

EDITORIAL: "CP" USA CONVENTION — SHOWS WHY WE MUST BUILD A GENUINE COMMUNIST PARTY!

As the communist movement moves forward in resolving key questions that we face, as we set forth the ideological, political and organizational lines and principles that will set the basis for the creation of a genuine communist party, as we move to unite Marxist-Leninists and win the advanced over to communism in the heat of the class struggle, the bourgeoisie begins to mobilize all its paid and unpaid agents to try and stop or deviate the forward motion of the communist movement. The bourgeoisie recognizes that the communist movement is going from lower to higher levels in its ideological political and organizational tasks. Therefore, they too have to make sure their agents go to higher levels in order to further stall their inevitable overthrow.

We already know how the bourgeois state apparatus has been working hard to repress the revolutionary movement, increasing the menace of fascism. But the bourgeoisie cannot even think of suppressing the communist movement if they don't have their agents in the communist and workers' movement doing their tasks of distorting and revising Marxism-Leninism, spreading bourgeois ideology within the ranks of the proletariat, and causing confusion, splits, anarchy, etc.

In this light we can understand clearly the significance of the 21st National Convention of the "Communist Party" USA which was held this past June. The "Communist Party" USA is a revisionist party - a party of the bourgeoisie, petty-bourgeoisie and labor aristocracy. Though it has the name "communist", it has degenerated into a revisionist party that has revived Bernstein's and Kautsky's theories, has promoted and further developed Khrushov's and Brezhnev's modern revisionism.

On Feb. 1, 1975, the "CP"USA presented the "Draft Main Political Resolutions for the 21st National

Convention" of the "CP"USA. This Draft was the main basis for the political positions of the "CP"USA to be adopted in the National Convention. In this article, we will proceed in exposing some of the key revisionist positions put forth in the Draft and try to show the significance of this revisionist convention. In particular we will examine the "CP"'s views on imperialism and the international situation, the state and its institutions, their views on the working class and mass movements and the role of their party, and how they view the danger of "Maoism."

THE "CP" AND THEIR REVISIONIST APPRAISAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

In viewing the world situation, genuine communists and revolutionaries the world over have recognized and united with the analysis that the comrades from China and Albania have made. At the Ninth Congress, the Communist Party of China correctly made the analysis of the four fundamental contradictions in the world: "between the oppressed nations on the one hand and the imperialists and social-imperialists on the other; between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capit-
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alist countries; between the imperialist and social-imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries; between the socialist countries and the imperialist and social-imperialists on the other hand." The CPC made clear, and life has proven them correct, that of the four fundamental contradictions, the principal contradiction today is between the oppressed nations against the imperialists and social-imperialists. Based on this analysis, communists have concluded that, though the danger of a third world war exists and is growing, especially between the two superpowers (US and USSR), revolution is still the main trend in the world today.

But the revisionists like to negate objective reality. The "CP" strives to distort the objective world situation in order to fit their revisionist goals to their distorted reality.

The "CP" analyzes that the main contradiction in the world is, and has been since 1917, between socialism and capitalism.

"The most basic and most decisive factor of this new reality (i.e., the "CP"'s analysis of shift in the balance of world forces that leads to 'detente' being an irreversible trend-editor) is the existence of the two world systems, socialism and capitalism.. The contest between the two systems embodies the main contradiction of modern society... This has been the main contradiction and the cardinal feature of the world since the birth of the Soviet Union." ("The Draft", p.6, emphasis added)

So that the "CP" totally negates the existence of the other three fundamental contradictions and conscious-

ly distorts what is the principal contradiction in the world, negating the key role of the national liberation struggles. But this isn't the end of their distorted reality. They go on to analyze that imperialism, especially the U.S., is in a new stage where the world imperialist empire is collapsing, therefore leading to a change in the balance of forces, in favor of the USSR.

"...in short, a shift in the balance of forces because of the continuing rise in the prestige and influence of world socialism and the continuing decline in the ability of world imperialism to influence or determine the course of human events."

From this "shift in balance of forces," the "CP" goes on and says that imperialism can, therefore, no longer rule in the "old cold war policy" -- i.e., that its "policies of oppression and aggression" are being used less and less. So the "CP" does a complete revising of the principles of peaceful coexistence, and based on their distorted analysis of the world situation and their Kautskyian analysis of imperialism and its oppression and aggression being a "policy," they conclude the following:

"The rise of the struggle for Detente has its roots in the shift in the balance of world forces and the new stage in the general crisis of capitalism... The struggle for Detente arises from this new relationship. The achievements of that struggle are becoming as irreversible as the changes in the balance of world forces..."

So that if any revolutionary struggles in the international arena "upsets" the Detente, the balance

of forces, between the US and the USSR, and causes tension, the USSR will rush, along with the US, to suppress those revolutionary struggles. This is why the "CP", like the USSR, holds that there is an urgent task of "the building of a broad movement for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East," (emphasis ours), thereby aiding the U.S. in suppressing the Palestinian liberation struggle. As a matter of fact, the convention adopted a position which calls for guaranteeing "sovereignty and safe borders for all nations in that area, including Israel." Thus, while saying they "support" the Palestinian struggle, the revisionists call for "a lasting peace" in the Middle East without the liberation of Palestine. (In past articles of Palante, we have sighted numerous other examples where the USSR social-imperialists have tried to suppress or ignore revolutionary struggles, i.e., Middle East, Cambodia, Congo, Algeria).

The "CP" also extends their solidarity with their revisionist "socialist community." They raise support for the democratic, anti-monopoly struggles - and not the proletarian revolutionary struggles - in the capitalist countries, supposedly led by the revisionist parties. For example, they raise support of the Portuguese "Communist Party" which has denounced the goal of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat in Portugal because they say "Portugal has had too long a history of dictatorships." They support the Italian "Communist Party" which said that their party will no longer be the "Stalin type of Bolshevik Party" with democratic centralism, but rather a mass party. And they support the French "Communist Party" which has tried to replace proletarian, socialist revolution with the "democratic, anti-monopoly struggle."

The treacherous "CP"USA sums up that in the world, there exist three currents: "The socialist countries, the working class and the democratic movements which it leads in the capitalist countries, and the movements of national liberation." The "CP" throws away the proletarian, socialist revolutions and replaces it with "democratic, anti-monopoly struggles" and also attempts to distort the revolutionary national liberation struggles by phrasing it, "national liberation movements."

We stand with the comrades of China who clearly state in "The Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement" that: "the national democratic revolutionary movement in these areas and the international socialist revolutionary movement are the two great historical currents of our time."

We also make clear that to follow the revisionist line of Detente as being the general line that the communist and revolutionary movements must follow is a betrayal of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations. What flows from the revisionist Detente position are the social-pacifist illusions that socialism can be achieved through a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism. This is why in the Draft, the "CP" states that "the present period requires a re-examination of the priorities of the peace movement." The "CP"'s role when the U.S. is in an imperialist war is to push the idealist, social-pacifist line of trying to turn the imperialist war into a peace movement within the U.S., rather than into an anti-imperialist, proletarian revolutionary struggle against the whole bourgeoisie in the U.S. (and not just against the monopolies).

Their Detente analysis, which leads to the "peaceful transition" line, is also why they see the importance of revitalizing bourgeois democracy and restoring faith in the electoral system. How else could the "CP" get socialism if they don't get voted into positions and make alliances with the "independent political movements" of the Democratic Party in the U.S. (We will elaborate on this analysis by the "CP" in the next section).

In elaborating on the international situation, the "CP" makes clear that all bourgeois campaigns of "anti-Sovietism" and "anti-detente," especially those led by the "Maoists" must be defeated in order for their Detente line to be successful. The "CP" says:

"On the world scene one of the most helpful auxiliary forces that imperialism has is Maoism... Maoism is opportunism on the level of betrayal. It is a form of petty-bourgeois radicalism, of 'left' revisionism which, in the name of 'revolution' betrays the interests of the working class. Imperialism has always used misdirected nationalism. Maoism is rampant nationalism turned into great power chauvinism. In Maoism, opportunism and nationalism have combined to become the central auxiliary force for world imperialism." (Draft, p.10)

On an international scale, the revisionist and the bourgeoisie have created alliances to defeat "Maoism."

Already, we've seen how in Portugal the revisionist party has rallied the Armed Forces Movement in repressing and forcing the "Maoists" to go underground; or in India, how the revisionist Soviet-backed party united with Gandhi in establishing a fascist dictatorship and suppressing the "Maoists" in India.

They try to attack China for "misdirected nationalism" but it is clear to the world's people that China and all genuine communists are genuine supporters of the Third World national liberation struggles. The purpose of their slander is to cover the social-imperialist nature of the USSR and the abandonment of the principles of Marxism-Leninism by the USSR and all those that follow its leadership.

From their analysis on the international situation, it is clear that the "CP"USA is a slavish instrument of the "CP"SU, which has joined them in attacks on the CPC and the Party of Labor of Albania. It is also clear that flowing from their distorted analysis of the world situation, it leads to the "CP" implementing their revisionist theories inside the US, thereby being the main prop of social-imperialism, social-fascism, and social democracy in the U.S. This can be seen clearest in Gus Hall's statement:

"The struggle for detente is a central issue on a world scale. In one way or another, it influences all developments in all parts of the world. But for the United States it is more than central. It is going to determine the course of events, both in foreign and domestic affairs for some time to come." (from The Big Stakes of Detente, Gus Hall, "CP"USA)

"CP"USA'S STRATEGY AND TACTICS TO ACHIEVE THEIR "DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM"

In the U.S., we believe that the strategy to achieve socialism is the United Front Against Imperialism, that our objective is to achieve the armed overthrow of the whole bourgeoisie (i.e., monopoly and non-monopoly capitalists) by smashing the state apparatus. This stems from the analysis that in the U.S., the principal antagonistic contradiction that is the root cause for all the class oppression is between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This therefore means that our struggle is not one solely against the monopolies in order to revitalize bourgeois democracy, but rather against all the exploiters, the bourgeoisie, in order to achieve socialist revolution. Our tactics must be subordinate to this strategy. We must therefore utilize and master all forms of tactics that lead to legal and illegal organizing. We can use legal and parliamentary forms of struggle, but we don't become legalist and rely solely on parliamentary or electoral struggles to move towards the socialist revolution.

In the Draft, the "CP"USA reaffirms their strategy to eventually achieve socialism by developing the "democratic, anti-monopoly struggle", thereby making it seem that in the U.S. we have a two-stage revolution, the first stage being one of restoring faith in bourgeois democracy and its electoral system.

In our pamphlet, In the U.S. Pregnant with Revisionism: The Struggle for Proletarian Revolution Moves Ahead, we make note of the following statement in the New Program of the CPUSA:

"To sum up: the exploitation of wage labor by capital leads to a struggle by the working class whose final goal is to abolish exploitation of man by man by establishing socialism. To the exploitation of wage labor, monopoly and state monopoly capitalism add the exploitation and oppression of other sectors of the people, leading to a many-sided struggle against all forms of robbery committed by monopoly capital. This is a struggle whose immediate purpose is not socialism, but the restriction of the power of the monopolies through controls by people's organizations and by political power in the people's hands. At its heart is the struggle to win control of the government and to use it for the benefit of the people, not the big corporations. This takes place within the framework of a great diversity of struggles against monopoly domination."

"These diverse democratic struggles, alongside of and intertwined with the class struggle, are objectively struggles against a common enemy, monopoly capital. Hence, as awareness of this grows, they tend to merge into a common stream of struggle, into a coalition of all democratic forces against the power of monopoly. The strategy and tactics of the fight for socialism is closely intertwined with the anti-monopoly struggle."

The "CP" brings Kautsky's theories on the state and bourgeois democracy back to life. They distort reality by making it seem that the struggle in the U.S. is not against the bourgeoisie as a class, but rather against the monopolies, ultra-right, fascist forces. That is why in their analysis on Watergate, they viewed it as a struggle between the fascists versus the liberal bourgeoisie and united with the liberal bourgeoisie. By identifying the interests of the proletariat with those of the liberal bourgeoisie, and by uniting with the liberal bourgeoisie, they disarm and divert the proletariat and thus pave the way for fascism.

As stated clearly, they aim "to restrict" monopolies by controlling the government, this being the stepping stone to the peaceful transition to socialism. The "CP" totally distorts the role of the state and what bourgeois democracy is. The "CP" also makes clear that there is a "mass revulsion against the bankrupt two-party system of monopoly capital and a search for an anti-monopoly alternative." So while it is true that more and more, the masses of workers are not participating in the elections because they recognize its sham democracy, the "CP" plays the role of bringing life back to the electoral system and to bourgeois democracy. The "CP" even goes to the extent of saying that the monopolies "invade the field of judiciary as well as other democratic institutions," totally trying to confuse the masses into believing that the judicial system is a democratic institution and not part of the bourgeois state apparatus.

Lenin, in Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, says the following of Kautsky:

"He fails to see the class nature of the state apparatus of the machinery of state. Under bourgeois democracy the capitalists, by a thousand and one tricks- which are more artful and effective, the more 'purely' democracy is developed -- keep the masses away from the work of administration and frustrate the freedom of the press, the right of assembly, etc... For the toiling masses, participation in bourgeois parliaments (which never decide the most important questions under bourgeois democracy, because they are decided by the Stock Exchange and the banks) is hindered by a thousand and one obstacles, and the workers know and feel, see and realize perfectly well that the bourgeois parliaments are alien institutions to them, are an instrument for the oppression of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, are an institution of the hostile class, of the exploiting minority."

Lenin also states that "...The more developed democracy is, the more imminent is the danger of pogroms of civil war in connection with any profound political divergence which is dangerous for the bourgeoisie" and that "the proletarian revolution is impossible without the forcible destruction of the bourgeois state machine and substitution for it of a new one which, in the words of Engels, was not longer a state in the proper sense of the word."

From this it can be seen that rather than leading the working class and toiling masses into an onslaught against the bourgeois state apparatus, the "CP" leads the masses into legislative action and they themselves become a bourgeois party.

HOW THE "CP"USA CHANNELS THE SPONTANEOUS UPSURGE OF THE MASSES INTO ECONOMISM, ETC.

Rather than interjecting scientific socialism in the working class and mass movement, providing a conscious and planned leadership to win the immediate demands, linking these up to, and moving to achieving the final aim of socialism, the "CP"USA worships the spontaneous struggles and tails behind all the economic struggles. They are the main proponents of Bernstein's theory "the movement is everything, the final aim is nothing." Rather than channeling the spontaneous upsurge of the masses into a revolutionary struggle, they lead it into reformist mass movements.

"During a crisis, the masses are angry and frustrated; the test of a vanguard party is how well it can channel this anger and frustration into productive movements and actions." (Draft, p.26, emphasis added)

As for the struggle of the working class, they make the call to develop "militant class-struggle-trade-unionism," essentially being a struggle solely for higher wages and better working conditions, i.e. economism.

The "CP" makes the call that the trade unions must begin to struggle for detente, one reason being that detente will bring more jobs to the U.S. proletariat.



Imitating the bourgeoisie they serve, the "CP" held their National Convention in the same amphitheater where the Democratic and Republican parties held their nominating conventions in past years. To show that they are really "patriotic Americans," they dressed their delegates in straw convention hats; and on the final day of their convention, they staged a "mass celebration of the Bicentennial of the American Revolution."

They call for the merger of trade unions into larger trade unions. They give lip service to developing rank-and-file struggles, but make clear that "these movements work within the structure of the trade unions," and they also reject the "anti-leadership approach" of rank-and-files towards the unions. They also make the call that the trade unions must struggle for nationalization because it "represents a major step towards curbing monopoly power." They fail to point out that at this time nationalization serves only to have the state directly bail out corporations that are now in financial trouble.

Throughout the whole section on the working class struggles, they make no mention of the work of factory nuclei and its relationship to consolidating the advanced worker. In one part, the "CP" makes the absurd conclusion that the reason why there exists a low level of socialist consciousness among the workers is due to the lack of trade unions in the U.S. (Like the economists of Lenin's time, they believe that socialist consciousness arises spontaneously from the economic struggles.)

In relationship to the labor aristocracy and the labor hacks (trade union bureaucrats), the "CP"USA makes no mention at all of the labor aristocrats, and defines the labor hacks, like Meany and other AFL-CIO leaders as "social-democrats." The "CP" fails to even mention the labor aristocracy for the very reason that the social basis of the "CP" in the working class is the labor aristocracy. They go on to divide the "social democrats" into the ultra-right forces and the moderate forces. For this analysis, the "CP" develops the left-center alliance" in the working class -- i.e., the alliance between the "CP" and the "moderate social democrats" (like Victor Gottbaum, who recently sold out the municipal workers of NYC by accepting a 3 year wage freeze). This is essentially class collaboration between the "CP" and the labor bureaucrats and labor aristocracy, the agents of the bourgeoisie within the working class movement.

In the electoral struggles, aside from they themselves participating in the elections, they make a general call to ally with all "independent political movements" that are democratic and pay lip service to anti-monopoly struggles. They mention alliances with the Black bourgeoisie, the Puerto Rican poverty pimps, the non-monopoly capitalists, or any other groupings within the Democratic Party which are for detente and unite in having restrictions made on monopolies and will restore faith in bourgeois democracy.

In the Draft, they also make mention of the Black liberation struggle and struggles of oppressed nationalities, but essentially liquidate the national question, reducing it to a struggle against racism.

HOW THE "CP" VIEWS PARTY BUILDING IN THE U.S.

The "CP" knows that in the U.S., many communists and advanced workers have recognized and denounced their bankruptcy and counter-revolutionary politics. They know that ever-growing numbers of communists uphold that the central task of all genuine Marxist-Leninists is to build a Bolshevik Party in the U.S. They are therefore making more of a conscious attempt to build their revisionist party and to step up their attacks on the genuine communist movement. They are already talking of bringing their party out in the open, trying to step up their recruitment, recognizing that they are weak in the rank

and file workers' movements, yet strong in the trade unions, especially in their leadership. This is based on the fact that the "CP" is not the advanced detachment of the proletariat, but rather the bourgeoisie's organized detachment of the labor aristocracy, labor hacks, and opportunists.

At one point in the Draft, the "CP" raises that their weaknesses in the rank and file movements, weaknesses in recruitment, etc. are very nagging problems. They pose the following:

"In a nutshell, how do we explain the fact that while our Party's influence continues to grow, our membership does not show commensurate growth? We are recruiting, but it in no way measures up to our growth in influence. There is daily evidence that in increasing numbers radicalized masses support and agree with our Party's policies and programs. There is growing evidence of this support and agreement among important mass leaders. They admire and work with the Party." (Draft, p.75)

We will answer their question. In a nutshell, their party's influence has grown among the masses because they spread bourgeois ideology and economism, and under capitalism, this will spread very quickly, for it goes hand in hand with the bourgeois institutions and the reformists. Their being admired by "mass leaders" can be explained by the fact that these "mass leaders" (labor hacks, bourgeois politicians, careerist poverty pimps, etc.) all express the same class interest, i.e., that of the bourgeoisie. So that their low level of recruiting advanced workers is no surprise to the communists and advanced workers. Desperate, the revisionists are now declaring that they'll build their party into a mass party.

From their practice and their program presented in the Draft, it is clear that the "CP"'s lip-service about class-consciousness not developing spontaneously is nothing but phrasemongering. They hope to cloak themselves in the mantle of Marxism-Leninism by quoting a few phrases, but their program and their actions run counter to every principle of Marxism-Leninism. To advanced workers, it is increasingly becoming clearer that the "CP"USA is a revisionist party, a party that

serves the interests of the bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie, and the labor aristocracy.

CONCLUSION

In summing up the "CP" Draft and the significance of their National Convention, we can see that it is definitely part of the bourgeoisie's plans to try to deviate the proletariat from achieving its tasks. They make clear that they will struggle against the "anti-Soviets" and "anti-detente" forces and will consciously try to suppress the "Maoists." They fear the advanced detachment of the proletariat being guided by the ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought, and being organized into a Bolshevik Party.

We also make note that the "CP"USA sends its agents not only within the working class movement, but also within the anti-revisionist, anti-trotskyite communist movement, under the guise of "Mao Tse Tung Thought." This is a contributing factor to organizations within the communist movement adopting certain revisionist positions on key questions.

From this Draft, we can also see the ideological and political unities that the Puerto Rican Socialist Party has with the "CP"USA (see Palante, vol. I, #7, "Anti-Sovietism, Worst Poison in the Revolutionary Movement? A Reply to PSP.") The PSP has recently stated, in an article about the "problem" of an "anti-Communist Party obsession" in the U.S. "new left":

"The PSP both agrees and disagrees with the Communist Party on particular issues, just as the Party does with the PSP."

We call on the PSP to publically put forward their "agreements and disagreements" with the treacherous, revisionist "Communist Party" USA.'

Finally, we can conclude by saying that without a doubt, the recent "CP" Convention has underscored once again the absolute necessity for the building of a new communist party in the U.S. -- a genuine Bolshevik Party, a Marxist-Leninist Party. We are confident that honest communists and advanced workers in the U.S. will fight to build that party, to expose and defeat the revisionists and all bourgeois agents, and will advance towards Proletarian Revolution!

MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE!