

In Response to RU "Criticism"

In their article of "criticism" of the BWC pamphlet: "The Black Workers Congress, The Black Liberation Movement, and Proletarian Revolution", the RU maintains that the line represented in this document is "a retreat from the theoretical and political gains of the past" and a "step backward", etc.

Our pamphlet contains a series of essays, some presented to the communist movement for the first time, others appeared before as separate documents of an internal or semi-internal nature. They deal with questions which are decisive for the communist movement today--Party building and the Black national question--as well as the Trade Union, Women, Youth and Student questions. For the leaders of the RU and their like, it has become necessary to smuggle every word of comment on the BWC and its line under the general phrase "Bundism" and "bourgeois nationalists". This "criticism" of our pamphlet is no exception.

We will prove that the stand and "criticism" of the RU leadership in this article is a typically erroneous and opportunist one.

THE RU AND THE OPPORTUNIST METHOD OF "CRITICISM"

The RU begins by trying to build a case for our "Bundism". They say:

"Lenin had the same argument with the Bundists--Jewish separatist 'Marxists'--in Russia. They attacked the Bolsheviks for putting out what the Bundists called a 'dangerous fable' that anti-Semitism and the massacres of Jews were, as Lenin put it, 'connected with the bourgeois strata and their interests, and not with those of the working class.'

"...But the BWC essentially adopts the stand of the Bundists. This is all the more serious exactly because they are addressing themselves 'especially to advanced Blacks'." (pg. 5)

Incredible but true! To prove that we are followers of the Jewish "Bund", and bourgeois nationalists, the representatives of the most chauvinist trend in the communist movement, the leaders of the RU, simply LUMP together the Black Workers Congress and the Jewish separatists in Russia. This is an easy assertion to make, but one hard to prove.

Facts are stubborn things. Anyone who takes the time to read the pamphlet will find our principled stand for the unity of the proletariat, regardless of nationality, in more than one part of it. For example, in the introduction:

"In publishing this document, which sets forth our views on the burning issues facing the communist movement and the American people, we do so as developing Marxist-Leninists knowing full well that it cannot be the last word on any of the questions we have addressed... In preparing this document our goal was to address it to revolutionary-minded people OF ALL NATIONALITIES, but it is especially addressed to advanced Blacks."

In the section "The World Situation and the USA", we say:

"More and more the struggle of the working class, the only class which has nothing to lose from the revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism, is merging with the struggle for self-determination of Black people, and equal rights for oppressed nationalities and groups, both of which will converge into a sweeping revolutionary high tide and will bury once and for all the evil system of imperialism." (pg.3)

And in the section, "Why We Need a New Communist Party and the Role of a Black Communist Organization", we state:

"Though we are predominately an Afro-American organization, we see the central task today as uniting all genuine communists and advanced workers into one revolutionary party REGARDLESS OF NATIONALITY." (pg.38)

And though RU's whole article is devoted to showing that we are Bundists, they fail to make the one criticism they should--and one which we make ourselves. That is that a national form of communist organization is an incorrect form of organization, and one that has limited the BWC's ability to organize the multi-national proletariat. Further, it is these great "multi-national" leaders of the RU that claim that "party building HAS ONLY NOW BECOME THE CENTRAL TASK".

(REVOLUTION, June '74, pg.3) This line does not stand on the side of the multi-national proletariat but against it.

Lenin lays bare RU's whole method of criticism, especially their abhorrence to precise, indisputable facts. The RU leaders are masters of "analysis" that takes ISOLATED, INDIVIDUAL, sections of a document and turns them into GENERAL, WIDESPREAD, ALL-SIDED and ESSENTIAL parts. Of this method Lenin said:

"The most widely used, and most fallacious method in the realm of social phenomena is to tear out INDIVIDUAL (emphasis original) minor facts and juggle with examples. Selecting chance examples presents no difficulty at all, but is of no value, or of purely negative value, for in each case everything hinges ON THE HISTORICALLY CORRECT SITUATION. Facts, if we take them in their entirety, in their INTERCONNECTION, are not only stubborn things but undoubtedly proof-bearing things.." ("Statistics and Sociology", Lenin, CW, Vol. 23, pg. 272-273)

The Hegelian idealists of the RU, just like their counterparts in the Communist League, (see our pamphlet: "The Struggle Against Revisionism and Opportunism--Against the RU and CL"), think that they can use their idealist method to arrive at the real truth. But they are profoundly mistaken. They can slander the BWC and PRWO as "Bundists" and bourgeois nationalists, but the real truth is there for all to see. (We ask comrades to check out pages 3,4,5,6,9,17 and 19, for more examples of our stand for multi-national unity.)

But the RU's opportunism is not limited solely to their "method". In other sections of their criticism we find OUTRIGHT LIES and distortions of the actual content and facts of the document.

LIES AND MORE LIES CAN'T COVER THE REAL TRUTH

After speaking of our "defeatist analysis of the workers movement" because we make reference to the lack of class solidarity between Black and white workers, which was, and is, a factor that has hindered the development of the class struggle; and because we refuse to stick our head into the idealist quicksand of no concrete analysis which the RU offers, they proceed to turn their opportunist method into outright slander of the pamphlet:

"They don't emphasize the struggle that Black communists must wage against bourgeois nationalist influences among Black workers, despite a token reference, without any concrete analysis of its effects. Nor is any concrete guidance offered on how to fight bourgeois nationalism." (pg.22)

We are really amazed at the lengths the RU leadership goes to make a case for our "Bundism"! Any objectively minded person can see that practically the WHOLE PAMPHLET is directed against the bourgeois nationalist influences inside the Black liberation movement!! Let us set OUR arguments straight, fully aware of course, that quotes--in context--are deeply disturbing to certain readers who prefer, as Lenin says, "to juggle examples".

Again, starting in the introduction, we begin our attack on bourgeois nationalism and bourgeois nationalists:

"Finally, the struggle of the masses of our people in recent years brought forth both the worst and the finest that the Black nation had to offer. Among the worst who rose to prominence and reached new heights on the backs of the people in the 60's were the Jesse Jacksons, the Roy Innises, the Roy Wilkinsons, and various black politicians, Black capitalists, poverty program hustlers, etc".

In the section, "Who Are Our Enemies, Who Are Our Friends", we say:

"At the same time that Black people are oppressed as a nation of people, the overwhelming majority of them are workers, wage slaves, and as such ARE PART OF A SINGLE US, WORKING CLASS. Therefore, the oppressed Black nation suffers from national, racial, and class exploitation and oppression." (pg.4)

Did the Jewish separatists in Russia ever talk and act like this? But there is more proof of RU's lies if they are needed. The entire section--"Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse Tung Thought, Revolutionary Nationalism, and the Black Liberation Movement"--is devoted to an analysis of the danger of bourgeois nationalism in the Black community:

"This same Black bourgeoisie spreads its own form of nationalism, 'bourgeois nationalism'. Mr. Muham-

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mad talks about meeting Allah on a street corner in Detroit one cold winter day. Therefore, Islamism is the road to freedom and salvation, even though it hasn't served the Arabs too well in the Middle East; in fact it hinders their liberation. And there is the "Black Christian Nationalism" of certain Black preachers who are trying to convince us how "revolutionary" Christianity can be if only you paint Jesus Black! And then there's Imamu Baraka (Swahili for "high priest") who loves to enlighten us by calling Marxism-Leninism a 'honky thing'..." (pg.6)

And if this isn't enough, in the section "The National Question in the U.S. Today":

"Black capitalism has reached unheard of heights in the last few years precisely because of the big bourgeoisie's assessment of it as an effective counter-revolutionary force to combat the militant and revolutionary struggles of the Black working masses, and as a tool in helping to divide the working class as a whole." (pg.15)

We could go on and on because the pamphlet is full of comment on the treacherous role of bourgeois nationalism. The pamphlet is also clear that the Black petty bourgeoisie, peasantry, and lumpen proletariat, as classes, are allies of the proletariat in its struggle against US imperialism. But their ideology, to the extent that it reflects bourgeois or petty bourgeois ideology, stands against the proletariat and must be combated.

And, contrary to RU's claim, we do give concrete guidance on how to fight bourgeois nationalism: by arming the proletariat with the ideology of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse Tung Thought, and combining revolutionary nationalism with internationalism; by fighting for the leadership of the multi-national proletariat, and its Party, in the class struggle for proletarian revolution, and the leadership of the Black proletariat in the struggle for national liberation; and by linking the struggle against bourgeois nationalism with the struggle against white national chauvinism--the MAIN danger. (see pgs. 6-11 of our pamphlet)

COMRADELY CRITICISMS AND SELF-CRITICISM OF THE BWC PAMPHLET

Despite RU's lies and slanders of the BWC pamphlet, a reckless attempt of theirs to hide their own opportunism and chauvinism, comrades from other genuine Marxist-Leninist groups, like PRRWO, AIM, the Asian Study Circle and others, and cadre and leadership inside our own ranks, have brought forward correct criticisms and weaknesses of the pamphlet.

Principally the criticisms were that the pamphlet, overall, put forward a correct line on most of the burning questions facing the revolutionary movement. This is especially true in regards to Party building, the role of theory, and the sum-up of the history of the movement of the sixties as well as our own. The main weaknesses they felt, had to do with the national question, in that the position was

insufficient, and still had traces of the "nation of a new type" line. In particular, we failed to state that the Black nation existed in the Black Belt South and nowhere else, and we also failed to emphasize the agrarian question, the role of slave remnants, and the importance of the peasantry, in the development of the Black nation. Additionally comrades felt that though it is entirely correct for Black communists to address themselves to advanced Blacks, as communists we also have the task of speaking to the advanced in general and equally. They--and we concur--feel this is especially true when the organization involved has an overall correct position on the burning questions facing the whole communist movement and has made contributions not only to the Black liberation movement, but to the communist movement as a whole.

These are the kind of criticisms we welcome, not only for the comradely spirit in which they were put forward--starting from a desire for unity, criticizing, then reaching unity on a higher level--but because they are correct. Certainly, they are a far cry from the slanderous lies and unprincipled attacks put forward by the RU leadership.

WHO IS REALLY TAKING THE WRONG PATH?

The RU attack on our pamphlet is just a cover for their own erroneous line on the national question (see pamphlet: "Struggle in the RU: In Opposition to the Consolidation of a Revisionist Line on the Black National Question" for full analysis of this line). In their latest paper, "Red Papers 6", RU deepens their reactionary "third period" concept, claiming that it is a "negation of a negation", a "negation of the second period which was a negation of the first". (RP6, pg.38) This is nothing but Hegelian idealism, an attempt to take the form that the dialectical process takes, that is, a negation of a negation, raise this form to an absolute, and thus force everything to fit into this neat little package--even if it doesn't reflect reality. (See BWC pamphlet: "The Struggle Against Revisionism and Opportunism" pg.12) RU's "new period", with its "new" theories, is a slap in the face to Marxism-Leninism, and a return to the theory of American exceptionalism (for where else does this third period exist? and where else are the writings of Lenin and Stalin not directly applicable?).

RU's whole line has led them to the shameful, chauvinist stand that Black bourgeois nationalism, rather than white national chauvinism, is the main danger in the communist movement today. This claim has RU cadres (and nearly every one of them is white), screaming that the nationalism of Blacks is the main problem, that it, is to blame for divisions, and that its time whites stood up and stopped tailing these Black nationalists! This social-fascist line allows RU cadre to put the fight against white national chauvinism in the back seat, and will only completely destroy what tiny ability RU had to unite with the Black liberation movement, and particularly the Black proletariat.

It is precisely this criminal cover of the danger of bourgeois nationalism (along with the low theoretical level of most RU cadre), that allows the RU leadership to deal with the struggle between BWC, PRRWO, and themselves in such a dishonest, incorrect, manner. And though they might think their reams and reams of attack reflect their seriousness, in reality they only further expose them. There is not a trace of Marxism-Leninism in their arsenal. Their only weapons are slander, distortions, and lies.

INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE AGAINST RU'S OPPORTUNISM!

RU's opportunism is certainly not limited to the Black national question. On the question of Party building, the RU leaders, in an attempt to avoid complete isolation, recently admitted that Party building was in fact the central task. But they qualify this by saying it has only recently become our task and only for a brief period ahead. This stance toward the struggle for the Party reveals RU's disdain for the proletariat, and their belittlement of the strategic task of Party building--not only now, but throughout the whole period of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. It reveals their utter hatred for ideological struggle, for making the theoretical struggle for Marxism-Leninism the primary aspect of Party building today, and their great desire to hurry up and spontaneously plunge back into the mass movement.

They also reveal their arrogance and organizational chauvinism, in that they try to pretend that they were right all along--even though they were the last organization, at least in word, to admit that Party building was the central task. And further, that they are the ones who decide how long, and how soon, the Party building process should take.

RU is now throwing everything they've got into forming THEIR "Party". And though they may appear strong, and may even make some temporary gains, in reality they are a paper tiger. The success or failure of an organization depends on the correctness of its political line. RU's line cannot stand up to a critical Marxist-Leninist analysis, and it will be defeated. In the final analysis the truth always comes to the surface, no matter how long the process takes, no matter how long opportunists of various sorts vainly try to cover it up.

RU's arrogance and opportunism will no longer blind us. We, along with all genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries, will continue to expose their opportunism, and intensify our struggle against their revisionist line. Truth develops through struggle with falsehood! No force on earth can stop the revolutionary proletariat from building its Party!

MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE!!

For a deeper understanding of RU's revisionist line on the national question, see our pamphlet: "Struggle In The RU-In Opposition To The Consolidation Of The Revisionist Line On The Black National Question" \$1.00