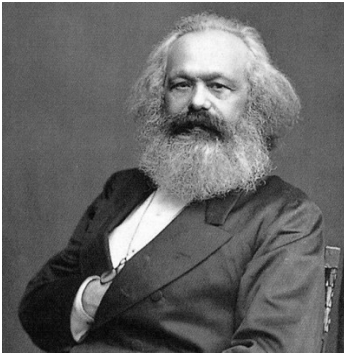


# Towards Marxist-Leninist Unity



## A Journal of Discussion and Debate



Vol. 2, No. 3

October 31, 2020

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To see the reasoning for publication of TMLU, please see the article “Why ‘Towards Marxist-Leninist Unity’ in the first issue on the web-site below. Though we believe that a Party must have ideological unity, we include progressive articles from groups with varying views.

Please note that we reprint many articles without our asking for permission. Clearly the authors are in no way responsible for other views in this publication.

This issue is being sent out on Halloween, just 3 days before a really scary day.

Comments, criticisms and articles are welcome. The next issue of TMLU should appear before the end of this year, so material should be sent in by mid-December.

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## On the US Presidential Elections

In the previous issue of Towards Marxist-Leninist Unity, we took the position of no support for either Trump or Biden. We called for a vote for the Green Party candidate, Howie Hawkins, despite disagreements with certain of his positions, particularly on foreign policy. (We said that people should “hold their nose and vote for Hawkins.”)

At this point we think we need to make a certain change in our position.

There is no doubt that both Trump and Biden represent the interests of certain sections of the ruling class. Trump, with his demagogic slogan that should be called “Make (U.S. Imperialism) Great Again,” or “M(US)IGA,” wants U.S. imperialism to regain its position of number one imperialist power in the world. (This is probably impossible given the consequences of the capitalist crisis and the pandemic, which has greatly affected the U.S. China, which appears to have overcome the pandemic, is continuing to forge ahead with a small increase in GDP, while the U.S. has seen a decline in GDP.)

Biden, with his slogan of “Build Back Better,” represents imperialism as usual. He probably represents the predominant wing of the ruling class (as did Hillary Clinton in 2016), though this does not necessarily mean that he will win the elections. On certain questions he seems to be more militaristic than Trump, for example criticizing Trump for calling for withdrawing U.S. troops from Afghanistan. Trump, however, is more war-like in his threats against China, U.S. imperialism’s main rival. In the end, though, whichever candidate is president for the next four years will carry out the foreign policy interests that U.S. imperialism requires.

There is one key difference between the two candidates, and that is on the question of fascism. If Trump wins the election, he will clearly push the U.S. further along the fascist road.

We noted in our last issue that he has long refused to state that he would recognize the results of the election if he loses, and he restated this in the September 29 debate. Although Clinton said that “Joe Biden should not concede under any circumstances” Biden himself stated in the debate that he would recognize the results of the election once all the votes were counted.

Also, Biden condemned white supremacy (while also opposing demands to defund the police, a bastion of white supremacy), which Trump refused to do. Trump also called on his white supremacist supporters, the “Proud Boys,” to “stand back and stand by,” a clear call for them to come out into the streets if he loses the election.

We are also aware that Biden has made certain proposals that are more reactionary than those of Trump, such as his call for mandatory mask wearing. While we



oppose this, masks not the crucial issue.

While it is in the interests of all working people to oppose the bourgeoisie as a whole, this does not mean that we are unconcerned whether bourgeois rule is carried out in the form of bourgeois democracy or of fascism. The small but generally consistently Marxist-Leninist group, Revolutionary Organization of Labor, put out a statement on October 1, 2020, entitled “Time to Toss Out Tyrant Trump!”<sup>1</sup> The statement, while critical of both bourgeois candidates, called on people to “Vote for Biden-Harris on Election Day, November 3, 2020.”

While we now think that this position is partly correct, it needs to be fine-tuned.

In those states that are solidly “blue,” such as New York, California, New Jersey, etc., which Biden will carry regardless of what anti-capitalist voters do, a vote for Biden is a waste. It would be better to vote for any avowedly progressive third party candidate. (The same is true in any solidly “red” state that Trump will win no matter what.) Thus, a vote for Biden only makes sense in those “swing” states that could go either way.<sup>2</sup>

Of course, a vote in the elections is much less significant than what we do in the workplaces and streets. See in particular the overall excellent article by the American Party of Labor, reprinted in this issue.

Also important is the call by various groups to come out into the streets if Trump loses and refuses to concede. We are sure there will be mass, spontaneous protests if this happens. The bourgeoisie is also preparing for this. Liberal New York City Mayor de Blasio is calling out the police to prepare for such protests. Working people must also be prepared!

<sup>1</sup> <https://mltranslations.org/US/ROL/ROLElections.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> An old-time comrade from North Carolina pointed this out in 2004, in the election of Bush vs. Gore, although I think he was wrong in that case as the differences between the candidates were not significant enough.

## Elections Won't Defeat Fascism, Only We Can

By The Red Phoenix, October 1, 2020



### **The Greatest Enemy of Fascism is and Always Has Been a United Working Class Movement.**

The whole world watches the upcoming elections in the United States. While there are other powerful imperialist nations in the post-cold war world, the U.S. remains at its center. Speculation on the election directly affects the daily ebb and flow of investment in the global market, as capitalists consider the opportunities created by the over 1,000,000 lives lost during the COVID-19 outbreak and greater instability in the imperialist core. For Americans, the first term of Trump's presidency has greatly empowered the radical right-wing, seen the intensification of the oppression of immigrants, and the chipping away of basic bourgeois rights like voting. Right-wing violence against oppressed peoples has not only continued through the state's repressive forces, but also through the militant right wing movement that is emerging from the shadows of Charlottesville. In so many ways, this election casts a long shadow over the lives of everyone living in the United States.

There are many on the left that have decided that Trump must be defeated and that endorsements for Biden are the logical call to action. It cannot be denied that Trump must be defeated and that his presidency represents a grave threat to the working class in the US. But in this urgency, we cannot refuse to acknowledge the

simple truth that these fascist policies and movements existed before Trump and will exist, stronger than ever, after Trump. There is no need for Trump to form a paramilitary group when the reactionary citizenry has been cultivated for generations upon generations into being that force. The police have been getting away with the violent suppression of oppressed peoples from the get-go. The American state, for all its talk about liberty of the private citizen, has no problem wielding great authoritarian power when it suits the needs of the ruling across, both at home and abroad. All the pieces existed before Trump, exist terribly under Trump, and will exist after Trump.

"Our lives as working people are too seriously imperiled to refuse to see, as the whole country did during this week's debate, that we lose in either case—without a real popular movement."

No Communist group in the United State has a meaningful level of influence over public opinion. Yet, many organizations have thrown their hat into the ring of endorsement, committing themselves to the electoral cause. There is pragmatism behind this but not much else. One might even argue that a Communist group in the United States endorsing a candidate would hurt that

candidate more than anything else. After all, the liberals hate the radical left, and Communists especially, many times more than they hate the right-wing and fascism, the attack on even the social democratic Bernie Sanders campaign shows this.

As the election looms over US political life, from the unemployment lines, to the immigrant detention facilities built by Obama and Biden and made a home for eugenics and family separation by Trump, to the wealthy suburbs Biden and Trump both focus their campaigning on, we say that the slogan of “defeat Trump” is insufficient. As Malcolm X said in 1964, and as the Bolsheviks argued in 1917, the ballot can be a tool for revolutionaries, one that shouldn’t be ignored. But we should never, particularly as fascism grows in power in the United States, reduce our slogans to the old electoral games of “this election is too important.” Our lives as working people are too seriously imperiled by resurgent state and right violence to refuse to see, as the whole country did during this week’s debate, that we lose in either case—without a real popular movement.

### **The Long Decay into American Fascism**

In the treatment of any disorder, it is necessary to get to the root cause of the disease. Treating the symptoms of the disease, while important, is not a cure, and will only provide temporary or partial relief to the sufferer. Trump is not the disease, he is a symptom of the disease, the festering rash the disease has brought up. The disease is capitalism. But, identifying the disease is not enough. It’s also necessary to trace its pathology.

Fascism is nothing new in American political life. From the second generation Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s to Father Coughlin, the German-American Bund, and the Silver Shirts of the 1930s, to the American Nazi Party of the ‘60s and ‘70s to the Alt-Right of today, overtly fascist organizations and ideas have had a persistent presence on the American political scene. What is new is how these groups and the ultra-reactionary ideology they represent have moved from the fringes and shadows to the center stage. It is evident that they have been encouraged and emboldened by the Trump presidency.

It must however be strongly stated that, while clear and open fascism has only recently crawled out from the cesspool into the light of day, fascist tendencies and the process of fascistization has been a feature of American society for decades. Fascism is the crisis of capitalism in decay. Fascism is the uniform put on by a capitalism that is no longer able to effectively manage the class struggle and continue ruling in “the old way.” It is the terroristic dictatorship of the most reactionary elements of finance capital. Seen in this light, fascism in the United States is not a question of this or that lunatic fringe group. Rather,

it is part and parcel of the development of American capitalism in its final, imperialist stage.

The fusion of monopoly finance capital with the machinery of the state has been noted and commented on since the 1950s — the much vaunted ‘military-industrial complex’ assuming economic dominance. In the social sphere, there has long been an ongoing process of militarization in American life; with an increasing level of police violence and repression. Indeed, with the police presence in immigrant communities and communities of color taking on the aspect of an occupying army. On the ideological front, the Civil Rights, Women’s, anti-war, and social change movements of the 1960s and 1970s triggered a conservative backlash that has continued to this very day. Reagan’s presidency in the 1980s accelerated the attempt to undo many of the liberal policies enacted over the previous two decades. In the 1990s, both the ostensibly liberal Democratic Party and the overtly conservative Republican Party shifted to the Right. This rightward trend has not abated, it has intensified. This ingrained in the very structure of American politics.

Thus, Trumpism must be seen as a part, and a particular manifestation of, this deeply rooted ongoing process.

### **The Historic Crimes of the Trump Regime**

Yet, in tracing and understanding this history, we shouldn’t lose track of the shifts and accelerations of criminality undertaken by the Trump regime. The crimes of the Trump government against the peoples of the United States are severe and innumerable. His response to the COVID-19 pandemic has been an utter failure, prioritizing profits over human health and distrusting scientists and experts in general, resulting in 200,000+ deaths. The coronavirus has disproportionately affected the African-American population, as well as causing untold deaths among Americans with no healthcare coverage, over 10,000,000 of which lost their insurance during the COVID-19 recession. Official figures of unemployment in the U.S. currently stands at over 30 million people, with no relief in sight except one pitiful \$1200 stimulus payment that barely covers one month of rent and living expenses for most U.S. citizens.

His government has been virulently racist and anti-immigrant from the start, and now U.S. policy manifests in ripping children from their parents and imprisoning them indefinitely into what must be called concentration camps. This atrocity is only compounded by the recent reports of forced hysterectomies within these detention camps, an outright genocidal action. The Trump regime has overseen a continuous erosion and rollback of the democratic rights of the people for self-expression, assembly, protest, and speech, through the use of murderous police terror and calls for violence against peaceful

protestors, targeting of political opponents, and attempting to list the broad anti-fascist forces and Black Lives Matter activists as terrorists for opposing right-wing reaction and fighting for civil rights. All this points to a larger program of the suppression of dissent and the people's democratic rights.

"All the historians, all the experts, all the survivors of authoritarian regimes of the past, all the mass organizations, all the human rights groups, all the working poor of this country, and all the rest of the world, agree on this singular issue: we must be prepared to stop the rise of fascism in the United States at all costs."

On top of this, Trump himself has made plain his intent to destroy and sabotage the remaining vestiges of bourgeois democracy still remaining, intentionally withholding funding from the Postal Service to sabotage mail-in voting, giving speeches with false claims of voter fraud designed to disenfranchise Americans, instituting a block of payroll taxes designed to defund and dismantle Social Security (primarily hurting the elderly and working poor), and openly stating he will "negotiate" to serve a third term in office, despite threats of impeachment and calls to abolish the Electoral College that permitted him to win the 2016 election in the first place. All this is part of a clear agenda by Trump to move toward becoming an autocratic ruler.

The Trump government is actively working to destroy what is left of human rights and constitutional bourgeois democracy in the United States, as well as roll back social programs for healthcare and public education, bodily autonomy through *Roe v. Wade*, the right to organize in a union, minimum wage and protection for workers, basic universal voting rights, all the while clearing the pathway for the wealthy owners of monopolies and corporations to seize more power in society than ever before, not to mention ignoring and aggravating the natural disasters from the existential environmental crisis of climate change. The racist oppression of immigrants and the sabotaging of democracy echo the fascism of the past. All the historians, all the experts, all the survivors of authoritarian regimes of the past, all the mass organizations, all the human rights groups, all the working poor of this country, and all the rest of the world, agree on this singular issue: we must be prepared to stop the rise of fascism in the United States at all costs.

### **The Unique Features of American Fascism, and Our Unique Responses**

Many left commentators have been slow to recognize this fascist progression in the US since 2016, because they conceive of fascism as a rational, objectively identifiable ideological movement. In 2016, when the American Party of Labor identified Trump as a proto-fascist, we were often attacked, and accused of reform-

ism for not attacking Hillary Clinton enough. Leftists and liberals attacked us for flying a banner that equated Trump and Mussolini.

But we know that Fascism has historically moved in many different patterns and has its own character in each country it festers in. Instead of a pure aryan race, we have a more general white supremacy, replacing the Japanese Fascist desire for a Pacific empire we have American Exceptionalism and international hegemony supported by both blue and red. Yet all of these explicitly American concepts have a common theme, they are anti-rational manifestations of the general fascist desire to bring about a despotic dictatorship of the most chauvinist forces in the country and capital. There is little one can do to sway a white supremacist because the entire frame of mind relies on a rejection of reality, as the recent debate proved with little doubt. Due to this the standard political discourse falls short of removing Fascism from power. As Jean Paul Sartre argued of the fascists, "They know that their remarks are frivolous, open to challenge. But they are amusing themselves, for it is their adversary who is obliged to use words responsibly, since he believes in words. The anti-Semites have the *right* to play

Recognizing the threat of American fascism cannot blind us to the fact that the Democrats have time and time again proved either incapable or unwilling to combat that Fascist threat, in fact they have often aided their efforts in congress or directly with state sponsored violence against protestors and the rounding up of undocumented people to be sent to concentration camps. The time has long passed to "vote blue no matter who," this is the time to explicitly and intentionally build unity amongst all workers separate from bourgeois Institutions. Only we can save ourselves. As Malcolm X said in his famous "Ballot or the Bullet" speech, the time is now, not tomorrow, not next election, but now, to build a united front that delivers the demands of the workers not in the halls of power but on the ground in every city in this country.

### **Building a Real Working Class Alternative**

Given these historical circumstances and the challenges the US working class faces in the era of resurgent fascism, it is essential that we bring this united banner of solidarity against hate, real democracy, and universal access to healthcare, jobs, housing, and the tools necessary to live fulfilling lives to every corner of the country. It is the business of electoral reformists to conceive of the country as "red and blue states." For too long the US left has lived exclusively in urban enclaves and favored national issues campaigns over local organizing.

"The US left is often quick to praise the work of the interwar CPUSA in organizing the south and black communities, but in contemporary practice often re-



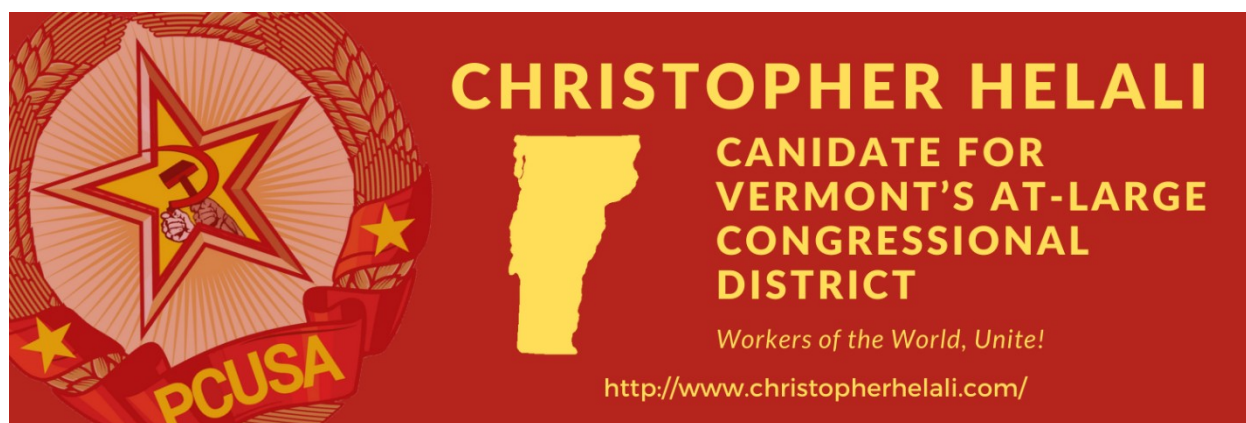
nounces the deep ideological struggle required to do such things, and refuses to redress themselves to the contradictions within the US working class, even sometimes refusing to acknowledge that US working class exists.”

Everywhere reaction and hatred is, we must be there to counter it with working class organization, journalism, and mutual aid. In Orlando, Alabama, New Jersey, New York City, and beyond, the American Party of Labor has found success in organizing through and allying with local working class organizations that bring a national program of working democracy and socialism. Stronger local organizations bring the great urgency of our platform to working people, and orient them with greater accuracy to the needs, worries, and demands of the working class.

In this era of electoral red, blue, and purple states, communists must intentionally cross those lines. In doing so, however, we have to be willing to speak to local people, address their concerns, and be willing to educate and discuss with those who hold reactionary positions. The US left is often quick to praise the work of the interwar CPUSA in organizing the south and black communities, but in contemporary practice often renounces the deep ideological struggle required to do such things,

and refuses to redress themselves to the contradictions within the US working class, even sometimes refusing to acknowledge that US working class exists. To defeat fascism, we have to face those influenced by the fascistization of US politics and discuss and educate them.

As fascism rises in the US, refusing to do the hard work of revolutionary organizing could prove a fatal mistake. For this reason, we say that we must defeat the rise of fascism with radical working class organizing, not just Trump, and not just with cynical, pragmatic, and “tactical” electioneering. More than anything else, we have to amplify the power of the workers of the world, who often feel powerless and blown about by fascist policy and anti-science fanaticism in 2020. We all felt and saw how alienated most of the country felt, both right and left, by the recent debate. That is the power of the socialist movement, to weaponize the discontent of the working class into organization and power. A national organization of working class people, deeply-linked with local organizations, can, like the revolutionary movements of the past, fundamentally remake society and vanquish fascism once, and for all.



## Communist (PCUSA) for Congress in Vermont!

By: Christopher J. Helali<sup>1</sup>

In August 2020, I announced my candidacy for Vermont’s At-Large Congressional District, running for Congress against incumbent Rep. Peter Welch (D), Miriam Berry (R), and four other independents. This was the first time a Communist has appeared on the ballot since the early 1980s when Gus Hall and Angela Davis ran for President and Vice-President respectively for the Communist Party USA (CPUSA). Currently, I am a member of the Politburo and Central Committee of the Party of Communists USA (PCUSA).<sup>2</sup>

The reason to run was a direct result of two major events: (1) the COVID-19 pandemic which has revealed the absolute barbarism of the capitalist system; and (2) the brutal attacks on black and brown peoples in the United States following the state sanctioned murders of George Floyd and others. As the contradictions of the capitalist system heighten and intensify, it is the duty of communists to go to the workers and farmers in order to organize them. Following V. I. Lenin’s theoretical and practical contribution on the importance of organizing both *outside* and *inside* parliament (or congress), it has

become necessary to use the bourgeois mass media and various platforms of the state to spread our message and propaganda to the widest audience.<sup>3</sup> As media and content is centralized into the hands of a few major technological monopolies, it becomes more difficult for the working class to hear alternative messages and ideas against the prevailing capitalist and imperialist orthodoxy. Our campaign has allowed us to break this information embargo and use the media to spread our ideas.

Make no mistake, we comrades have no illusions about seizing power via the ballot box. However, we see a failure of the left in the United States to move beyond small cliques, Marxist/ML/MLM reading groups, and online social media spaces. The task of communists is to go to the workers and farmers. Yet, we see the continued

failure of many communist parties to do just this. Our campaign has attempted to lead a principled effort in the rural areas of Vermont to organize and speak to farmers and workers who have learned about our campaign and what we stand for.

We are honored to be working with the Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL) on the ground here in Vermont. I had the honor of endorsing Gloria La Riva for President at a Black Lives Matter event in Burlington, VT on September 16, 2020. Gloria La Riva in turn wished our campaign victory and all the best in our efforts. The Party of Communists USA has been working with PSL and other comrades on the ground in Vermont to canvass and spread the word about our campaign.



*Christopher Helali with Gloria La Riva (PSL) and other comrades of PSL and the Liberty Union Party.*

It is a tremendous honor to have been endorsed by the Liberty Union Party, Vermonters for Justice in Palestine (VTJP), and the Yemen Solidarity Council. The Liberty Union Party is a recognized and official minor party in Vermont that is Vermont's only socialist party. It was the party that Bernie Sanders first ran under in the early 1970s. Michael Parenti also ran under the Liberty Union banner in the 1970s for U.S. Congress receiving approximately 7% of the vote.

As the only communist on the ballot for this election, the first communist in Vermont on the ballot since 1984, and the first communist on any ballot since the 1990's nationally, this is a historic moment. It is an opportunity to strike back on the McCarthyist and "Red Scare" tactics and openly announce not only our existence but our struggle with the working class against the ruling class. Most importantly, the results in November will allow us to assess the successes and failures (criti-



cism/self-criticism) of the campaign allowing us to further intensify the working-class struggle both within and

beyond electoral politics. Let us continue to struggle for socialism!

the oval to the right of the write-in line.  
 It vote for more candidates than the "VOTE for NOT MORE THAN #" for an office.  
 make a mistake, tear, or deface the ballot, return it to an election official and obtain another ballot. DO NOT ERASE

US PRESIDENT AND VICE Vote for not more than ONE	FOR REPRESENTATIVE TO CONGRESS Vote for not more than ONE	FOR SECRETARY OF STATE Vote for not more than ONE
PH R. BIDEN, Delaware	PETER R. BECKER, Rutland City	JIM CONDOS, Montpelier
MALA D. HARRIS, California	MIRIAM BERRY, Essex	CRIS ERICSON, Chester
BLANKENSHIP, West Virginia	CHRISTOPHER HELALI, Vershire	H. BROOKE PAIGE, Washington
L MOHR, Michigan	MARCIA HORNE, Barre City	PAMALA SMITH, Saint Albans City
N CARROLL, California	SHAWN ORR, Weston	(Write-in)
AR PATEL, Illinois	JERRY TRUDELL, Saint George	FOR AUDITOR OF ACCOUNTS Vote for not more than ONE
COLLINS, Wisconsin	PETER WELCH, Norwich	CRIS ERICSON, Chester
LY JOE PARKER, Georgia	(Write-in)	DOUG HOFFER, Burlington
'ROCKY' DE LA FUENTE, California		(Write-in)
CY G. RICHARDSON, F...		ORNEY GENERAL not more than ONE
ARD DUNCAN, Ohio		AN, Democratic
CH BUPP, Virginia		ON, Progressive
E HAWKINS, New York		PAIGE, Republican
ELA WALKER, South Ca		(Write-in)
E HUBER, Colorado		STATE SENATOR not more than ONE
NK ATWOOD, Colora		F, Republican
RGENSEN, South Carol		ACDONALD, Democratic
Y "SPIKE" COHEN, South Ca		(Write-in)
ON KENNEDY, Texas		E REPRESENTA not more than TWO
COLM JARRETT, Pennsy		TCH DAVIS, Progressive
SOCIALIST V		ROW, Democratic
ENLEY KOPITKE, Mich		RAHAM, Republican
YVONNE IWANOW, Wisc		LEFEBVRE, Republican
INDEP		LEAN, Democratic
OPHER LAFONTAINE, Verr		NEIDER, Independent
HAEL SPEED, Californ		(Write-in)
		(Write-in)
A LARIVA, California		FOR HIGH BAILIFF Vote for not more than ONE
IL FREEMAN, Maryla		GEORGE CONTOIS
LIBERTY		
MCCORMIC, Texas		
BLASIAK, Massachus		
BULL		
DOKE PAIGE, Vermor		
IAS JAMES WITMAN, Ge		
GRUMPY OIG		
K PIERCE, Puerto Rico		
LA BALLARD, Pennsy		
UNA		
MARY SCALF, Georgia		
THEW LYDA, Georgia		
INDEPENDENT		
ME SEGAL, Maryland		
N DE GRAAF, Washington		

**End The Wars.**  
**Vote Communist.**  
**Vote Christopher Helali.**

CANDIDATE FOR VERMONT'S AT-LARGE CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT  
 Workers of the World, Unite!  
<http://www.christopherhelali.com/>

1) Website: [www.christopherhelali.com](http://www.christopherhelali.com) Twitter: @ChrisHelali Email: [ChristopherHelali@gmail.com](mailto:ChristopherHelali@gmail.com)

2) I was a long-time member of the CPUSA and was even an observer member representing the state of Vermont at the 2019 CPUSA convention which celebrated the 100-year anniversary of the party in Chicago. Sadly, the revisionism, opportunism, and liquidationism under the leadership of Sam Webb and others have destroyed much of the revolutionary potential of the party and transformed a principled Marxist-Leninist party with nearly a century of struggle into one which parroted MSNBC talking points. Sadly, the CPUSA have become lackeys of the Democratic Party. The criticisms of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE), of which I wholly agree, can be found at: <http://interold.kke.gr/News/news2011/2011-04-13-kke-to-cpusa.html>.

3) V. I. Lenin, "Should We Participate in Bourgeois Parliaments?" in "Left-Wing" Communism: an Infantile Disorder. <https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1920/lwc/ch07.htm>.

Comment from the editor of TMLU: *We are reprinting the above article, which was submitted by its author, as an example of what can be done in the electoral arena by an independent revolutionary running under the banner of a group calling itself communist. However, we in no way want to give credit to the PCUSA (or the CPUSA) as a communist organization, from which we broke away two years ago because of the extreme opportunism of its leader.*

We reprint this beautiful but relatively little-known poem by the great German anti-fascist playwright and poet, Bertolt Brecht. Although it was written for the anniversary of Lenin's death, we are reprinting it now in honor of the October Revolution.

## **The Carpet Weavers of Kuyan-Bulak Honor Lenin**

*Bertolt Brecht*

Often he was honored and profusely  
The Comrade Lenin. Busts there are and statues.  
Cities were named after him and children.  
Speeches are made in numerous languages  
Rallies there are and demonstrations  
From Shanghai to Chicago, in honor of Lenin.  
But thus they honored him  
The carpet weavers of Kuyan-Bulak  
A small village in southern Turkistan:  
  
Twenty carpet weavers stand there in the evening  
Shivering with fever, in front of their humble loom.  
Fever runs riot: the railway station  
Teeming with buzzing mosquitoes – a thick cloud  
Arising from the swamp behind the old camel cemetery.  
But the train, which  
Once in two weeks brings water and smoke, brings  
Also the news one day  
That the day for honoring Lenin lies ahead  
And so decide the people of Kuyan-Bulak  
Carpet weavers, poor folk  
That for the Comrade Lenin also in their village  
A gypsum bust would be installed.  
But as the money is collected for the bust  
All of them stand  
Trembling with fever and contribute  
Their hard earned kopecks with wobbling hands.  
And the Red Army soldier Stepa Jamal, who  
Carefully counts and meticulously watches,  
Sees the readiness, to honor Lenin, and is filled with joy.  
But he also sees the uncertain hands.  
And all of a sudden he makes a proposal  
To buy petroleum with the money collected for the bust  
In order to pour it on the swamp behind the camel

cemetery  
From where the mosquitoes come, which  
Cause the fever  
Thus to combat the fever in Kuyan-Bulak, and indeed  
To honor the late, but  
Not to be forgotten  
Comrade Lenin.

This was agreed to. On the day of paying respect to  
Lenin they carried  
Their battered buckets, filled with black petroleum  
One behind the other  
Over there and spread it on the swamp.

So they benefited themselves, in paying homage to Lenin  
and  
Paid homage to him, in that they benefited themselves  
and had  
Therefore understood him well.

2

We have heard how the Kuyan-Bulak folk  
Paid their respect to Lenin. As now in the evening  
The petroleum had been bought and discharged over the  
swamp  
Stood up a man in the assembly, and he demanded  
That a commemoration stone be erected at the railway  
station  
Reporting these events, containing  
The altered plan and the exchange  
Instead of Lenin's bust the fever eradicating petroleum  
barrel,  
And all this in honor of Lenin  
And they did that too  
And mounted the slab.

## Natural History Museum's Racist Statue Still Stands, despite de Blasio's Promise to Remove It

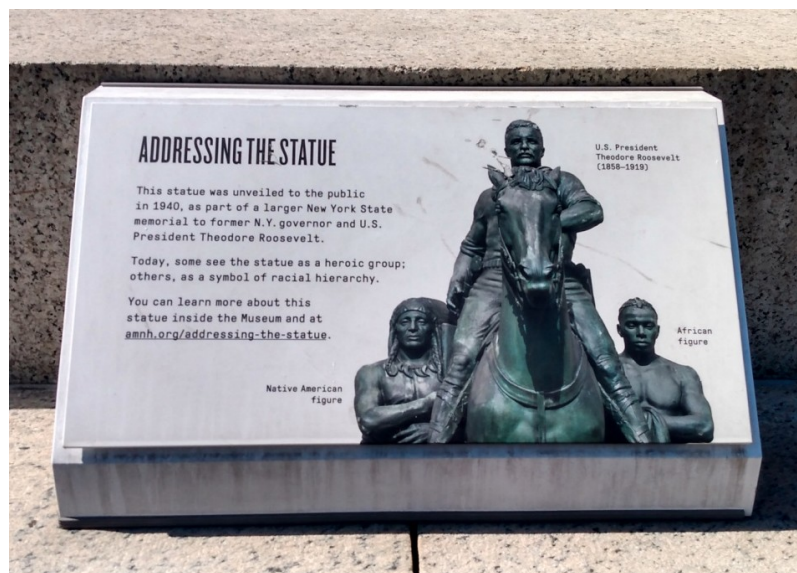
One of the targets in the fight to remove racist statues as part of the Black Lives Matter movement this summer was one of Teddy Roosevelt on a horse, with an African and Native American servant walking next to him. This statue is in front of the American Museum of Natural History, where it has been seen by literally millions of people, including schoolchildren. At that time, the office of liberal NYC Mayor de Blasio stated: "It is the right decision and the right time to remove this problematic statue." (See TMLU Vol. 2, Num. 1)

The museum had been closed at the height of the

pandemic, and has only recently been reopened. While it was closed would have been a perfect time to remove the statue. But of course, this did not happen.

Instead, a small sign has been placed at the base of the statue. It says in part: "Today, some see the statue as a heroic group; others, as a symbol of racial hierarchy." (Doesn't this remind one of Trump's statement after the racist protests in Charlottesville, Virginia, that there were "very fine people on both sides"?)

Maybe NYC's Mayor should now be called de *Bliesio*!



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## Fully Reopen the Libraries, Provide a Full-Day In-Person Option for the Schools, House the Homeless, Reopen the Subways 24 Hours a Day!

New York City libraries can now only be used to pick up books reserved on line, so people cannot browse for a book that might interest them. Also, the research libraries are totally closed. Finally, bathrooms are closed, which particularly affects homeless and elderly people. They should be fully reopened, even if necessary with timed-entry tickets.

Now that so many parents have been scared into keeping their children home and going to school only on-line, there is plenty of room for a full-day in-person option. De Blasio brags about the success of the partial reopening of schools (there have been extremely few cases of Covid in the schools, and practically none among children), why not allow this option.

Homeless people, many of whom had stayed in the subway system, have had to stay in the streets. Now the

weather is getting colder, so this option is very unsafe. All homeless people who want to could easily be housed for free in hotels, which are practically empty.

The subways have been closed from 1 AM to 5 AM during the pandemic for cleaning. Besides being a total inconvenience for people who have to travel during these hours, the subways have been a last resort for people who have nowhere else to live. They could still be cleaned every night, even if people would have to move from one part of the station to another while the area was being cleaned. (I had to spend a night in an airport as the restrictions were being imposed, and had to move every few hours as the area was being cleaned. It was annoying but better than having nowhere to sleep.)

## Gov. Cuomo and the New York State Legislature Make Ballot Access More Difficult for Third Parties

New York has always been one of the more restrictive states in terms of ballot access for third parties. One had to have at least 50,000 votes in the race for governor to maintain ballot access for third parties, or one would have to get a huge number of signatures (spread among many counties) to run a candidate for president. Now the “Democratic” Party changed the rules, so that one has to receive 130,000 votes (more than twice as many as before) or get 2% of the vote to maintain ballot access. While it is claimed that this is a measure aimed at the

“Working Families Party,” this makes little sense since that party has always been a shill for the Democrats (running candidates already endorsed by the Democratic Party, thus providing another line for people who think that this is a progressive alternative). It is clearly aimed at parties such as the Greens, which they are afraid could take votes away from the Democrats. (See <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/25/nyregion/fusion-ballot-ny-working-families.html>)

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## Humor and Stupidity Article

### Is this next, Mr. Cuomo (“Not my Governor”)

While Cuomo hasn’t (yet) proposed that everyone wear hazmat suits (which do prevent a virus, unlike masks), he has now said that New Yorkers should not travel to 40 states, almost the whole country, including NY, PA, CT and MA, though he admits that it is not practical to prevent travel to the states listed.

#### • Does Covid-19 use a time machine?

I went to a location that has indoor dining for the first time. One has to give one’s name and contact information, which went on a hand-written list, which is sent



to the health department at the end of the day. If anyone on the list tests positive for Covid-19, everyone on the list for that day will be contacted and asked to get tested or quarantine for 14 days.

So if I ate at noon, and someone came in at 6 PM and tested positive, how can I catch the virus from someone who came in 6 hours later?

#### • Does Covid affect people who are sitting more than ones who are standing or walking?

As I live in an apartment that has poor heat in the winter (cheap landlord) and poor cooling in the summer (poor wiring) I often read or write outside my apartment. I used to go to the library, which is not possible now, so I tried to go to the local Barnes & Noble, which had nice seats where one could read. However, now they have removed the seats, and even blocked the windows where one could sit on the large sills. so apparently Covid doesn’t bother people who are standing or walking around.

#### • De Blasio wants kids to only trick-or-treat outside.

In New York, the huge majority of people live in apartment buildings. So how can kids trick-or-treat outside? Too bad his kids are too old for Halloween or they might rebel against their father.



*Raul Marco, the head of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist), died earlier this month. He was one of the early leaders in the fight against modern revisionism, and in particular against Santiago Carrillo and his followers in Spain. He was one of the founders of the new party in 1964. In honor of his memory, we reprint his article below from Unity & Struggle #32, the organ of the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations.*

## Is There a Need for a Marxist-Leninist International?

There is no meeting or gathering of various parties that does not end with “long live proletarian internationalism.” The beautiful slogan “**Workers of the world, unite!**”, first used in the *Communist Manifesto*, is shouted and repeated, but are we really aware of what these words mean? Marx and Engels opposed these words and slogans to the idealist slogan used until then: “All men are brothers,” which obviously did not correspond to reality. To read and consider the ideas of the *Communist Manifesto* (considering that on some issues there is a logical gap) has always led to the need to materialize the slogan, to put it into practice.

Marx insisted that we not forget that:

*“Past experience has shown how disregard of that bond of brotherhood which ought to exist between the workmen of different countries, and incite them to stand firmly by each other in all their struggles for emancipation, will be chastised by the common discomfiture of their incoherent efforts.”* [Inaugural Address of the International Working Men’s Association]

Solidarity among the proletarians of the world and its peoples is the soul of **proletarian internationalism**. We communists all refer to it and try to apply it in our relations, not always successfully and often superficially; however we take up that principle as a vital necessity and we try to give it meaning to the extent of our forces. The ICMLPO from the beginning, since we founded it over 20 years ago, insisted in the Communist Proclamation (August of 1994),

*“We reaffirm our decision to hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism, to fight for its application, to transform our parties and organisations into political, social and organisational alternatives, nationally and internationally. Our parties and organisations reaffirm their decision to fight together with the working class and peoples, with the democrats, patriots and progressives, to oppose the struggle for the social revolution of the proletariat to capitalist domination.”*

We have made progress, in some places or countries more than in others, but we are still very far, not only from achieving our strategic objectives, that is, the revolution, but from the unity of action that goes beyond the framework of our meetings and conferences, which are really an important step, but, in my judgment, one that is no longer sufficient; it remains a little narrow.

*“Proletarian internationalism is, above all, the scientific ideology of the community of interests of the working class of all countries and nations. Secondly, it is*



*the feeling of solidarity of workers of all countries, the fraternity of men of labor. Thirdly, it is a certain type of relationship between the national detachments of the working class. These relationships are based on unity and harmony in action, on mutual aid and support. They are based on the principle of free acceptance, of the consciousness that such relationships correspond to the vital interests of the workers of all countries.”* (Otto V. Kuusinen, “The historic mission of the working class.”)

We have always maintained the idea of the need to advance towards the formation of the International. We have set it as a necessity, as a valid objective for the building and development of the workers’ and people’s movement. As a pending task that we must address step by step, without rushing or improvising, but without putting it off indefinitely.

Of course one cannot skip steps; we are faced with complex international and national circumstances, with great differences from one region to another. The circumstances are not the same in countries like Germany or France as those in Morocco, Ivory Coast, Ecuador or Turkey. These differences in circumstances, if we analyze them concretely, show **particular** characteristics that must be taken into account in order to implement **general** resolutions. The Seventh Congress of the Third International (Comintern) specified the need to “**...start from the concrete conditions and particularities of each country in order to resolve all issues.**”

However, it seems to me that a cursory analysis of the current world situation and the degree of development of the ICMLPO, the uneven development of its components, which is logical and inevitable, leads us to ask whether there are already some conditions to take more decisive and concrete steps toward that goal that is so far, unconsciously, abstract.

We communists must take into account our past, to see the pros and cons of the trajectory of the international communist movement, to make use of its experiences in just measure, both positive and negative, but always bearing in mind that we are working for the present and the future, and that the past is just that, the past.

For example, it is interesting to see how Lenin<sup>1</sup> defined each of the Internationals and some of the conclusions that he drew from this analysis:

*"The First International laid the foundation of the proletarian, international struggle for socialism.*

*"The Second International marked a period in which the soil was prepared for the broad, mass spread of the movement in a number of countries."*<sup>2</sup>

*"The Third International has gathered the fruits of the work of the Second International, discarded its opportunist, social-chauvinist, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois dross, and has begun to implement the dictatorship of the proletariat [Lenin's emphasis].*

*"...The epoch-making significance of the Third, Communist International lies in its having begun to give effect to Marx's cardinal slogan, the slogan which sums up the centuries-old development of socialism and the working-class movement, the slogan which is expressed in the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This prevision and this theory – the prevision and theory of a genius – are becoming a reality.... A new era in world history has begun. Mankind is throwing off the last form of slavery: capitalist, or wage, slavery.*

*"...How is it that one of the most backward countries of Europe was the first country to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to organize a Soviet republic? We shall hardly be wrong if we say that it is this contradiction between the backwardness of Russia and the 'leap' she has made over bourgeois democracy to the highest form of democracy, to Soviet, or proletarian, democracy – it is this contradiction that has been one of the reasons (apart from the dead weight of opportunist habits and philistine prejudices that burdened the majority of the socialist leaders) why people in the West have had particular difficulty or have been slow in understanding the role of the Soviets.*

*"The working people all over the world have instinctively grasped the significance of the Soviets as an instrument in the proletarian struggle and as a form of the proletarian state. But the 'leaders', corrupted by opportunism, still continue to worship bourgeois democ-*

*racy, which they call 'democracy' in general.*

*"...Leadership in the revolutionary proletarian International has passed for a time – for a short time, it goes without saying – to the Russians, just as at various periods of the nineteenth century it was in the hands of the British, then of the French, then of the Germans. ...it was easier for the Russians than for the advanced countries to begin the great proletarian revolution, but it will be more difficult for them to continue it and carry it to final victory, in the sense of the complete organization of a socialist society"*

To emphasize the importance of the great work carried out by the Comintern (or Third International), it is not necessary to know a little of the history of the international communist movement. It was created for a specific situation, by the need to break with the opportunism and social-chauvinism into which some members of the Second International and its leaders fell, "philistines" as Lenin often characterized them. That is, it was not created for its own sake, but because it was necessary to develop and promote the struggle and work of the parties of the proletariat, in a concrete reality and situation, it had to give concrete answers. And the Third International did this dutifully. It put forward and promoted the formation of popular fronts. It is worth recalling that at its Second Congress, the Third International adopted 21 conditions to be fulfilled by the parties that wished to join it.

Why were those conditions adopted at the Second Congress and not at the First?

*"When the First Congress was convened, only communist trends and groups existed in most countries. It is in a different situation that the Second World Congress of the Communist International is meeting. In most countries, Communist parties and organizations, not merely trends, now exist.... The Second International has definitely been smashed. Aware that the Second International is beyond hope, the intermediate parties and groups of the "Centre" are trying to lean on the Communist International... they hope to retain a degree of 'autonomy'... The desire of certain leading "Centre" groups to join the Third International provides oblique confirmation that it [the Third International]... is becoming a more powerful force with each day. In certain circumstances, the Communist International may be faced with the danger of dilution by the influx of wavering and irresolute groups that have not as yet broken with their Second International ideology."*

These considerations should make us reflect. It is not about establishing parallels, let us say historical ones, because although there are similar situations that could lead us to compare them, the conclusions cannot be the same, given that the situations, although similar, are not identical. If we do not analyze them concretely, in practice, we cannot draw correct conclusions.

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<sup>1</sup> "The Third International and Its Place in History," V.I. Lenin, 1919

<sup>2</sup> "The Second International (1889-1914) was an international organization of the proletarian movement whose growth proceeded in *breadth*, at the cost of a temporary drop in the revolutionary level, a temporary strengthening of opportunism, which in the end led to the disgraceful collapse of this International" (ibid.).

Keeping the above in mind, it is worth taking a look at some of the 21 conditions for admission to the Third International:

“1. ...Propaganda must be carried out in such a way that its necessity is comprehensible to every simple worker, every woman worker, every peasant.... The publishing houses must not be allowed to abuse their independence and pursue policies that do not entirely correspond to the policies of the party..

“3. ...the communists can place no trust in bourgeois legality. They have the obligation of setting up a parallel, clandestine, organizational apparatus which, at the decisive moment, can assist the party to do its duty to the revolution.

“6. Every party that wishes to belong to the Communist International has the obligation to unmask not only open social-patriotism but also the insincerity and hypocrisy of social-pacifism, to show the workers systematically that, without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international court of arbitration, no agreement on the limitation of armaments, no ‘democratic’ reorganization of the League of Nations will be able to prevent new imperialist wars.

“8. ...Every party that wishes to belong to the Communist International has the obligation of exposing the dodges of its ‘own’ imperialists in the colonies, of supporting every liberation movement in the colonies not only in words but in deeds...

“9. ...must systematically and persistently develop communist activities within the trades unions and other mass workers’ organizations.

“11. ...have the obligation to subject the personal composition of their parliamentary factions to review, to remove all unreliable elements from them and to subordinate these factions to the party leadership, not only in words but also in deeds.

“12. ...the communist party will only be able to fulfil its duty if it is organized in as centralist a manner as possible, if iron discipline reigns within it and if the party center, sustained by the confidence of the party membership, is endowed with... the most far-reaching powers..

“13. The communist parties of those countries in which the communists can carry out their work legally must from time to time undertake purges (re-registration) of the membership of their party organizations in order to cleanse the party systematically of the petty-bourgeois elements within it.

“16. ...the Communist International and its Executive Committee must take into account the differing conditions under which the individual parties have to fight and work, and only take generally binding decisions in cases where such decisions are possible.”

These aspects contained in the 21 conditions are interesting. But, we repeat, we must use them as a guide and orientation, but we must avoid mechanically copying them since the present circumstances are not the same as in 1919.

Clearly the Comintern or Third International played an important role generally. It is no accident that reaction and the various opportunist and revisionist trends vilely attacked and slandered the International. One must recall how the Chinese revisionists ended up declaring that the Chinese revolution took place against the opinion and even pressure from the International. We have personally heard it said that Stalin advised them to unite with Chiang Kai-shek, and they devised the formulation that, **despite everything**, Stalin was more positive than **negative**, to disguise their anti-Stalinism. That way they demarcated themselves from the Khrushchevites, but only in form.

The revisionists in Spain, France, Italy, etc. developed in their own way policies that are essentially the negation of internationalism, of all that the Third International advocated. What else are the vaunted “national roads”; “national reconciliation,” in Spain, “peaceful coexistence”; what is Eurocommunism, but reducing collaboration, in words, to one part of the world? What is the whole of Togliatti’s theory of “historic compromise” with its bourgeoisie? They all attacked the Third International, in which they had participated and availed themselves of its help in all fields. Those opportunists and renegades ended up claiming that the International was good for nothing. The evolution of these revisionists and their cliques is very instructive, from fighters for “freedom, peace and social justice” they became champions of bourgeois democracy. They abandoned Leninism, in a word, they betrayed it. What is not very clear is whether their trajectory was the result of a degeneration, or something premeditated and implemented gradually. The case of Santiago Carrillo in Spain is classical: he was making his way up to become Secretary General of the Communist Party of Spain, eliminating all obstacles to this, even physically, as Enrique Lister denounced in his book “Basta!” [Enough]

Was the dissolution of the Comintern in 1943 correct, or was it a mistake? There are serious doubts about this. It is true that World War II, the struggle against Nazi fascism, against Hitler’s empire, etc., did not facilitate the functioning of the leadership of the International. It is a matter to analyze, however one thing is clear: its dissolution had very negative consequences, such as the attitude of some parties, after the war and the defeat of Germany, to postpone the class struggle for the reconstruction of the country, that is, for capitalist reconstruction (in the case of France and Italy, for example).

And the revisionist degeneration. Could that ideological degeneration that so severely struck the international communist movement have been avoided? It is difficult to say one way or the other. The International was not a vaccine, it was not a guarantee against ideological and political deviations, it could not assure that no deviations, fractions, revisionists manifestations, etc. would arise. But we can also say that the ideological dis-

persion in no way favors the communist detachments, quite the contrary.

It is not easy to make judgments after the fact, but we must bear in mind that the existence of the International, led by the communists (Leninists) creates an obligation for all its components, to take a clear stand on important issues, which helps to break the resistance to change. Periodic conferences that set global tasks can break with the indifferentism [the view that differences between political trends are of no importance – *translator's note*] of the opportunists.

The ICMLPO is advancing, taking very positive steps and the plenary meetings are good political and ideological platforms. This is evident and it is already being felt. But precisely because of this we can say that the discussions, meetings and conferences of our parties and organizations, cannot take the place of an International. It is good to have discussions and draw conclusions, internal and public. But that is no longer enough. Practice demands more efforts from us, **more work in common to build a real and iron unity.**

Throughout these years of rupture with and struggle against revisionism and opportunism, of much talk of unity, etc., we have seen how in practice some parties imposed their points of view drawn up unilaterally. It is true that at the beginning of the 1970s, the parties with more experience took on excessive responsibility, while those that were ideologically weak fell into confusion and tailed after the strong ones.

Can one say that if there had been an international, that could have been avoided? Possibly, because having a collective leadership, the whole necessary organizational framework, the problems would have been kept in check. The dissolution of the International, despite the existing conditions in the world in 1943, can be considered an error.

The resolution of the Presidium of the International of May 1943, states:

*"Guided by the judgment of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, communists have never been supporters of the conservation of organizational forms that have outlived themselves. They have always subordinated forms of organization of the working-class movement and the methods of working of such organizations, to the fundamental political interest of the working-class movement as a whole, to the peculiarities of the concrete historical situation and to the problems immediately resulting from this situation....."*

*"Taking into account the growth and political maturity of the communist parties and their leading cadres in the separate countries, and also having in view the fact that during the present war some sections have*

*raised the question of the dissolution of the Communist International as the directing centre of the international working-class movement, the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, in the circumstances of the World War not being able to convene a congress of the Communist International, puts forward.... The Communist International, as the directing centre of the international working-class movement, is to be dissolved..."*

The situation hampered the functioning of the Comintern, that is undeniable, but it did not justify its dissolution. The argument of the maturity of the parties, of their leading cadres, in this case made it possible to keep alive the internationalist spirit in that situation of world war, but later it was generally diluted to a bourgeois nationalism. That same argument was used in the years 1970-80, by those who opposed multilateral meetings and managed to put off the unity achieved today, sowing division among the Marxist-Leninist parties, practicing a lamentable tailism, which subsequently led some to disappear.

It is necessary, with all necessary prudence, to propose taking firmer and more concrete steps towards an international body. We are conscious of the difficulties, there are many aspects to be taken into account, organizations to be set up, etc., etc. including statutes or rules, including a geographical center, as well as ensuring minimum finances.

All this has to be prepared thoroughly, without improvising. It is not a simple task of some weeks or months. It will take time, a long time, but we must begin by deepening the unity of thought and action, linking theory to practice, of all the parties and organizations that make up the ICMLPO. And the new ones that will be coming.

In today's world, in which the inter-imperialist contradictions are growing, in which the proletariat still is not fully consciousness of the historic role it has to play, the active unity of the communists and therefore of the international organization that succeeds in unifying platforms and positions, becomes more urgent. It is not a matter of returning to the past, but of dealing the present looking towards the future with determination, clarity of ideas, organizational firmness, concrete functioning, with determination and a new discipline. And to give no quarter to those persistent vacillators who still cannot decide, and who can sow demoralization.

*"Revolution is a great and terrible thing, it is not a game for dilettantes or a romantic adventure"* (Gramsci)

March of 2016



*Raúl Marco, el jefe del Partido Comunista de España (marxista-leninista), murió a principios de este mes. Fue uno de los primeros líderes en la lucha contra el revisionismo moderno y, en particular, contra Santiago Carrillo y sus seguidores en España. Fue uno de los fundadores del nuevo partido en 1964. En honor a su memoria, reimprimimos su artículo de Unidad y Lucha # 32, el órgano de la Conferencia Internacional de Partidos y Organizaciones Marxista-Leninistas.*

## ¿Hace falta la Internacional Marxista-Leninista?

No hay mitin o reunión de varios partidos, que no acabe con un «viva al internacionalismo proletario». La hermosa consigna lanzada en el Manifiesto Comunista, **«Proletarios de todos los países, uníos»** se grita y se repite, mas, ¿somos realmente conscientes de lo que significan esas palabras? Palabras, consigna, que Marx y Engels opusieron a la consigna idealista hasta entonces utilizada de «Todos los hombres son hermanos» que, evidentemente, no correspondía a la realidad. Leer y sopesar los planteamientos del Manifiesto Comunista, (teniendo en cuenta que en algunas cuestiones existe un lógico desfase), llevan siempre a la necesidad de materializar esa consigna, de llevarla a la práctica.

Marx insistía en no olvidar que,

**«La experiencia del pasado nos enseña cómo el olvido de los lazos fraternales que deben existir entre los trabajadores de los diferentes países y que deben incitarles a sostenerse unos a otros en todas sus luchas por la emancipación, es castigado con la derrota común de sus esfuerzos aislados.»**

La solidaridad entre los proletarios del mundo, y sus pueblos es el alma del **internacionalismo proletario**. Todos los comunistas nos referimos a él y tratamos de aplicarlo en nuestras relaciones, no siempre con acierto y a menudo superficialmente; empero asumimos como una necesidad vital ese principio y procuramos darle sentido en la medida de nuestras fuerzas. La CIPOML desde el principio, desde que la fundamos hace ya más de veinte años, insistíamos en la Proclama Comunista, (agosto de 1994),

**«Ratificamos nuestra decisión de mantener en alto la bandera del marxismo-leninismo, de luchar por su aplicación, de convertir nuestros partidos y organizaciones en una alternativa política y social, organizativa, a escala nacional e internacional. Nuestros Partidos y organizaciones reafirman su decisión de combatir junto a la clase obrera y los pueblos, junto a los demócratas, patriotas y progresistas, para oponer a la dominación capitalista la lucha por la revolución social del proletariado.»**

Algo hemos avanzado, en unos lugares o países más que en otros, pero estamos aún muy lejos, no solo de alcanzar nuestros objetivos estratégicos, es decir, la revolución, sino de una unidad de acción que rebase el marco de nuestras reuniones y conferencias, que son realmente

un paso importante, pero que, a juicio mío, ya no es suficiente, se queda un poco estrecho.



«El internacionalismo proletario es, ante todo, la ideología científica de la comunidad de intereses de la clase obrera de todos los países y naciones. En segundo lugar, es el sentimiento de solidaridad de los trabajadores de todos los países, de fraternidad de los hombres del trabajo. En tercero, es un determinado tipo de relaciones entre los destacamentos nacionales de la clase obrera. Dichas relaciones se basan en la unidad y armonía de acción, en la ayuda y el apoyo recíprocos. Se basan en el principio de libre aceptación, en la conciencia de que tales relaciones responden a los intereses vitales de los obreros de todos los países.» (V. Kuusinen, «La misión histórica de la clase obrera». Editorial Grijalbo, 1959)

Siempre hemos mantenido la idea de la necesidad de avanzar hacia la constitución de la Internacional. Nos lo hemos planteado como una necesidad, como un objetivo válido, para la construcción y desarrollo del movimiento obrero y popular. Como una tarea pendiente que debemos abordar paso a paso, sin precipitaciones ni improvisaciones, mas sin dejarla para las calendas griegas.

Claro que no se pueden quemar etapas, que atravesamos por circunstancias internacionales y nacionales, complejas, con grandes diferencias de una región a otra. No son las mismas circunstancias las que se dan en países como Alemania, o Francia, con las que se dan en Marruecos, o Costa de Marfil, o Ecuador y Turquía. Esas diferencias de circunstancias al analizarlas concretamente, señalan características **particulares** que hay que tener en cuenta al llevar a la práctica resoluciones **generales**. En el VII Congreso de la III Internacional (Komintern), se precisaba la necesidad de **«...partir de las condicio-**

**nes y particularidades concretas de cada país al resolver todas las cuestiones.»**

Sin embargo, paréceme que un somero análisis de la actual situación del mundo y el grado de desarrollo de la CIPOML, desarrollo desigual de sus componentes, como es lógico e inevitable, nos lleva a plantear si se dan ya algunas condiciones para dar pasos más decididos y concretos hacia ese objetivo hasta ahora, inconscientemente, abstracto.

Los comunistas debemos tener en cuenta nuestro pasado, ver los pros y los contras de la andadura del movimiento comunista internacional, sacar y utilizar en justa medida las experiencias, tanto las positivas como las negativas, pero siempre teniendo en cuenta que trabajamos para el presente y el futuro y que el pasado, es eso, pasado.

Por ejemplo, es interesante ver cómo Lenin<sup>5</sup>[1] definía cada una de las internacionales y alguna de las conclusiones que extrae de ese análisis:

*La I Internacional echó los cimientos de la lucha proletaria internacional por el socialismo.*

*La II Internacional marca la época de la preparación del terreno para una amplia extensión del movimiento entre las masas en una serie de países<sup>6</sup>[2].*

*La III Internacional ha recogido los frutos del trabajo de la II Internacional, ha amputado la parte corrompida, oportunista, social chovinista, burguesa y pequeñoburguesa y ha comenzado a implantar la dictadura del proletariado [subrayado por Lenin]*

*(...) La importancia histórica universal de la III Internacional, de la Internacional Comunista, reside en que ha comenzado a llevar a la práctica la consigna más importante de Marx, la consigna que resume el desarrollo del socialismo y del movimiento obrero a lo largo de un siglo, la consigna expresada en este concepto : dictadura del proletariado. Esta previsión genial, esta teoría genial se está transformando en realidad (...) Ha comenzado una nueva época en la historia universal. La humanidad se sacude la última forma de esclavitud: la esclavitud capitalista, o sea, la esclavitud asalariada. (...) ¿Cómo ha podido suceder que haya sido precisamente uno de los países más atrasados de Europa el primero en implantar la dictadura del proletariado, en organizar la República Soviética? Quizá no nos equivocemos si afirmamos que precisamente esta contradicción entre el atraso de Rusia y su “salto” a la democra-*

*cia, a la democracia soviética o proletaria, por encima de la democracia burguesa; que precisamente esta contradicción ha sido una de las causas (además del peso de las costumbres oportunistas y de los prejuicios filisteos sobre la mayoría de los jefes socialistas, que hizo particularmente difícil o retardó la comprensión del papel de los Soviets como arma de lucha del proletariado. Pero los “líderes” corrompidos por el oportunismo, seguían y siguen rindiendo culto a la democracia burguesa, calificándola de “democracia” en general.*

*(...) Temporalmente —se sobrentiende que sólo por poco tiempo— la hegemonía en la Internacional revolucionaria del proletariado, ha pasado a los rusos, tal como pasó en diversos periodos del siglo XIX, a los ingleses, luego a los franceses y más tarde a los alemanes. (...) en comparación con los países adelantados a los rusos les ha sido más fácil comenzar la gran revolución proletaria, pero les será más difícil continuarla y llevarla hasta el triunfo definitivo, en el sentido de la organización completa de la sociedad socialista (Subrayado por Lenin).*

Destacar la importancia de la gran labor llevada a cabo por el Komintern (o III Internacional) no es necesario a poco que se conozca la historia del movimiento comunista internacional. Se creó ante una situación concreta, de necesidad de romper con el oportunismo y social chovinismo en el que cayeron algunos de los integrantes de la II Internacional y sus dirigentes «filisteos» como los calificaba a menudo Lenin. Es decir, no se creó porque sí, sino porque era necesario para desarrollar e impulsar la lucha y el trabajo de los partidos del proletariado, ante un panorama y situación concretos, había que dar respuestas concretas. Y la III Internacional las dio cumplidamente. Se teorizó e impulsó la constitución de los frentes populares. Vale la pena recordar que en su segundo Congreso, la III Internacional aprobó 21 condiciones a cumplir por los partidos que quisieran adherirse a ella.

¿Por qué esas condiciones aprobadas en el segundo congreso y no en el primero? :

*En la época en que se desarrolló el primer congreso, en la mayoría de los países sólo existían tendencias y grupos comunistas. El segundo congreso (...) se reúne en otras condiciones. En la mayoría de los países existen ahora, en lugar de tendencias y grupos, partidos y organizaciones comunistas. (...) La II internacional está irremediablemente derrotada. Los partidos intermedios y los grupos de «centro», considerando desesperada su situación, se esfuerzan por apoyarse en la Internacional comunista (...) esperando conservar sin embargo una «autonomía» El deseo de algunos grupos dirigentes del «centro» de adherir a la III Internacional (...) nos confirma indirectamente (que la III Internacional) constituye una fuerza que crece constantemente. La Internacional comunista está amenazada por la invasión de grupos*

<sup>5</sup> «La Tercera Internacional y su lugar en la historia». V.I. Lenin, 1919

<sup>6</sup> «La II Internacional (1889-1914) ha sido una organización internacional del movimiento proletario, cuyo crecimiento se desarrollaba en amplitud, cosa que no dejó de influir en el descenso temporal del nivel revolucionario, en el fortalecimiento temporal del oportunismo que, en fin de cuentas, llevó a dicha internacional a una banca rota ignominiosa» (Ibídem)

*vacilantes e indecisos que aún no han podido romper con la ideología de la II Internacional.*

Esas consideraciones deben hacernos reflexionar. No se trata de establecer paralelos, digamos históricos, pues aunque se den situaciones similares que nos lleven a comparar, las conclusiones no pueden ser las mismas, dada que la situación, aunque similar, no es idéntica. Si no analizamos en concreto, en la práctica, no podremos sacar conclusiones acertadas.

Teniendo en cuenta lo anterior, vale la pena echar un vistazo a algunas de las 21 condiciones para la admisión en la III Internacional:

1. (...) La propaganda debe ser hecha de manera tal que su necesidad surja para todo trabajador, para toda obrera, para todo campesino. (...) Es inadmisibles que los órganos de publicidad abusen de su autonomía para llevar a cabo una política no conforme con la del partido.

3. (...) los comunistas no pueden fiarse de la legalidad burguesa. Es su deber crear en todas partes, paralelamente a la organización legal, un organismo clandestino, capaz de cumplir en el momento decisivo con su deber hacia la revolución.

6. Todo partido deseoso de pertenecer a la III Internacional debe denunciar tanto al social-patriotismo confesado como al social pacifismo hipócrita y falso; se trata de demostrar sistemáticamente a los trabajadores que sin la liquidación revolucionaria del capitalismo, ningún tribunal de arbitraje internacional, ningún debate sobre la reducción de armamentos, ninguna reorganización «democrática» de la Liga de las Naciones pueden preservar a la humanidad de las guerras imperialistas.

8. (...) Todo partido perteneciente a la III Internacional tiene el deber de denunciar implacablemente las proezas de «sus» imperialistas en las colonias. De sostener, no con palabras, sino con hechos todo movimiento de emancipación de las colonias. (...)

9. (...) llevar a cabo una propaganda perseverante y sistemática en los sindicatos y otras organizaciones de masas obreras.

11. (...) tienen como deber revisar la composición de sus fracciones parlamentarias, separar a los elementos dudosos, someterlos, no con palabras sino con hechos, al Comité Central del Partido.

12. (...) el Partido comunista sólo podrá desempeñar su papel si está organizado del modo más centralizado posible, si es mantenida una disciplina de hierro cuasi militar y si su organismo central está unido de amplios poderes (...) y cuenta con la confianza unánime de los militantes.

13. Los partidos comunistas de los países donde los comunistas militan legalmente deben proceder a depuraciones periódicas de sus organizaciones con el objeto de separar a los elementos interesados o pequeñoburgueses.

16. la Internacional comunista y su Comité Ejecutivo deben tener en cuenta condiciones de lucha muy variadas en los diversos países y sólo adoptar resoluciones generales y obligatorias en los problemas donde ello sea posible.

Son interesantes estos aspectos contenidos en las 21 condiciones. Mas, hay que repetirlo, debemos tomarlos a título indicativo, incluso de orientación, pero huir del calco mecánico pues las circunstancias actuales no son las mismas que en 1919.

Está claro el importante papel que desempeñó, en líneas generales el Komintern o III Internacional. No es por casualidad que la reacción y los diferentes oportunismos y revisionismos han atacado y calumniado vilmente a la Internacional. Cabe recordar cómo los revisionistas chinos llegaron a declarar que la revolución china se llevó a cabo en contra de la opinión e incluso presión de la Internacional. Personalmente les hemos oído decir que Stalin les aconsejó que se unieran a Chiang Kai-Chek, y acuñaron la fórmula, para disimular su anti estalinismo que en Stalin, **pese a todo**, era más lo positivo que lo **negativo**. De esa manera se demarcaban de los jruschovistas, pero sólo en la forma.

Los revisionistas de España, Francia, Italia,... desarrollaron a su manera políticas que son en esencia la negación del internacionalismo, de todo lo que preconizaba la III Internacional. ¿Qué es sino las tan cacareadas «vías nacionales»; o la «reconciliación nacional», en España, la «coexistencia pacífica»; que es el eurocomunismo, sino el reducir la colaboración, de palabra, a una sola parte del mundo? ¿Qué es toda la teoría togliatiana de los «compromiso stórico» con su burguesía? Todos ellos atacaron a la III Internacional, en la que habían participado y aprovechado de su ayuda en todos los terrenos. Aquellos oportunistas y renegados, acabaron afirmando que la internacional no servía para nada. La evolución de esos revisionistas y sus camarillas, es harto elocuente, de luchadores por «la libertad, la paz, la justicia social» se convirtieron en adalides de la democracia burguesa. Abandonaron el leninismo, en una palabra, traicionaron. Lo que no está muy claro es si su trayectoria fue producto de una degeneración, o algo premeditado y llevado a la práctica poco a poco. El caso de Santiago Carrillo en España, es paradigmático: fue trepando hasta llegar a Secretario general del PCE, eliminando para ello todo obstáculo, incluso físicamente, como Enrique Lister denunció en su libro « ¡Basta!»

¿La disolución del Komintern en 1943, fue acertada, fue un error? Hay serias dudas al respecto. Ciertamente es que la Guerra Mundial, la lucha contra el nazi fascismo, contra el imperio hitleriano, etc., no facilitaba el funcionamiento de la dirección de la Internacional. Es una cuestión a analizar, empero una cosa es evidente: su disolución tuvo consecuencias muy negativas, como fue la ac-

titud de algunos partidos, después de la guerra y derrota de Alemania, de posponer la lucha de clases a la reconstrucción del país, es decir, la reconstrucción capitalista (caso de Francia e Italia, por ejemplo).

Y la degeneración revisionista. ¿Hubiera podido evitarse esa degeneración ideológica que tan duramente ha golpeado al movimiento comunista internacional? Es difícil afirmar una cosa o la otra. La Internacional no era una vacuna, no era una garantía contra las desviaciones ideológicas y políticas, no podía asegurar que no surgieran desviaciones, fracciones, manifestaciones revisionistas... Pero también se puede afirmar que la dispersión ideológica en nada favorece a los destacamentos comunistas, sino todo lo contrario.

No es fácil emitir juicios a posteriori, mas hay que tener en cuenta que la existencia de la Internacional, dirigida por los comunistas (leninistas) crea la obligación para todos sus componentes, de asumir una postura clara sobre las cuestiones importantes, lo que ayuda a romper el inmovilismo. Los congresos periódicos que fijan tareas globales, pueden impedir el indiferentismo de los oportunistas.

La CIPOML está avanzando, dando pasos muy positivos y las reuniones plenarias son buenas plataformas político-ideológicas. Eso es evidente y ya se deja sentir. Pero por eso precisamente, se puede afirmar que las discusiones, las reuniones y encuentros de nuestros partidos y organizaciones, no pueden suplir a una Internacional. Esta bien el discutir y sacar conclusiones internas y públicas. Pero eso ya no basta. La práctica nos exige más esfuerzos, **más trabajo en común para construir una auténtica y férrea unidad.**

A lo largo de estos años de ruptura y lucha contra el revisionismo y el oportunismo, de mucho hablar de unidad, etc., hemos visto como algunos partidos en la práctica imponían sus puntos de vista elaborados unilateralmente. Ciertamente es que al principio de los años sesenta, partidos con mayor experiencia, asumían una excesiva responsabilidad, mientras que los débiles ideológicamente caían en la confusión y el seguidismo hacia los fuertes.

¿Se puede decir que si hubiera existido una internacional, eso se hubiera podido evitar? Posiblemente, pues al haber una dirección colectiva, todo el entramado organizativo necesario, se atajan los problemas. La supresión de la Internacional, pese a las condiciones existentes en el mundo, en 1943, se puede considerar un error.

En la resolución del Presidium de la Internacional, mayo de 1943, se afirma:

*Los comunistas, guiados por la doctrina de los fundadores del marxismo-leninismo, nunca fueron partidarios de conservar formas caducas de organización, siempre supeditaron las formas de organización del movimiento obrero y los métodos de trabajo de esta organización a los intereses políticos vitales del movimiento*

*obrero en su conjunto, a las peculiaridades de la situación histórica concreta y a las tareas que se deducen directamente de esta situación.[...]*

*Teniendo en cuenta el crecimiento y la madurez política de los partidos comunistas y de sus cuadros dirigentes en los diversos países, y considerando además, que durante la guerra actual, una serie de secciones plantearon la cuestión de disolver la Internacional Comunista como centro dirigente del movimiento obrero internacional, el Presidium del Comité Ejecutivo de la Internacional Comunista, imposibilitado a consecuencia de la guerra mundial de convocar un Congreso (...) propone: Disolver la I.C. como centro dirigente...*

La situación dificultaba el funcionamiento del Komintern, eso es innegable, pero no justificaba su disolución. El argumento de la madurez de los partidos, de sus cuadros dirigentes, en tal caso hacia posible mantener en esa situación de guerra mundial, vivo el espíritu internacionalista que, luego, en líneas generales se diluyó en un nacionalismo burgués. Ese mismo argumento fue utilizado, en los años 70-80, por los que se oponían a las reuniones multilaterales y lograron retrasar la unidad hoy alcanzada, sembrando la división entre los partidos marxista-leninistas, practicando un seguidismo lamentable, que posteriormente llevó a algunos a la desaparición.

Es necesario, con toda la prudencia necesaria, plantearse el dar pasos más firmes y concretos hacia un organismo internacional. Somos conscientes de las dificultades, son muchos aspectos a tener en cuenta, organismos a montar, etc., etc. incluidos unos estatutos o normas, incluso un centro geográfico, además de asegurar unas finanzas mínimas.

Todo ello ha de prepararse concienzudamente, sin improvisaciones. No es tarea baladí, de unas semanas, o meses. Eso llevará tiempo, mucho tiempo, pues hay que empezar por profundizar la unidad de pensamiento y de acción, unir la teoría a la práctica, de todos los partidos y organizaciones que conformamos la CIPOML. Y de los nuevos que van a venir.

En el mundo actual, en el que las contradicciones interimperialistas crecen, donde todavía el proletariado no tiene conciencia cabal del papel histórico que ha de desempeñar, se hace más urgente la unidad activa de los comunistas y, por ende, de la organización internacional que logre unificar planteamientos y posiciones. No se trata de volver al pasado, sino de encarar el presente hacia el futuro con decisión, claridad de ideas, firmeza organizativa, funcionamiento concreto, con decisión y una nueva disciplina. Y no dar cuartel a los vacilantes pertinaces que no acaban de decidirse, y pueden sembrar desmoralización.

**«La revolución es algo grande y tremendo, no es un juego de diletantes o una aventura romántica»**  
(Gramsci)

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