**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 bourgeoisie 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 "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 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 REVOLUTIONIST 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 capitalist countries; between the workers and the peasants in the masses of people; and between the working class in the N.Y. area in recent years, and they are attacks hardest at Blacks and Puerto Ricans and other oppressed nationalities, and at women."

The rich ruling class says that the cause of the crisis is that the City unions have won excessively high salaries and benefits for their members. (This is one of the favorite themes of the Daily News, which covers its anti-worker lines with a mass of popular language and plenty of photographs.) It is a typical insulting attempt of the ruling class to blame the problems of capitalism on its victims, in the hopes of causing confusion. Another example is the "payless paydays" for city workers.

The so-called "fiscal crisis" has benefited the banks in the same way that the "energy crisis" benefited the oil companies. Last year, the First National City Bank made $422 million profit during what was called a "budget crisis." City workers have had their wages frozen for 3 years. Train and bus fare is going up to 40 cents (from 25 cents) on Sept. 1. $119 million is being cut from the City University of New York.

**NYC BUDGET CRISIS:**

**GOV'T, BANKS, UNIONS HACKS - PUT THE CRISIS ON THE WORKERS' BACKS**

For close to a year now, we who live and work in NYC, have been bombarded day and night with various explanations for the city budget crisis, many schemes for taking its consequences out of us, and both constant threats and the reality of massive layoffs and cuts in services. In one garbage piled up for days on our streets, school crossing guards eliminated, thousands of city workers laid off, cuts in health and mental health services, cuts in day care. This is only the beginning.

As this article is being written, a plan has been instituted as a "budget crisis." City workers have had their wages frozen for 3 years. Train and bus fare is going up to 40 cents (from 25 cents) on Sept. 1. $119 million is being cut from the City University of New York.

We are also hearing threats of "payless paydays" for city workers.

What all these schemes have in common is this: they are all ways to cut into any gains made by the working class in the N.Y. area in recent years, and they are attacks hardest at Blacks and Puerto Ricans and other oppressed nationalities, and at women.

The so-called "fiscal crisis" has benefited the banks in the same way that the "energy crisis" benefited the oil companies. Last year, the First National City Bank made $422 million profit—during what is called a "budget crisis."
Against the "red menace" at home and abroad, MacArthur called the Pacific "an Anglo-Saxon lake." In the 6 months prior to the outbreak of the war, U.S. equipment was sent from the U.S. to South Korea. On June 17, 1950, John Foster Dulles, repre- senting President Eisenhower, visited the 38th Parallel and told South Korean troops there: "No adversary can resist you. Your time is not far off when you will be able to display your prowess." On June 25, South Korean troops launched an attack across the 38th Parallel.

South Koreans claimed they were the victims of a "surprise attack." As the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) did not go to war, South Korea, the UN (controlled by the U.S. at that time) intervened. They put all UN forces under the leadership of U.S. General MacArthur.

The Korean People's Army, joined by South Korean guerrillas and youth, liberation the South Korean capital, Seoul, began. Only 10% of the Seoul population left the city, showing the popular support for the liberation of Korea. Many South Korean troops deserted and a number of public officials joined with the North. Syngman Rhee fled Korea, taking with him all the valuable gold reserves (like Thais of Vietnam, and Lon Nol of Cambodia).

CONTANCING COMMUNIST BY ATTACKING CHINA

During the "cold war and continuing today, there were many among the influential bourgeoisie who held the only way to "contain communism" was through a "preventive war" against the USSR and the People's Republic of China. These forces in the U.S. included MacArthur who urged the U.S. to extend the Korean War into China. (Korea borders on China and the USSR.)

In keeping with this, the U.S. sent the 7th Fleet to the Taiwan Strait. It went off the shores of China. Saying that this was "to prevent any attack on Formosa," the U.S. placed Taiwan as well as South Korea within its defense perimeter.

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in the world, neglecting the key role of the national liberation struggles. But, in their insufficiency, 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 "GP" goes on to say that imperialism can, therefore, no longer rule in the "cold war policy" of the U.S., that its "policies of oppression and aggression" are being used less and less. So the "GP" does a complete revision of the principles of peaceful coexistence, and based on their distorted analysis of the world situation and the Hungarian analysis of imperialism and its oppression and aggression, saying 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 not only manifestations of the changes in the balance of world forces..."
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" believes that the US and USSR are competing for a lasting peace in the Middle East, (equally, secretly), thereby aiding the US 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. Japan, like the USSR, and the US, are supporting the "CP" in suppressing the Palestinian struggle, the revisionists call for a "lasting peace" in the Middle East without the liberation of Palestine. (In past articles of Pansye, we have seth forth numerous other examples where the USSR and the US 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 also see the Italian "Communist Party" which said that their party will not become the " Stalin type of Bolcheviki Party" with democratic claims, but rather a "socialist" party. And, they support the French "Communist Party" which has tried to replace proletarian, socialist revolution with the "democratic, anti-monopoly struggle."

The frenzied "CP" USA sum up that in the world, there exist three currents: 1. The so-called "socialist" countries, the working class and the democratic movements which it leads in the capitalist countries, and the movements of national liberation. 2. The "CP" thrown easy to the proletariat, socialist revolutions and replaces it with "democratic" and "anti-monopoly struggles" and also attempts to distort the revolutionary current of the 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 Movement of the Left" that: "The national democratic revolutionary movement in these areas and the international socialist revolutionary movement are the 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 historical current of the oppressed nations. What flows from the revisionist Detente position are the social-pacific 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" in the USA is an imperialist war to push the idealist, social-pacific line of trying to turn the imperialist war into a peace movement within the US and within those of other imperialists into an anti-imperialist war. It is an anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle against the whole bourgeoisie in the US. (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. Now else could the "CP" get those "socialists" who don't see themselves into positions and make alliances with the "independent political movements" of the Democratic Party in the US. (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-Moscow," especially those led by the "Moscists" 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 Moscism... Moscism is part of the ideology of the bourgeoisie. 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. Moscism is rampant nationalism turned into great power in the US. In Moscism, 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 "Moscism."

Already, we've seen how in Portugal the revisionist party has called the Anti-Communist Movement and forcing the "Moscists" to go underground; or in India, where the revisionist Soviet-backed party united with Congress in establishing a rival party by dictatorship and suppressing the "Moscists" in India.

They try to attack China for "misdirected nationalism" but it is clear to the world that all communist and genuine socialist are genuine supporters of the Third World national liberation movements, while saying the purpose of their slander is to cover the social-imperialist nature of the USSR and the abandonment of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Blame 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 slave to the tool of the CPUSP, which has joined them in the CPUSP and the Party of Labor of Albania. It is also clear that moving 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 US. 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 other developments and outcomes. 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."

(From The Big Stakes of Detente, Gus Hall, "CPUSA")

"CPUSA'S STRATEGY AND TACTICS TO ACHIEVE TRUE "DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM"

In the U.S., we believe that the strategy to achieve socialism in 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 revalorize bourgeois democracy, but rather against all the exploitations, the bourgeois state, 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 "CPUSA" 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. Fought with Revisionists, The Struggle Against Imperialism, Proletarian Revolution Ahead we make note of the following statement in the Draft 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 organization which is the potential 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 and the big corporations. This takes place within the framework of a great diversity of struggles against monopoly domination, which is now.

"These diverse democratic struggles, alongside of and intertwined with the class struggle, are objectively struggles against a common enemy, monopoly capital. Hence, as soon as the bourgeoisie, those who tend to merge into a common stream of struggle, into a coalition of all democratic forces against the power of monopoly. The strategy 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 against the monopolies, ultra-right, fascist forces. That is why in their analysis on Watergate, they viewed it as a struggle between the Facists versus the actual bourgeois state 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 disown and divert the proletariat and thus pave the way for fascism.

As stated clearly, they aim "to restrict" monopolies by calling on 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 "peaceful revolution against the bourgeois 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 "invent the field of judiciary as well as other anti-democratic institutions," totally distortion 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 Bourgeoisie 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 capitalistic system keeps in its thousands 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 parliament (which never decide the most important questions under bourgeois democracy, because they are decided by the Stock Exchanges and the banks) is hidden in the thousand and one obstacles, and the workers know and feel, see and realize perfectly well that the bourgeois participation in the political institutions from which they are excluded as an instrument of the oppression of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, are an institution of the hostile class, of the exploiting minority."

Lenin also states that "in a truly developed democracy in the more imminent is the danger of progress of civil war in connection with any profound political developments where dangerous for the bourgeoisie" and that "the proletarian revolution in Germany without the forcible destruction of the bourgeois state machine and substitution for it of a new one which, in the words of Engels, was no 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 oriental against the state apparatus, the "CP" leads the masses into legislative action and they themselves become a bourgeois party.

HOW THE "CP" MURA CHANGES THE SPONTANEOUS UPRISINGS OF THE MASSES INTO ECONOMIES, ETC.

Rather than intersecting 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" wastes the spontaneous struggles and tails behind all the economic struggles. They are the main proponents of Bernstein's theory "that revolution is everything, the CP states nothing." Rather than channeling the spontaneous uprisings of the masses into a revolutionary struggle, they are leading for reformist ideas.

"During a crisis, the masses are angry and frustrated; the tent 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," finally trying to get the state to pay solely for higher wages and better working conditions, i.e. economics.

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

Initiating the bourgeoisie they serve, the "CP" held their National Convention in the same amphitheater where the Democratic and Republican parties held their national conventions in previous 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 "peace 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-file towards the unions. They also make the call that the trade unions must struggle for nationalization because it "enables a major step towards curtailing 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 vital number of community activities by the advanced worker. In one part, the "CP" makes the absurd conclusion that the reason why there exists a low level of socialization because the workers are "out of their ever increasing lack of trade union in the U.S." (Like the economists of Lenin's time, they believe that socialist consciousness arises from the working class and not from the union movement).

In relationship to the labor unions, they call for the labor hacks (trade union bureaucrat), the "CPUSA makes no mention at all of the labor aristocracy, and defines the labor leader (with Nader and other AFL-CIO leaders as "social-democratic.") The "CP" fails to even mention the labor aristocracy for the very reason that the social basis of the labor aristocracy, the working class in 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 alliances in the working class. The "CP" makes the alliance between the "CP" and the "moderate social democrats" (like Victor Gottham, who recently sold out the Democratic Party by the owners of MFN was frozen). This is especially class collaboration between the CP, the labor bureaucrats and labor aristocracy, the agents of the bourgeoisie within the working class movement.

In the electoral struggles, aside from those who support participating in the elections, they make a general call with all other 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 party, the non-monopoly capitalists, or any other groupings within the Democratic Party which are for defense and unite in having the reservations 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 their call may only 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 hold 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 radicalize their revisionist party and to step up their attacks on the genuine 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" misses 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 is in no way measurable up to our growth in influence. There is daily evidence that in increasing numbers radicalized names support and agree with our Party's policies and program. There is growing evidence of this support and agreement among important mass leaders. They desire and work with the Party." (Draft, p.79)

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 pimp, 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. Desparate, the revisionists are now declaring that they'll build their party into a mass party.

From their practice and program presented in the Draft, it is clear that the "CP"'s lip-service about class-consciousness and developing spontaneously is nothing but phonemongering. They hope to cloak themselves in the mantle of Marxism-Leninism by quoting a few phrases, but their programs and their actions run counter to every principle of Marxism-Leninism. To advanced workers, it is increasingly becoming clearer that the CPUSA 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-defaite" forces and will consciously try to suppress the "Maoists." They fear the advanced detachment of the proletariat from being misled by the ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Ngo Tung Thought, and being organized into a Bolshevik Party.

We also make note that the "CPUSA sends its agents not only within the working class movement, but also within the anti-imperialist, anti-terrorist communist movement, under the guise of "Ngo 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 unity that the Puerto Rican Socialist Party has with the "CPUSA" (see Palante, vol. 2, #7, "Anti-Soviets, Worst Poison in the Revolutionary Movement? A Reply to CBS."). The RSP has recently stated, in an article about the "problem" of an "anti-Communist Party obsession" in the U.S. "new left":

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

We call on the RSP to publically put toward 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!

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