary methods of the working class - trade unions and co-operatives, parliamentary parties and the parliamentary struggle - have proved to be totally inadequate. Either place yourself at the mercy of capital, eke out a wretched existence as of old and sink lower and lower, or adopt a new weapon - this is the alternative imperialism puts before the vast masses of the proletariat. Imperialism brings the working class to revolution.

The second contradiction is the contradiction among the various financial groups and imperialist powers in their struggle for sources of raw materials, for foreign territory. Imperialism is the export of capital to the sources of raw materials, the frenzied struggle for monopolist possession of these sources, the struggle for a re-division of the already divided world, a struggle waged with particular fury by new financial groups and powers, seeking a place in the sun against the old groups and powers, which cling tenaciously to what they have seized. This frenzied struggle among the various groups of capitalists is notable in that it includes as an inevitable element imperialist wars, wars for the annexation of foreign territories. This circumstance, in its turn, is notable in that it leads to the mutual weakening of the imperialists, to the weakening of the position of capitalism in general, to the acceleration of the advent of the proletarian revolution and to the practical necessity of this revolution.

The third contradiction is the contradiction between the handful of ruling, "civilized" nations and the hundreds of millions of the colonial and dependent peoples of the world. Imperialism is the most barefaced exploitation and the most inhuman oppression of hundreds of millions of people inhabiting vast colonies and dependent countries. The purpose of this exploitation and of this oppression is to squeeze out super-profits. But in exploiting these countries imperialism is compelled to build there railways, factories and mills, industrial and commercial centers. The appearance of a class of proletarians, the emergence of a native intelligentsia, the awakening of national consciousness, the growth of the liberation movement - such are the inevitable results of this "policy". The growth of the revolutionary movement in all colonies and dependent countries without exception clearly testifies to this fact. This circumstance is of importance for the proletariat in as much as it saps radically the position of capitalism by converting the colonies and dependent countries from reserves of imperialism into reserves of the proletarian revolution.

Imperialism was instrumental not only in making the revolution a practical inevitability, but also in creating favorable conditions for a direct assault on the citadels of capitalism."

Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, p. 4-6, (our emphasis)

EVE OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

III. Stalin then goes on to outline the results of imperialism:

1. intensification of the revolutionary crisis within the capitalist countries and the growth of the elements of an explosion on the internal, proletarian front in the capitalist countries;
2. intensification of the revolutionary crisis in the colonial and dependent countries and the growth of elements of revolt against imperialism on the external, colonial front - now the Third World;
3. intensification of the struggle on the inter-capitalist front which weakens imperialism and facilitates the union of the colonial and proletarian front against imperialism;
4. and, concludes that under imperialism wars cannot be averted and that a coalition between the proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries and the colonial revolution in the III world in a united world united front of revolution against the world front of imperialism is inevitable.

On the basis of this "Imperialism is the eve of socialist revolution. It should be noted that each and every contradiction that intensifies under imperialism hastens the coming of revolution, even the possibility of world war. We should now look at how the contemporary international communist movement has handled this question.

TIME : IN THE FAVOR OF THE CAUSE OF THE PEOPLE

IV. "The revolutionary forces of the people of the world have surpassed the reactionary forces of imperialism. The advance of the revolutionary movement of the people of the world is the main current in the present situation. The people's revolutionary struggles in all countries will certainly triumph, while imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism will step by step descend to their doom.

This is the inevitable trend of world history which no decadent reactionary force can change."

"Along with the growth and deepening of the revolutionary movement, there is an adverse counter-revolutionary current. The course of international development is unavoidable filled with contradictions and conflicts; there are bound to be zig-zags and reversals. In all countries the people's revolutionary struggles necessarily advance in the form of waves."

(Refutation of the New Leaders of the Soviet Union on "United Action", Peking, 1965, emphasis)

"At present, the danger of a new world war still exists, but revolution is the main trend in the world today. Although there are twists and turns and reverses in the people's struggles, adverse currents against the people and against progress, in the final analysis, cannot hold back the main current of the continuous development of human society. The world will surely move toward progress and light, and definitely towards reaction and darkness."

(Chiao Kuan-hua Speech, 26 Session UN, 1971)

"The events that have taken place since the 29th session of the general assembly of the United Nations organization prove that time is working in favor of the cause of the peoples and revolution that the revolutionary and national liberation struggles have risen to a new and higher stage."

(Nesti Nase Speech, 30th Session, UN, Albania Today, 1975 -- our emphasis)

"The congress pointed out that the present international situation, which is characterized by great disorder under heaven, continues to develop in a direction favorable to the people. All the basic contradictions of the world are sharpening. The contention for world hegemony between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union is becoming more and more intense. The factors for both revolution and war are increasing." (Press Communique of the First Session of the fourth National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, 1975 -- our emphasis)

GREAT DISORDER UNDER HEAVEN

V. "The present international situation is still characterized by great disorder under heaven, a disorder which is growing greater and greater. The capitalist world is facing the most serious economic crisis since the war, and all the basic contradictions in the world are sharpening. On the one hand, the trend of revolution by the people of the world is actively developing; countries want independence, nations want liberation, and people want revolution -- this has become an irresistible historical current. On the other hand, the contention for world hegemony between the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union is becoming more and more intense. Their contention has extended to every corner of the world, the focus of their contention being Europe. The two superpowers are the biggest international exploiters today and the main source of a new world war. Their fierce contention is bound to lead to world war some day...Detente and peace are being talked about everywhere in the world; it is precisely this that shows there is no detente, let alone lasting peace in the world. At present the factors for both revolution and war are increasing. Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in either case the international situation will develop in a direction favorable to the people and the future of the world will be bright."

(Chou En-lai, Report on the Work of the Government, 1975)

"the current economic crisis in the western capitalist world is sharpening and developing the basic contradictions in the world, and this will have an important bearing on the development of the international situation in the days to come. Under the impact of the economic crisis, the Western countries are in a political and social upheaval. Hard hit by rising unemployment and ruthless exploitation by the monopoly capitalists, the people of these countries rose upon wave for a better life and against exploitation. The struggles of the third world countries against imperialist countries, particularly the superpowers is gaining momentum. The revolutionary situation is excellent." (Peking Review, number 6, 1976)

Revolution is the inevitable response of the world's people to exploitation and oppression. It is an irreversible trend in history. The intensification of contradictions between the imperialists comes from the moribund nature of imperialism itself, which having expanded world-wide, crushed down billions of the world's people--but not destroyed their will to resist--can only engage in death-bed struggles for continued existence until final victory of the world's people through proletarian revolution destroys it completely. These contradictions between the imperialists do inevitably lead to imperialist wars, but the war cannot stop revolution. Instead war accelerates the coming of the revolutionary situation. Whether revolution prevents war or war brings on revolution, as did World War I and World War II, revolution in any case will occur.

In looking at main trends we must look to see if "the tide of the people's revolution is the main trend, or whether the counter-revolutionary adverse current is dominant." (Study Philosophy, page 36) To say that revolution is no longer the main trend in the world is to elevate the counter-revolutionary adverse current to the same or higher level than revolution. It is to equate world war with counter-revolution as though the development of motion toward war retards the motion toward revolution as opposed to intensifying and accelerating that motion.

The sharpening of all the basic contradictions brings about the revolutionary situation -- that is, it brings about a crisis where the masses are no longer able to live in the old way and the state is no longer capable of ruling, a crisis where the masses are drawn into politics. This speeds the coming of revolution as the factors for war increase.

REVOLUTION AND WAR

VI. The Chinese current stress on the fact that the factors for both revolution and war are growing must be seen concretely in the struggle against the sham illusion of "detente" pushed by the "CP"SU and parts of the U. S. bourgeoisie. "What characterizes

the current world situation is decidedly not an irreversible process of detente but the approaching danger of a new world war." (Chiao Kuan-hua, 30th Session UN Speech)

"Brezhnev has alleged that 'detente has become the main trend,' but the fact is just the opposite: the danger of a new world war is on the increase and Soviet Social Imperialism has become the most dangerous source of war." (Peking Review #12, 1976, page 12) Earlier, when the Chinese put forth the line clearly that revolution is the main trend in the world, they did so in the context of struggle against the bankrupt revisionist line that did not distinguish just from unjust wars and whined about the danger that any small spark might set off a nuclear holocaust. The continuous and consistent position throughout both periods is that there is a danger of world war, but that the motion of history is forward toward revolution. And despite some zigzags and momentary setbacks such as the degeneration of the socialist camp and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the future is bright--the revolutionary situation is excellent.

The Chinese have not put forth the line that revolution is no longer the main trend. They have struggled against the notion that detente is the main trend, and in doing so raise the growing danger of war. We must be careful not to confuse "detente" with revolution and thinking that to say detente is not the main trend is equivalent to saying that revolution is not the main trend. This is evidently the error that WVO makes --- equating revolution with "detente" or lasting, bourgeois peace.

In 1963 (Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement) the Chinese struggled against "the view which denies that the development of the inherent contradictions in the contemporary capitalist world inevitably lead to a new situation in which the imperialist countries are locked in an intense struggle and asserts that the contradictions among the imperialist countries can be reconciled, or even eliminated by 'international agreements among the big monopolies.'" In struggling against this theoretical justification of "detente" they put forward in reference to the four fundamental contradictions, "these contradictions and the struggles to which they give rise are interrelated and influence each other. Nobody can obliterate any of these fundamental contradictions or subjectively substitute one for all the rest. It is inevitable that these contradictions will give rise to popular revolutions which alone can resolve them."

It was in this spirit that they put forth the correct line that revolution is the main trend. It stands in opposition to the "CP"SU's revisionist line that reduced the fundamental contradiction in the world to the contradiction between the socialist camp and the imperialist camp, and said that this contradiction could be resolved through the "three peacefuls" -- Peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition and peaceful transition to socialism. The total bankruptcy of this counter-revolutionary revisionist line has been shown repeatedly in those countries where it was attempted. Recently Chile followed the example of Italy in 1921, Germany in 1932-33 and Austria 1933-34 in learning the lessons of peaceful transition and has now moved as they did toward fascist dictatorship.

PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION OR SOCIAL-CHAUVENISM

VII. The incorrect position taken by WVO is a revisionist position. It holds that revolution is not the main trend in the World and this time war and fascism is inevitable. It does not uphold the inevitability of revolution. Instead it puts forth that the main task of revolutionaries is not preparing for revolution, but preparing for war and fascism. It is a defensive position. It leads to building unity with opportunists instead of ruthlessly exposing them--the anti-fascist united front as the main form of work. This is best summed up in their line of "united action with the revisionists," a line that has them spontaneously doing coalition work with the "CP" attempting to win away their rank and file and base. This incorrect line on the international situation leads them to see tactical alliance with opportunist in order to do agitation and work aimed at the "broad masses," that is for them the intermediate and backwards, as the main thing at this time, liquidating propaganda to the advanced as the main form of work. Because they do not carry out independent propaganda as the main form, and work in the base of the industrial proletariat as our basic concentration, the tactical alliance of WV in essence become strategic agreements, devoid of principled struggle and full political exposure to the advanced. This line of alliances with opportunists that WV so carefully fosters, like the unity with the AFT leadership in the recent NY teachers strike, in order to "fight fascism" will inevitably become a line of social-chauvenism and class collaboration, aiding in the development of Bourgeois reaction. It leads to menshevism, social-democracy, class collaboration and betrayal of the revolution. It is the same line, in essence, as the line OL uses to justify their building unity with the liberal bourgeoisie--the danger of fascism. It was this same line that led the "CP"USA to liquidate the party. Only by upholding the inevitability of revolution and understanding that the intensification of the fundamental contradictions hastens the arrival of a revolutionary situation do we correctly focus our work on preparing the proletariat for its historical role as grave digger for capital.

War may come in five years as WV says it will. Even if it does, our most important task is not building the mass movement and hiding the communists. The task of preservation of the revolutionary forces is only accomplished through developing our illegal apparatus--building nuclei and breaking with a social-democratic style of work. Our most important task then is not defensive, but offensive--preparing for the revolutionary situation that such a war will certainly bring about. It is through developing our political line--the basic program, strategy and tactics of the U. S. Bolshevik party--uniting Marxist-Leninists and conducting propaganda to the advanced to win them to communism based on that line that we are able to fuse the communist and worker's movements and be prepared to answer war with revolution.

"And the millions who are thinking about the causes of the recent war and of the approaching future war are more and more clearly realizing the grim and inexorable truth that it is impossible to escape imperialist war, and imperialist peace which inevitably engenders imperialist war, that it is impossible to escape that inferno, except by a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution."

(Lenin, "Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution")

beración y el pueblo quiere revolución" esta desarrollando a una velocidad tremenda.

Estas dos tendencias la revolución y el peligro de una guerra mundial son testimonio de la situación corriente en el mundo de dos tendencias contendientes.

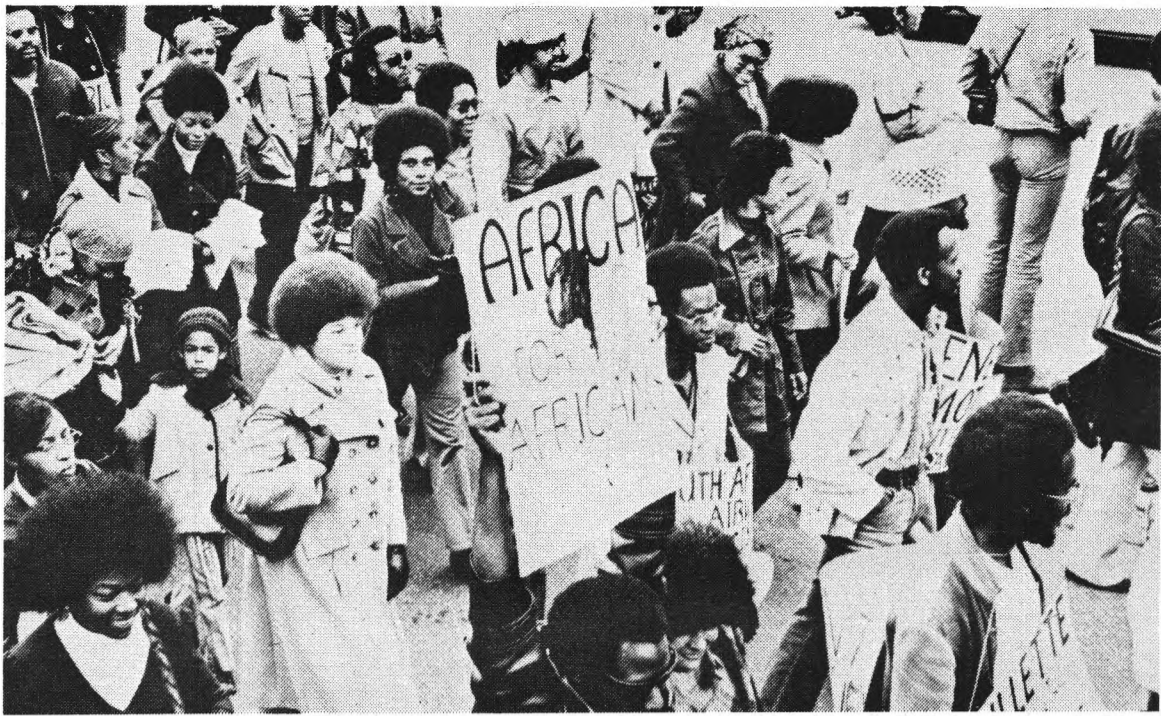
El periodo inmediatamente adelante se puede resumir con el refrán "O guerra trairá la revolución o la revolución prevenirá la guerra mundial." Estas dos tendencias contendientes estan competiendo furosmento uno con el otro.

Domésticamente nosotros estamon enfrentando a las dos tendencias contendientes de revolución y fascismo. El liderato comunista en el periodo inmediatamente adelante es decisivo por que cualquier vacilación o hesitación de nuestra parte en tomar la ofensiva contra el capitalismo y en combatir por el socialismo puede resultar en el fascismo y tardar la revolución proletaria y el socialismo. La lucha contra el peligro del fascismo es una parte de nuestro programa minimo. La revolución prevenirá el fascismo o el fascismo trairá la revolución. Pero si el fascismo llega nosotros podemos y tenemos que volverlo en una guerra avil. En cualquier caso la tendencia revolucionaria es irrevocable.

El Primero de Mayo es el Día Internacional de los Obreros!

Construyamos el Partido en un Plano Ideológico! Agarrems il Punto Clave de la Linea Política!

Marxistas-Leninistas Únanse, Ganemos a los Avanzados al Comunismo!



With their totally bankrupt "left" opportunist line that is feeding the activities of centrists, revisionists and other misleaders and wreckers in ALS C and FFM, the RWL is driving themselves out of the Afro-American liberation movement.

What did RWL do? They just cancelled their forum on party building and their absurd call for a small demonstration only to their so-called "advanced" (to justify their primitiveness and not bring propaganda and agitation to the masses).

How did the "left" opportunist line of RWL feed the bourgeois nationalist misleaders? Historically the Afro-American people have consistently given support to and demonstrated their anti-imperialist solidarity against national oppression with the revolution liberation struggles in Africa. This support work has also built militant solidarity among the comrades fighting for liberation in Africa and the Afro-American comrades here.

RWL came out of the heroic struggles of the Afro-American people in support of the liberation struggles in Africa and played a progressive role in them, thus winning respect and leadership through their relatively correct line and work. With the intensification of the contradiction between the two superpowers and the rising of militancy of the liberation struggles in Zimbabwe, Azania, the Afro-American people here in the U.S. will spontaneously rise up in support of the liberation struggles. And the question is who will provide the leadership and with what lines?

The RWL, following from their "left" opportunist line on party building, (which means in practice that party building is the only task and boycottism is the way to fight bowing to spontaneity--the same as PRRWO's "left" opportunism) is trying to turn the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) and February First Movement (FFM) into "left" sects. They push RWL's line on party building as the basis of unity and "purge", and close the door to, all advanced elements who disagree with their "left" opportunist line by liquidating principled struggle using bureaucratic rules. Because of this "left" opportunist line on party building and the international situation, they are causing great harm to the Afro-American liberation movement here by wrecking the ALSC and FFM, by building up 'bourgeois nationalist misleaders such as Carmichael and by feeding centrism to the African liberation support work.

Comrades, we have shown you the bankruptcy of your "left" opportunist line on the international situation, shown you that you don't take a clear proletarian stand to support "revolution prevents war" over "war gives rise to revolution". You don't take a clear stand to oppose and not be afraid of war, but instead, fear and disbelieve in sharp turns. You don't have a clear stand on opposing the dangerous role of Soviet social-imperialism but instead, feed the centrists on this question. Your viewpoint negates the objective development of the world today, the concrete international situation that is characterized by "the two contending trends of world war and revolution". Your method is one of sophistry, distorting quotes, dogmatically substituting general truths for concrete analysis of concrete conditions, and eclectically pulling together different polemical statements to justify your hollow position. In practice this "left" opportunist line has unity with centrism and right opportunism.

Our analysis and actions speak louder than words. It's crystal clear that you are talking about revisionism with certain centrist assumptions behind you. It's clear to us what ideological trend you really represent and how you'll end up if you choose to keep on going towards the marsh!

Comrades, we urge you to re-examine your position on the international situation before it's too late!!!

KAHOOLAWE ISLAND TAKEOVER

CONT'D FROM P. 11

of the Straits of Malacca...Facts prove that, in its contention for hegemony with the other superpower, the Soviet Union is anxiously seeking bases for operation in the Asian and Pacific region in order to establish maritime and air supremacy there." (Peking Review, April 16 and April 30, 1976)

The Micronesian peoples desire independence from both U.S. and Soviet Social-Imperialism. Learning from the example of Hawaii and Guam, it is clear that in order to avoid destruction of their local economies and forced dependence on imperialism, the only solution is national independence, self-reliance, and unity with the Third World.

SOCIALISM IS THE ONLY SOLUTION - BUILD THE NEW ANTI-REVISIONIST PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS

We have seen that the land ripoff and exploitation of Hawaiians today are rooted in the capitalist system. The monopoly capitalists daily oppress the people in Malaysia, Guam, Micronesia, and Hawaii and we must huli (overthrow) them to end the cause of our oppression. We must build the vanguard party of the working class capable of leading our fight against all oppression and for socialism. We must build our leadership armed with the science of revolution, the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

EXPOSE RWL'S "LEFT" OPPORTUNISM

ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

CONT'D FROM P.56

for the bourgeois cultural nationalist misleader Stokeley Carmichael to seize the opportunity to wrest back his previously-exposed leadership by calling a demonstration which numbered 5000.

* * *

Comrades, we need not answer your slanders here on WVO's "united action with revisionists" at the October 27, 1974 rally in support of Puerto Rican independence, or at the International Women's Day event in 1975, or our "unity" with the American Federation of Teachers leadership in the recent New York City teachers' strike. We have repeatedly done that in forums and in our last journal, Vol. II, No. 2.

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