

CONCLUSION—

COLLAPSE OF THE MENSHEVIKS AND THE TASKS OF THE BOLSHEVIKS

The past twenty years in the U.S. have been marked by the disgustingly rapid spread of opportunism, which gripped the intellectuals and wavering petty bourgeoisie who composed the social basis of the “movement”.

The corruption of the “movement” is materially based on the crumbs it has received and privileges it has obtained from the super-profits of imperialism.

This “movement” is not an isolated phenomenon, but actually a replica of the stinking opportunism which has dominated the international “anti-revisionist communist movement”.

With the total disintegration of the revisionist “CPUSA,” a new covertly opportunist force was needed to promote the interest of the bourgeoisie more effectively.

Mao Zedong became the ideologue of this “movement”, and under the guise of Marxism-Leninism many more years of betrayal were to ensue.

This book, in all of its sections, addresses precisely the ideological and social basis of this betrayal. The tricks utilized by these agents of the bourgeoisie who cloak themselves in the name of communism, are exposed in order that it be understood why it has taken so long to complete a rupture, a thorough split. Ugliness was painted in beauty. But once the covers are torn off, there remains nothing but decay, deception, corruption, and cowardice.

By addressing the questions of the ideological and social basis of this so-called communist movement, we trace its historical development and prove conclusively that there exists a deep rooted ideological, political and organizational crisis that is developing like a hot volcano ready to erupt. This crisis is but a reflection of the general crisis of imperialism. Each of the organizations and/or parties are wracking their empty heads to try to come up with new solutions to help the bourgeoisie resolve its crisis. The more they try, the more the crisis of imperialism shakes them into frenzy. There is no hope for imperialism or its social props. Many of the forces of opportunism in the U.S. have tried to resolve their crisis through unity efforts. However, they are only capable of stabbing each other in the back, jockeying for the position of the "greatest leader", "biggest party", and biggest share of the crumbs. Splits and more splits are the end results of their "unity" efforts. Such is the inevitable result of what happens when Leninist norms are totally absent.

The renunciation of Leninism, the denial of the vanguard role of the proletariat, and the anti-party activities of the petty bourgeoisie have resulted in active sabotage of proletarian revolution.

There is no more concrete proof that can be given of the social-chauvinism and centrism that has historically reigned, than the evidence which conclusively proves how proletarian revolution has been sabotaged in the U.S. by the so-called "anti-revisionist communist movement." It is a "movement" that is so apologetic for its own bourgeoisie, so very patriotic, so infatuated by bourgeois democracy, so terrified of proletarian revolution, and so hostile to the very idea that the socialist revolution is inevitable, that it has committed itself to disintegrate the revolution at every point.

In the interest of discharging our true proletarian internationalist duty, such a "movement" of traitors must be thoroughly exposed, demarcated from, and smashed. The situation in point of fact is no different than that which Lenin described.

"While the collapse of the Second International has given rise to a sense of burning shame in revolutionary Social-Democrats—as represented by the minority of German Social-Democrats and the finest Social-Democrats in the neutral countries; while socialists in both Britain and France have been speaking up against the chauvinism of most Social-Democratic parties; while the opportunists, as represented, for instance, by the German *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, which have long held a national-liberal stand, are with good reason celebrating their victory over European socialism—the worst possible service is being rendered to the proletariat by those who vacillate between opportunism and revolutionary Social-Democracy (like the "Centre" in the German Social-Democratic Party), by those who are trying to hush up the collapse of the Second International or to disguise it with diplomatic phrases.

On the contrary, this collapse must be frankly recognised and its causes understood, so as to make it possible to build up a new and more lasting socialist unity of the workers of all countries.

The opportunists have wrecked the decisions of the Stuttgart, Copenhagen

and Basle congresses, which made it binding on socialists of all countries to combat chauvinism in all and any conditions, made it binding on socialists to reply to any war begun by the bourgeoisie and governments, with intensified propaganda of civil war and social revolution. The collapse of the Second International is the collapse of opportunism, which developed from the features of a now bygone (and so-called "peaceful") period of history, and in recent years has come practically to dominate the International. The opportunists have long been preparing the ground for this collapse by denying the socialist revolution and substituting bourgeois reformism in its stead; by rejecting the class struggle with its inevitable conversion at certain moments into civil war, and by preaching class collaboration; by preaching bourgeois chauvinism under the guise of patriotism and the defence of the fatherland, and ignoring or rejecting the fundamental truth of socialism, long ago set forth in the *Communist Manifesto*, that the workingmen have no country; by confining themselves, in the struggle against militarism, to a sentimental, philistine point of view, instead of recognising the need for a revolutionary war by the proletariat of all countries, against the bourgeoisie of all countries; by making a fetish of the necessary utilisation of bourgeois parliamentarianism and bourgeois legality, and forgetting that illegal forms of organisation and propaganda are imperative at times of crises." (LCW 21:p. 31)

What is needed is a new, truly revolutionary movement, based on scientific socialism. This movement must disseminate Marxism-Leninism to the working class with the aim of creating the unified Party of the proletariat to lead the socialist revolution.

The collapse of the "new Left" movement was inevitable because it was rooted in the open social-chauvinist and centrist traditions of the "CPUSA" and based in the revisionist "thought" of Mao Zedong.

Inclined towards begging for crumbs from imperialist superprofits, Mao's "thought" was particularly suited to the class interests of the petty bourgeoisie.

It has been the fight to construct the Leninist Party of a new type that has begun to lay the basis for a thorough split with all those who, while claiming to be communists, have proven themselves to be thoroughly sold-out agents of imperialism.

The Committee of U.S. Bolsheviks found it necessary to delve into the connection between imperialism, superprofits and the bribery of this "movement", because it is precisely this connection which the entire "movement" has a stake in keeping covered up, and because no thorough rupture can occur unless the fight against the social-chauvinists and centrists is carried out through the exposure of this connection.

Lenin's analysis of imperialism has been replaced by Mao's united front against imperialism, which tries to rehabilitate Kautsky's ultra-imperialism.*

* See May Day presentation, next article.

Thus political policies of imperialism are "criticized", but the economic essence, the export of capital, has been thoroughly hidden by the "movement."

The rupture with the social-chauvinist theory of "three worlds" and Mao Zedong was just the tip of the iceberg, in uncovering the hidden Kautskyites. As soon as Mao's "CPC" moved into its open alliance with U.S. imperialism, other centrist forces internationally stepped in with weapons against proletarian revolution. By examining the centrist trend in the U.S. historically and exposing its new representatives, i.e., the "COUSML", "CPUSA(M-L)", and the MULC forces, the line of demarcation is more sharply drawn with the centrist trend internationally. This is our aim.

Those who insist on slavish worship of their so-called consistent Marxist-Leninist line will have to eventually come to grips with the fact that the days of slavish worship of self-proclaimed heroes are drawing to an end.

By examining the bootlicking opportunist movement in the U.S., it becomes quite clear that bootlicking is not restricted to the U.S. "Movement". International currents of revisionism assist the opportunist movement in the U.S. and vice-versa in a conspiracy against the international proletariat.

The "movement" in the U.S. is one of the weapons of the counter-revolution, internationally. It has been, therefore, an important matter to analyze this "movement" in its historical and contemporary development. Every single clique (and there are virtually dozens of such cliques) claims that there is a Marxist-Leninist movement in the U.S. By this they mean their own clique, which makes the whole thing so absurd. They are compelled to hide from the workers the actual state of affairs of this "movement", the splinter groups and bickering that goes on daily over who is the "vanguard" of the month. But most importantly, they must hide their connection, open or closed, with the bourgeoisie.

It is the duty of the U.S. Bolsheviks to expose the opportunists by going to the masses of proletarians and showing how the deeds of the opportunists prove them to be real agents of imperialism.

"The Aims of Socialism at the present time cannot be fulfilled, and real international unity of the workers cannot be achieved, without a decisive break with opportunism, and without explaining its inevitable fiasco to the masses." (LCW 21:32) For too many years the objections raised by the opportunists to this "decisive break" have found the genuine communists scattered, unorganized, and hesitating on questions of principle. The Bolsheviks must split and chart the course.

It has been by applying the method of Leninism of learning from our mistakes that the U.S. Bolsheviks are regrouping and charting out the course which will lead to the founding of the political party of the working class, which will lead the proletariat to victory over the bourgeoisie.

By clearing up the falsification of history, the C.U.S.B. at the same time calls upon all class conscious proletarians in the U.S. to rally to the C.U.S.B. and actively partake in the establishment of a new and truly communist

center for the activity of professional revolutionary work. There has been tremendous confusion, disunity, and a certain indifference amongst the genuine forces in the U.S., the cause being opportunism, centrism first and foremost.

It is with the purpose of clearing up this confusion, and with the aim of uniting the genuine forces in the U.S., that the C.U.S.B. publishes this book.

Comrade workers, study these polemics, ponder over the questions raised in their complexity, address the Committee of U.S. Bolsheviks with your comments, suggestions and criticisms of the analysis, investigation, and conclusions.

This book will be translated into Spanish and French. We ask for the comments of the Leninists and class conscious proletarians in whatever country you are laboring.

Lastly, we also welcome comments from the "movement", especially those groups and organizations we polemicize against.

We wonder and shall see if any one of them dares break the conspiracy of silence! ★

