

## Social Chauvinists and Centrists Cover Up for Political Police Activity \*

The social chauvinists and centrists are social props of the bourgeoisie. They apologize for imperialism and teach the workers to accept their condition as wage slaves. Behind them are still another layer of counter-revolution—the military props, the political police. The bourgeoisie admits daily to the use of agent infiltration, experiments with mind-control drugs, assassinations,\*\* and CIA training of butchers to torture the revolutionary leaders of the masses in the colonies, semi-colonies, other capitalist countries and within the borders of its own country. The social chauvinists and centrists, by way of their loose-knit parties and organizations, make it easy for wholesale police infiltration to take place. Through these “communist” groups, the political police are able to monitor the entire movement. Through their implantation in the proletariat, the opportunists provide a means by which the political police are able to spy on the proletariat. Through their participation in “defense” committees, community groups, women’s organizations, and groups of the nationally oppressed, they open the door for the political police to spy on all these activities of the oppressed masses. The Committee of U.S. Bolsheviks, as the result of an investigation into the agent provocateur activities within the centrist, so-called revolutionary wing, has made the following analysis of just one very small, but

\* We urge the reader to refer now to the Comintern article in the Appendix, on provocateurs.

\*\* For example the pamphlet, “Project MKULTRA, the CIA’s Program of Research in Behavioral Modification,” U.S. Government Printing Office, Wash., 1977, in which certain information was admitted regarding the CIA’s extensive use of LSD and other drugs. “That report discusses techniques for human assessment and unorthodox methods of communications; *discrediting and disabling materials which can be covertly administered*; . . . research being done on “K” (Knockout) maternal, alcohol tolerance, and hypnotism; research on LSD; anti-personnel harassment and *assassination delivery systems* including aerosol generators and other spray devices. . .” (p. 7, Our italics-ed.)

concentrated example of political police activity.

Up until now other forces have chosen to distort the evidence, falsify the history, and slander the real victims while covering up for the real agent provocateurs.

They have gotten away with this for some time, because of the wretched amateurishness which has plagued us for years. However, now that this situation is being corrected, at long last matters will be cleared up. The opponents of Leninism will have to either respond to the evidence as outlined, try to disprove it, or prove their utter cowardice by resorting to yet more slander and sectarian diplomacy. As a result of their cowardice, they prefer to reprint documents about agent provocateurs (e.g., as has been done by WCC), rather than analyzing the situation themselves. They prefer to avoid polemics, rather than meet them head on. Now, to the truth of the matter.

It is essential to approach the question of combating the secret political police in the most highly scientific and professional manner, and this is one area in which the amateurishness and ideological backwardness of this movement opened the doors to highly dangerous elements, for which the international proletariat has paid dearly. The extent of secret political police activity must not be underestimated. There are still many people and even some comrades who have a skeptical attitude about the extent and nature of secret political police activity in the U.S. movement, and have been inclined to give the "benefit of the doubt" to some alleged "victims" of "unjust treatment", who have therefore been allowed to continue their secret political police activity.

It is quite idealistic to think that in this bastion of reaction, in this "top dog" of imperialism, there would not be the most highly developed, sophisticated secret political police operations on a scale not previously known. Way before the time of the rise of the "anti-revisionist communist movement" in the late 1960's, U.S. imperialism had developed a world-wide apparatus for counter-revolution, already in use for years, particularly, although not exclusively, in the colonies and semi-colonies, to suppress communists, workers and peasants, in operations of counter-insurgency against the struggles for national liberation. In the oppressed countries the imperialists rely on torture and violence, and train butchers to carry these out, as well as many forms of subversion, such as those that come under the euphemism of "covert action".

Their methods include every type of viciousness imaginable, from the publishing of altered documents, (including the planting of fabricated news stories), sending of phony letters, interception and altering of telegrams, etc., and the doctoring of tapes. They include blackmail of various types, for which they seek information on the personal lives of revolutionaries, to look for weaknesses that can be exploited, use of actual or doctored photos, etc. There is also bribery through money and/or gifts, threats, both direct and indirect to

revolutionaries and their family members, slander campaigns to discredit leaders.\* One such campaign was carried out by the CIA in Indonesia, as preparation for the coup that resulted in the massacre of a million or more of communists, workers, and peasants. In this operation an actor was found who looked just like Sukarno, a bourgeois nationalist, who was the Prime Minister of Indonesia. A pornographic film was made with this actor, smuggled into Indonesia, and shown in movie houses to discredit and defame Sukarno, as a way to prepare enough villification to remove him and replace him with a U.S. puppet.

One of the main secret political police methods is infiltration, for purposes of information gathering, and for carrying out disruptive activities within revolutionary organizations, seeking to discredit them among the masses. They seek to influence the political line, to whip up anti-communism, and deviate these organizations from their course. A classic method of the secret political police is encouragement and carrying out of terroristic activities, to result in frame-ups and arrests of revolutionaries, and to discredit communists in the eyes of the masses, as being responsible for acts which are not in the interests of proletarian revolution, and which often result in repression, death or injury to the masses on a large scale. A recent example was a group which appeared out of nowhere at the demonstration of steel workers in France. The description of this group and its activities that is given by the bourgeois press itself, is quite revealing. (*The Economist*, 3/31/79, pg. 36) "The rioting was led by several hundred youths known as 'autonomes', *an amorphous grouping without any stated political aims or motives*. They last attracted attention with an aimless rampage of shop destruction in Paris in January. Since then the 'autonomes' *have been tagging on to organized demonstrations*, apparently hoping to get a chance of smashing property." [Emphasis added—Ed.] These elements, who claimed to be from this amorphous organization "just formed", appeared with crash helmets and sticks, provoking the police and drawing their attacks onto the workers. It is a known fact that many such groups are formed by the secret political police and used to engage in such acts of provocation, also provoking fights at public meetings and other political gatherings. One such group appeared in Boulder, Col. in 1976-77. Using the name of the U.S. Leninist Core, they would disrupt meetings and conferences. They claimed to have been former members of PRRWO, although their existence was completely unknown to the U.S. Leninist Core. PRRWO *never* had members in that area. It was through reports in the bourgeois press

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\* From the pamphlet on CIA activities previously mentioned—"Except for people involved in training courses, the subjects of the (psychological) assessments are foreign nationals. The assessments are generally done to determine the *most successful tactic to persuade the subject to accept covert employment* by the CIA." (p. 17, Our emphasis—ed.)

seen by the USLC that it was learned of the activities of this group.\*

The bourgeoisie is also now more sophisticated in the type of individual used for secret political police activity. Although all such scum of the earth share the common characteristic of being thorough mercenaries, the lowest of the low, the more recent ones have a different outside appearance than the old type of FBI agent, clean cut, looking like a cop, the Efram Zimbalist, Jr. type, whose image is the one still retained by some people. As the bourgeoisie recently admitted on TV, during the Chicago demonstrations of 1968, *one* out of every *seven* demonstrators was a police agent! Obviously, they have to blend into the scene better than the old type. It is as was said in *Bolshevik*, Vol. 8, No. 3, Aug.-Sept., 1978, in an article exposing how "CPML" Covers the Role of the State", pg. 20: "It is a known fact that all the intelligence agencies make use of the scum of the earth no matter what their nationality. Fred Hampton's bodyguard was an FBI informant as was Malcolm X's bodyguard. Both leaders were set-up by their "bodyguards" and assassinated. Exposed agent provocateurs in the revolutionary and communist movement historically, have not necessarily been the crew-cut, blond hair, suited-up agents, but the fatigue-attired, bearded, the 'hippest' of the hip, one of the 'people' stool pigeons, informants, provocateurs. [Mao Zedong's "be one with the masses" was very helpful to the state apparatus, for infiltration.—CUSB].

"The U.S. imperialists and their social props are on a campaign to cover up the undercover agents, especially Puerto Rican, Chicano, Afro-American, Chinese, who have snuck in especially with the tremendous aid of the revisionist theory of the 'three worlds'. As 'third world' activists, agent provocateurs are sneaking into the revolutionary movements of the masses on an international scale."

The U.S. bourgeoisie in the 1960's was faced with unrest at home, national liberation wars in colonies and semi-colonies, a general crisis, including a political crisis so sharp that bourgeois leaders such as John F. Kennedy, Robert F. Kennedy, Martin L. King, were assassinated. To try to save their disintegrating system, inevitably to be overthrown, they launched a wave of counter-revolution in response. Would it be possible that the U.S. bourgeoisie would carry out massive operations of terror and subversion all over the world, but allow a communist movement to develop in its very homeland, and just adopt a casual, "wait and see" attitude? It is *fatal* to think that this may be the case! Under the Maoist line of "three worldism", "lumpen as the vanguard", etc., a veritable flood of scum of the earth swept into the "anti-revisionist U.S. communist movement", ready material to be used in highly organized plans such as the FBI's COINTELPRO, aimed primarily at the Black Panther Party (BPP) and the Black liberation movement in general, and the CIA's Operation CHAOS, aimed at the "anti-revisionist communist movement".

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\* This group emerged as a so-called "independent Marxist-Leninist circle". Most recently it is supporting "COUSMI"'s call for a party. It is now called "Denver Committee Against Social Chauvinism".

This is already well-known. In fact, some aspects of it are admitted by the bourgeoisie to serve to cover the most recent operations and agents.

Already by 1932, the Comintern had summed up some of the key features of the operations of the modern secret political police. Quoted here is a section from *Palante*, Vol. 6, No. 6, June, 1976, taken from the article, "Mensheviks are Objectively Agents of the Bourgeoisie", pg. 5. (This article uses the Comintern documents to elucidate the way in which the secret political police utilize opportunists to mask their activities, and how the opportunists and the opportunist line aid the secret political police in their subversion.) "This is what was summed up by the Comintern in 1932 in an article—'The Struggle Against the Provocateur.' 'Formerly when the ruling classes considered themselves to be an invincible power. . . the secret police merely tried to catch this or that dangerous revolutionary to disrupt a campaign that was being organized, to paralyze a particular action the party was engaged in. At the present, however, when the ruling classes are trembling before the Communist Revolution, the horizon of the secret police has considerably widened. They are striving to demoralize the movement *from within* [emphasis added—ed.] to disrupt the forces of the revolution, to drive the Communist Party underground, or to strengthen the reigns of terror, to divert the work of the Communist Parties to the wrong track, to paralyze the forces of the Proletarian Vanguard in the decisive moment.' One of the means by which they attempt all of the above is to promote the idea that we're isolated from the masses, trying to demoralize our ranks, as they prepare campaigns attempting to make it a reality. This they do says the Comintern—'Isolation of the revolutionary forces, through the use of propaganda is standard practice, especially when the movement is on the ascendancy. Reliance on the bourgeois media—newsprint and electronic, is resorted to in spreading lies, distortions, slander, etc., against the communist and revolutionary leadership.' (Ibid)"

It was based on this understanding, and applying it to analyze the secret political police activities within the movement, that enabled us to conclude in 1976 that there was an organized secret political police plan *in operation* to prevent the coming into being of a Bolshevik party in the U.S. However, due to the amateurishness, the ideological and political backwardness, and the errors that resulted, the plan was not effectively combatted. Therefore, it was able to have very detrimental effects. The failure to make a thorough break with Menshevism allowed the secret political police to worm their way in, and carry out their activities. They made maximum use of all weaknesses and hid behind Mensheviks, whose calls for looseness, whose breaks of democratic centralism, and whose cries that we were "to security conscious", created the ideal conditions in which the secret political police can operate. To this day we still suffer from the results of the disgraceful amateurishness and primitiveness in combating the secret political police. Lenin stresses that "**the struggle against the political police requires special qualities; it requires professional revolutionaries.**" (*What Is To Be Done?*, Peking, pg. 135) Only an organization of professional revolutionaries, based firmly on Leninist norms, (which describes

neither the "anti-revisionist communist movement", nor its "revolutionary wing"), can master the art of combating the secret political police.

With this understanding in mind, we can proceed to a detailed picture of what took place regarding some of the most notorious activities in the period of the "revolutionary wing", and some of the most notorious individuals who carried out and aided these activities.

One of the most highly trained secret policemen we had experienced, had infiltrated PRRWO after having split from RU, where he was a member of the Central Committee. He pretended to have split over their social chauvinism. They in turn covered him up by saying he was a "bourgeois nationalist", although they already knew that he was an agent. This was Don Wright, whose activities were first exposed in *Bolshevik*, Vol. 7, No. 6, Oct., 1977. His activities were concentrated on open provocation, which consisted of a campaign of beatings and psychological harassment, all aimed to humiliate particular people, to try to divert the struggle against opportunism. There was a campaign of constant provocation, attempts to impose a philistine life style, as well as intimidation and other actions toward other comrades calculated to isolate a particular comrade from other genuine Marxist-Leninists in the organization at that time. He also challenged the organization to an armed confrontation. In the midst of all this provocation was a constant bragging and boasting about his history and connections in intelligence work. His provocation was timed to coincide with periods of intense struggle going on in the leadership of PRRWO. Elements such as Richie Perez, Gilberto (Sabu) Colon, David Perez, and Carmen Cruz, then in the Central Committee, knew of these activities, at times witnessed assaults on comrades and were told about his history. But in spite of this, out of cowardice and in pursuit of their opportunist or provocateur interests, they encouraged Don Wright to stay in the organization and even flattered him for his "knowledge of political economy". They stated such absurdities as, "his information could be valuable if he were to 'transform' some day"! But the facts were that the information gathered was useful to the state. He was able to determine through his provocations that the majority of the Central Committee was a sham, in total violation of Leninist norms in tolerating such activities. Aftereffects of his activities included an atmosphere of intimidation and paranoia that lingered on and was maintained through threatening letters and harassment through other means after he was finally exposed and purged.

Such secret police activities as physical threats, beatings, and provoking fights, would flare up at key points in the struggles being waged in the "revolutionary wing", in the periods of greatest ideological confusion. Richie Perez, for example, while on the Central Committee, provoked fights, such as the one he got into at a wedding where many members of the organization were present. He then called another member of the Central Committee *on the phone* to tell all the details of the fight, by way of a "self-criticism", adding that he thought the element he had the fight with was an agent. Such is the Maoist distortion of self-criticism as "confession", used to the maximum advantage by the Men-

sheviks and secret political police. At one blow he thus spread the idea that the organization condoned or had a policy of such putschist actions, lowered the prestige of the organization in the eyes of the cadres and the masses to see a supposed leader and member of the Central Committee acting in this way, and gave further ammunition for the bourgeoisie to utilize in fabricating cases against communist leaders as a bunch of hoodlums. This also provided ideological preparation for later accusations of social fascism, used to the maximum by him and his various cohorts, in the campaign of isolation against the Bolsheviks that was later carried out.

Richie Perez also brought into the ranks, through "study groups" at Brooklyn College (the existence of which was unknown to the rest of the Central Committee), such elements as Charles (Indio) Alejandro, Roger Williams, and Brian, whose last name we do not know. These elements specialized in provoking fights, including one with WVO at Brooklyn College, that of course was blamed on PRRWO. After R. Perez was purged as the leader of a Menshevik faction, and after his later exposure as an agent provocateur, these acts continue to be blamed on the genuine Marxist-Leninists, while Richie Perez is hailed by all the "third worldist" social chauvinists as an "injured party", and leader of the masses.

Brian's activities consisted in part of provoking fights by his open social chauvinist and racist remarks, such as "Blacks and Puerto Ricans are lazy." He, of course, was purged immediately when these activities came to light. Alejandro had been in the Marine Corps and was known to be a black belt in karate. (He always bragged about this). He and Williams, in addition to the fights provoked at Brooklyn College, terrorized a PRSU\* meeting by verbal abuse and threats, but left before comrades in leadership could get there. The atmosphere of chaos, fear, and intimidation which they left behind them, in which they had been aided by their wives, drove many of the people present out of the ranks, or into outright Menshevism.

Alejandro at that same time was also making threatening calls to a particular comrade, trying to drive him out of the ranks, telling him he "better be careful" when he went out in the street. He kept up this campaign of intimidation, calling at all hours of the night, for some time.

Thus paranoia, intimidation, and chaos were spread, in what was already a highly confused situation, finding the Marxist-Leninists scattered and ideologically unprepared for this onslaught of internal provocation.

Meanwhile, Richie Perez had been carrying out his information-gathering activities, both directly and through the Menshevik faction he had organized. He was the "note-taker" of Central Committee meetings, recording the positions of everyone except himself. He made hundreds of copies of an internal document that was only to have had a few copies made and was to be discussed internally and *not* distributed. Of course, with hundreds of copies made and circulated, there was a good cover to explain leaks of its contents. Some elements obligingly "lost" their copy immediately. He was also carry-

\* Puerto Rican Student Union.

ing on a secret correspondence with the leadership of ATM, now out in the open and cemented together in the Gotten Together League (LRS)—(Richie Perez is now a member of "I RSMI"). Richie Perez also tried in various ways to infiltrate a factory cell that had been organized, and when this failed, used his partner, his wife Diana Perez, to pump information out of a Menshevik, L. Flores, who of course readily spilled everything she knew about the cell members.

Topping off this period of intense provocation that we have been just describing. 1975-76, was an incident involving an individual named Carlos Rovira, ex-member of PRRWO, which put the icing on the cake, and helped set the stage for events that were to come later. This individual had to be constantly criticised for actions not those of a communist, but under the Maoist dictum of "cure the illness to save the patient" was still tolerated in the ranks—illustrating (by only one small but vivid example) the destructive effects of not having made a thorough rupture with social chauvinism. He was a thorough philistine, mainly interested in dressing in the latest fashions, wore spiritualist beads (indicating belief in their magic power), and was lax and undisciplined. He had an aversion to work of any kind, revolutionary or otherwise. He was a perfect candidate for an informant, looking for the easy buck, devoid of principles, playing "dumb" while in the ranks. For all these "errors" he was criticized and he pretended to be correcting them.

During this period, unknown to leadership, he broke into the apartment of two purged revisionists, Pablo Yoruba Guzman, and Iris Morales, who promptly began to spread the lie it was a comrade who had done it! Carlos Rovira then supposedly tried to poison himself in a suicide attempt following a supposed fight with his girlfriend. He was several weeks in the hospital, treated as mentally unstable, and returned to the organization pledging allegiance to Richie Perez, stating categorically he was standing on the Menshevik platform. After his purge, he attempted to break into his ex-girlfriend's house, and insisted on speaking to the Central Committee, saying that he had an urgent message. The meeting was arranged and he proceeded to tell a fantastic story. It went like this: While in the hospital, treated for the suicide attempt, he had been visited by the *same* FBI agent who had picked him up for "questioning" once before. This was news to the organization, as he never had reported he had been picked up while still in the organization. He continued to explain that the FBI had proposed a deal to him, and that he had taken it, pledging to them that he would, in fact, inform on the activities of the organization. In a very provocative manner he went on to boast about how he had been approached again after he was purged, and had been invited to a meeting with the same agent.

At this meeting, he went on to say, he was enlisted to participate in an assassination plot that was to terroristically eliminate the current leadership (that is, 1976) of PRRWO. He was asked to turn over all internal documents, which he boldly admitted doing, and he was "given time" to think about his participation in the "plot". Following this fantastic story, he pro-

ceeded to tell one later confirmed in real life, which lent credibility to his first story. He was very eager to inform on a meeting which he claimed he had attended, organized by David Perez, presently of Red Dawn Committee, ex-Central Committee member of PRRWO, and at that time on the Central Committee of Workers Congress. Rovira described the proceeding of this meeting, who had attended—naming individuals and organizations, and the outcome.

This was the same meeting reported in *Red Dawn No. 1*, which resulted in a statement, signed by all those raising slanders of "social-fascism" against PRRWO. In fact, the meeting was of elements previously purged from PRRWO, as well as some members of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party. Other organizations that signed the statement were El Comitè, Lincoln Detox, Prairie Fire, and Proletarian Unity League. Also invited were RCP, OL, PSP, CLP, WVO, Guardian, etc. In fact, everyone in the marsh except for PLP and the CPUSA. A motley crew indeed.

It was at this meeting that some of those very individuals whose activities have just been described, were presented as the "victims" of the physical abuses they themselves had carried on, which had been reasons for their being purged. The outcome of this meeting was the infamous leaflet (recently re-circulated by Red Dawn) that slandered the genuine Marxist-Leninists as "social-fascists". Richie Perez, himself the instigator of a pattern of physical abuses in the ranks, then assumed the role of "victim" to provide material for slanders used to this day against genuine Marxist-Leninists. In fact, it was one of his fellow collaborators on the document of external provocation, the *Degeneration of PRRWO*, and no doubt one of his "best buddies" of today, Gilbert (Sabu) Colon, who actually attacked him. This attack took place at a meeting. Colon had to be pulled off by the very comrades who are now held responsible for the attack. Colon covered up this violation of all Leninist norms by saying it was "righteous indignation", and was severely criticized. Shortly after, he disappeared from the organization. His role in this has never been mentioned by R. Perez and Co., though they used the incident in their nationwide slander campaign.

To return to the incident regarding Rovira—

After several hours of "warning" the organization, Rovira left. Before leaving he was asked why he was telling us all these things. He said it was because he hated us more than anyone else and thought the organization's leaders were neo-Trots, *but*, he said, since some people are getting together to deal with you in other ways, (meaning the meeting called to accuse the leadership of PRRWO social fascism) he couldn't go through with assisting the state in the "assassination plot". He "warned" the organization time and again, repeating quite emphatically, "Look, these people (meaning the secret political police) are serious—they are going to terroristically eliminate you. You better watch it when you cross the street, when you start your cars, and be particularly careful of snipers".

The effect that this "warning" had was precisely what it was intended to have in the first place. The wavering elements were terrified, and even some of those comrades who were until then resolute, collapsed under this pressure and retreated from the struggle. This incident, along with the many years of

harassment, anonymous letters, beatings, isolation, in short a whole variety of secret police activities, political sabotage in the organizational sphere on many questions, coupled with the ideological backwardness of the genuine comrades, resulted in the loss of some, degeneration of others and political inactivity for years after.

Another typical method of secret police activity that aided in setting the basis for what was to come was a campaign of slanders, along the lines of the example previously given about Sukarno of Indonesia, or as old and moldy a method as that used in slanderously accusing Lenin of being a German spy! These slander campaigns take the form of defaming the moral character of certain selected comrades, accusing them of being provocateurs, calculated to throw doubt and suspicion on genuine Marxist-Leninists, and to cause waverings on the part of comrades of weaker ideological conviction. These slanders are concocted of lies and fabrications, rumors and vicious attempts at character assassination. One of the most vicious of these incidents that took place in our history, and one which is very revealing of its source, took place in late 1975, in *coordination* with the other activities that have been described above.

At Gouverneur Hospital, an economist shop newsletter was put out by PRRWO, named *Dare to Win*. One issue in the fall of 1975 contained an exposure of an element named Roberto Napoleon, a supervisor of messengers, who was carrying on a campaign of anti-communism and terroristic repression against workers in the hospital, and who was known in the community for openly meeting with FBI agents.

Copies of the newsletter appeared which had been altered in such a way that people reading it might not notice the alteration. The point exposing Napoleon had been deleted, and replaced with several paragraphs of vicious character assassination of a particular comrade, including many vulgar expressions and the utterly fantastic charge that she had owned a house of prostitution in Puerto Rico. This altered copy was circulated both to spread the slanders, and to make it look like there had been a split in the organization, and that it was the organization that was making these charges. How reminiscent of the now well-known FBI campaign of false and doctored letters to flare up antagonisms between the BPP and the US organization, part of COINTELPRO activities, which resulted in shootouts and deaths of BPP members. Although this altered newsletter was obviously the work of the secret police, it was not denounced either by the then Central Committee of PRRWO, or any Marxist-Leninists in the movement, either. (Incidentally, the slanderous section referred to Vincent "Panama" Alba as one who would confirm the slanders as true. He is a lumpen element, who is a long-time and current associate of Richie Perez, who as late as 1975, was still trying to bring Alba back into the PRRWO.)

These rumors, lies, and fabrications, did not cease; in fact this campaign is still in effect today. The leaflet accusing PRRWO leaders of being social-fascist, which was described above, was a part of that slander campaign. The agents

start with provocations while inside an organization to discredit the Marxist-Leninists, then use that history, making maximum use of the opportunists who are only too ready to aid the secret police in these campaigns. The opportunists help them to continue the campaign from outside that organization once they are exposed and purged. The object is to isolate the Bolshevik trend, and try to prevent it from being ideologically, politically and organizationally consolidated. By the beginning of 1976, then, the stage was set in terms of a chaotic situation. Confusion reigned; many comrades had been driven out of the organization or had wavered at a critical point; the Bolsheviks were increasingly isolated.

Robert Johnson, a true demagogue (which Lenin said are the worst enemies of the working class), a careerist and totally degenerate element, took advantage of the situation. Keeping his history quite secret, (for example, the fact that he had been a member of the Nation of Islam), he presented himself as someone who had been "here and there", with no direct participation in anything except some "campus activity at Columbia University". He said he had studied Marxism-Leninism independently for some time, and claimed to be theoretically able to lead. In fact he claimed he was so developed theoretically that he himself was going to write the Party Program.

The question of covering up of history was a very conscious game, for it was learned in the course of time, and in fact belatedly, that Paul Sanders, another leader of RWL, also had a history that was being covered up. Paul Sanders had been a member of the US organization, a bourgeois nationalist sect, led by the provocateur Ron Karenga, utilized in the previously mentioned activities against the BPP, part of the COINTELPRO plan.

Since these particulars were not yet known, and since the Lefts by this time were hesitating and conciliating, seeking unity not on the basis of drawing lines of demarcation and through the ideological struggle, but on the basis of "political line as key link",\*\* the Lefts entered into a Menshevik coalition, a loose-knit association which could only boast of being "revolutionary" to cover up for centrism and the total absence of Leninist norms

For over two years, those who remained in the "revolutionary wing" remained against their better judgment, telling themselves it was due to the absence of anywhere else to go. It was seen in terms of "with whom to go", not "where to go", which was incorrect. In terms of "with whom to go", there was no choice. It was impossible to give up all convictions and principles and join the social chauvinist cliques. Thinking that the proletariat would be betrayed if

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\* February First Movement, student group of RWL.

\*\* See "Two Rotten Eggs Laid by Mao Zedong"—this work.

the Marxist-Leninists "ran away from the struggle", they stayed on, rather than splitting from this entire marsh.

As time went on, Robert Johnson's sophistry and demogogy got worse. The more his careerism and thorough lack of principles were exposed, the more his true colors came to the fore, the more frenzied he became. It was Robert Johnson who carried out the most unprincipled methods of "struggle" that had been witnessed, including, as we were to learn much later, methods better described as torture.

The fact of the matter is that the Kansas City Revolutionary Workers Collective (KCRWC) and the Pacific Collective (PC), who in recent letters tried to blame the U.S. Leninist Core for all these actions, are quite well aware of who was responsible. It is obviously not in their interest to call things by their proper name. Could it be that PC is talking about Robert Johnson when they refer to the "Black communists" who are "demoralized"? Why is it that throughout these years none of these "pure" new circles has shown an ounce of courage to sum up this history? Could it be because to properly sum it up it must be taken to the role played by Johnson, Sanders, and John Spearman? All of these acted in a totally unprincipled manner to each other, but we are sure that all three are quite willing to let bygones be bygones.

Does John Spearman, the sworn Social Democrat, dare deny that in fact he participated in gross violations of principles and threatened someone at gunpoint? This is no implication, this is actual fact. Or does John Spearman dare deny that it was Robert Johnson who made a total fool of him, publicly cutting off Spearman's hair, humiliating him to no end? Or has John Spearman decided to carry out his career as a victimized philistine who allowed Robert Johnson to make a fool of him, never raising a finger in self-defense? Many, in fact, took abuse at the hands of people like Johnson, only to build themselves a career from it. So afraid of the truth are our critics of these circles—WCC, KCRWC, and PC—that they cringed at the thought of the U.S. Leninist Core, who knew this history, being present at their Multi-lateral Conference (MULC).

Nor did the provocations, slander campaign, or other secret political police activity end at that time (late 1976), although it grew increasingly more difficult for the provocateurs to function as the flood of opportunists was being purged, forced to go openly to their proper places—to "CPML", "LRSML", "LPRML", etc. However, as long as the break with social chauvinism was not thorough, they still had room to maneuver. In 1977, while internal provocateurs were still carrying out physical intimidation concealed from leadership, and shielded by a social chauvinist faction still hidden within the ranks (led by Richard and Mima Bertran), and while one cowardly element admitted to our faces that he was so terrified by this intimidation that he began to inform to try to save his skin, the purged opportunists and secret political police outside the ranks intensified their slander campaign with the issuing of the external document, the *Degeneration of PRRWO*. One of its authors, fabricating lies against the Marxist-Leninists, was in fact the same Gilbert (Sabu) Colon

previously mentioned, as the one who led in the beating of Richie Perez.

It should be noted that in doing this summation, only the most glaring provocateurs and activities have been described. But these were by no means the *only* agents or actions uncovered. For example, there was an element whose only job as part of this network was to destroy old and renewed subscriptions. And there are those who continue their activities now by visiting the homes of genuine victims of some of the most unprincipled actions carried out in the name of genuine comrades (although entirely unknown at the time), and seeking to involve them in taking part in new waves of slanders. And there is the surveillance, break-ins, and other harassments that are part and parcel of the ongoing secret police activities against the growing Bolshevik trend.

This history, although brief and only partial, confirms how dangerous to the proletariat is the absence of Leninist norms. It confirms how the influence of Mao Zedong Thought provided a wide open door, and gave free play to widespread activity of the political police—no doubt on a scale not hitherto seen. This history confirms further Lenin's teaching that *only* an organization of professional revolutionaries can effectively combat the secret political police. Only an organization based on Marxism-Leninism, with its social base in the proletariat, with the strictest adherence to discipline, a Leninist party of the new type, can ever fulfill this task.

In light of all the falsifications of history, which are being spread and which have made some people distrust the Committee of U.S. Bolsheviks, we found it necessary to print the names of some individuals who have been going around telling bold-faced lies to hide out amongst people unaware of the truth.

The ugly situation above described came as a tornado of counter-revolution, wave upon wave. Couple this situation with the entire history of this rotten movement, and the conclusion will be clear. The U.S. bourgeoisie has a stake in maintaining its power, and it utilizes all the forces at its disposal to smash any inkling of revolutionary potential. The opportunists are their most favorable weapon against proletarian revolution. They create the most favorable soil for the activities of the political police. Only by thoroughly exposing the opportunists and purging them can we minimize political police infiltration. And, only by building an organization of professional revolutionaries can the *art* of combatting the secret political police be mastered. Those agents exposed are still quite active. The entire opportunist movement relies on them and vice-versa for the active counter-revolutionary plots being carried out against proletarian revolution.