

Rats' Nest in New York:

Revisionist CPUSA Holds Convention

On Feb. 18th to 21th the Communist Party U.S.A. held its 20th convention in New York city. The Communist League would like to take this opportunity to briefly analyse some of the major points of the CP USA's program and to show how they systematically emasculate the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism and attempt to make it acceptable to the bourgeoisie. The Communist League holds to the principle that no multi-national Marxist-Leninist party of the proletariat can be built without the theoretical, ideological and organizational destruction of the CPUSA; therefore, we are preparing a complete analysis of their bourgeois program. This article will deal with only two points, the particular of their position on the Negro National Colonial question and the general of their position on the current program of class struggle.

The position of the CPUSA on the Negro National Colonial question is characterized by its vagueness, diffuseness and its white chauvinism. This is because the Negro National Colonial question is fundamentally important to the proletarian revolution in the U.S. state; the CPUSA's aim is to block revolution and it must therefore wage a tremendous attack upon the na-

tional question. Comrade Stalin said;

"Leninism has proved, and the imperialist war and the revolution in Russia have confirmed, that the national problem can be solved only in connection with and on the basis of proletarian revolution, and that the road to victory of the revolution in the West lies through the revolutionary alliance with the liberation movement of the colonies and dependent countries against imperialism." Foundations of Leninism, Ten Classics of Marxism, Int. Pub., N.Y., 1940, pp. 78-79.

Lenin points out that;

"When we speak of fighting opportunism, we must never forget a feature that is characteristic of present-day opportunism in every sphere namely its vagueness, diffuseness, elusiveness. An opportunist, by his very nature, will always evade formulating an issue clearly and decisively, he will always seek a middle course, he will always wiggle like a snake between two mutually exclusive points of view and try to 'agree' with both and to reduce his difference of opinion to petty amendments, doubts, good and pious suggestions and so on and so forth." Lenin on the Struggle Against Revisionism, Foreign

Language Press, Peking, 1960, p. 9.

How does the CPUSA treat this crucial question of proletarian revolution? In their program they say;

"In their national characteristics, Afro-Americans are distinguished first of all by their long history of oppression and resistance to oppression. This common experience, regardless of class, educational background or geographical area is expressed culturally in the development of a rich and growing body of literature, music and other artistic creation.

"Manifested in the struggle against national oppression today is the prideful reclamation of Black history, reflected in the saying 'Black is beautiful and its beautiful to be Black.' There is a new self-identity as a people, a racial pride and dignity, and a growing number of Black organizations joining the militant struggle for freedom and equality." New Program of the Communist Party of the U.S.A., New Outlook Publishers, N.Y., 1970, p. 55.

Further Roscoe Proctor, the Secretary of the Trade Union Department of the CPUSA, points out;

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and slaves of "their" society:

CPUSA

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"We are also an oppressed nationality within the U.S., Our nationality derives from our transformation during three centuries of slavery, from millions of individuals of numerous tribes inhabiting different territories of African and speaking different languages, into groupings of people having a definite community of language (English) and territory (slave exploiting areas of the U.S.) and a certain community of economic life (agriculture, building trades, culinary and household arts) and psychological make-up, manifesting itself in a common culture. Changes in southern agriculture and migrations to the cities have greatly altered this picture. But in spite of the fact that migration and urbanization have divorced most of us from the land and have dispersed us throughout the country, we are still an oppressed people separated from the rest of the population by ghettos, segregation and discrimination."

Black Workers and the Class Struggle, New Outlook Publishers, N.Y., 1972, p. 15

Here we see how the CPUSA recognizes the national question and ignores and distorts it at the same time. They rail about the "national question" of the Negro people, yet when it comes to the question of the material basis for this national character, the frontiers and the material basis for this national oppression, the oppression of the Negro Nation by U.S. imperialism, the CPUSA becomes lost in a dense bourgeois fog, feebly referring to vague migrations etc.. They attempt to reduce the valiant struggle of the Negro people for national liberation against imperialism to a battle for culture. What ugly white chauvinism! What does Lenin say about this?

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CPUSA:

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"The proletariat of the oppressor nations must not confine themselves to general, stereotyped phrases against annexation and in favour of the equality of nations in general such as any pacifist bourgeois will repeat. The proletariat cannot remain silent on the question of frontiers of a state founded on national oppression, a question so 'unpleasant' for the imperialist bourgeoisie. The proletariat must struggle against the enforced retention of oppressed nations within the bounds of the given state, which means that they must demand freedom of political separation for the colonies and nations oppressed by 'their own' nation. Otherwise internationalism of the proletariat would be nothing but empty words....." Questions of National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism, Progress Pub., Moscow, 1967, pp. 114-115

On this important question the CPUSA admits the crucial question of material base of a nation, of national boundaries in order to interject their idealist struggle against racism. "They push to the foreground and extol what is or seems acceptable to the bourgeoisie." Lenin, Struggle Against Revisionism, op. cit., p. 4 The battle for culture is acceptable to the bourgeoisie, the battle against racism is not only acceptable to the bourgeoisie, but it is the line of the bourgeoisie on the national question. See Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Kerner Commission Report, the official government position published by Bantam Books, New York, 1968.

The attempt to destroy the Marxist-Leninist position on the Negro National question is no accident. The entire line of the CPUSA attempts to emasculate what is revolutionary in Marxism and make it acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Let us look briefly at the CP USA's latest program for class struggle as announced at the 20th annual Convention. This program was developed by Gus Hall and Henry Winston in their respective pamphlets "The House of Imperialism is Crumbling" and "The Politics of People's Action" and is the program of the CPUSA 1970 developed to a higher (and more disgusting) level.

Hall and Winston both sing of the doom of capitalism pointing out that as the crisis in capitalism deepens the stage is set for "new, bold political action". This new bold action is 1) running CP candidates for office and 2) the creation of a third mass political party, an "anti-monopoly" party. "Such a party would fight for government power". New Program of the Communist Party, U.S.A., op. cit., p. 90. The motion of the CPUSA is to divert the objective class struggle into

the parliament or the congress, and further to replace the present dictatorship of the bourgeoisie with a reformed dictatorship of the bourgeoisie (called the anti-monopoly state) with perhaps some CPUSA members in congress or cabinet. Their entire social motion "is more and more coming out in defense of so-called social reforms as opposed to the idea of social revolution. Not liberalism versus Socialism, but reformism versus socialist revolution--- that is the formula of the modern 'advanced' educated bourgeoisie. And the higher the development of capitalism in a given country, the more undiluted the rule of the bourgeoisie, and the greater the political liberty, the wider is the field of application of the 'most up-to-date' bourgeois slogan: reform vs. revolution; partial patching up of the doomed regime, with the object of dividing and weakening the working class and of maintaining the rule of the bourgeoisie, versus the revolutionary overthrowal of that rule" Lenin, Struggle Against Revisionism, op. cit. p. 65

On the last page of his pamphlet, Henry Winston, in speaking about the Democratic Party says that the struggle should be waged to get "peace" candidates. Presently all candidates of the Democratic Party (except Gov. Wallace and Jackson) are peace candidates. He continues however, "If reaction is able to defeat such an effort at the Democratic convention, then the only correct course for independents must be the creation of a people's party." The Politics of People's Action, Henry Winston, New Outlook Pub., N.Y., 1972, p. 48. That is to say the struggle will continue inside the Democratic Party for the nomination of the liberal bourgeoisie. Failure on this front will thrust the CPUSA into the "independent peoples party". Gus Hall describes the function of this party:

"We must now step up the campaign for a new people's party. It seems to me the experience of the past years have given rise to a mass consciousness to the need to 'rip off pieces of political power' as a prelude to overall political power. To 'rip off pieces of political power' means to take the practical steps that will lead to the election of Black people, working class women and men, trade unionists, youth, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans as public officials at all levels of government; local, state and Federal." The House of Imperialism is Crumbling, Gus Hall, New Outlook Publishers, N.Y., 1971, p. 39.

What is missing in this "revolutionary" program is class stand and ultimate aim. With the all important strategy of dictatorship of the proletariat missing from their program it becomes no different than Nixon's. Isn't Puerto Rico filled with elected Puerto Ricans. Isn't the new strategy

for enslavement of the Negro Nation the Puerto Rican "solution" (witness Charles Evers, Julian Bond etc.)? What trade unionists, Meany, Woodcock? This drive to "rip off political power" is merely an attempt to reform the bourgeois state.

Ample proof of this is provided by the CPUSA themselves in their new program 1970. In discussing socialism, they compare it not to the teachings of Marx and Lenin, or the historical observations of Stalin and Mao Tsetung, but to the teachings of the great "socialist" Franklin D. Roosevelt. (p. 98 of the new program) Their entire new and bold program is a new bowl of the same cold porridge the bourgeoisie has been feeding us for years. There is no attempt to lay a basis for social revolution, only social reform. The vagueness the confusion are not accidents, but systematized attempts to make Marxism acceptable to the bourgeoisie. This is why they call for the "cultural struggle" instead of the Negro National Liberation Struggle for liberation of specific territory, and why they call for "ripping off pieces of political power" instead of dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin said;

"Those who recognize only the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to be still within the boundaries of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics. To confine Marxism to the doctrine of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeois." Lenin, Struggle Against Revisionism, p. 31, op. cit..

Finally the Communist League would like to take note of the one other development from the convention of the CP USA. That many young workers, especially Negro Puerto Rican and Mexican national minority are being currently attracted to the CPUSA. We in the Communist League welcome this in many respects because we realize that these young workers, many of whom are very sincere about social revolution within the U.S. state will provide the opposition within the party to the decadent bourgeois philistines who compose its dominant aspect. However, we encourage all honest revolutionaries to joining us in the fight for a multi-national Marxist-Leninist Communist Party that can lead the fight for socialism and for the liberation of the oppressed nations. This fight must entail the destruction of the CPUSA, the major bulwark of bourgeois philosophy within the working class movement.