

TOWARD A MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY IN THE UNITED STATES

Sharp class struggles are taking place in the United States. Strikes are on the increase. The active intervention of the Kennedy Administration in steel, airline and rail negotiations has been openly and completely on the side of the capitalist class.

The struggles of the Negro people are widespread and are being met with bitter resistance by U. S. capitalism and its Federal, State and local governments.

The concern about Kennedy's obvious preparations for war is growing. This concern has not yet impeded the Administration's drive to war but given correct leadership it could be an important factor.

The developments cited above will be discussed more fully in this article. We mention them now in connection with the main question we attempt to answer in this discussion. Why is there no Marxist-Leninist leadership or policy in these struggles?

It is assumed abroad in many circles that the CPUSA has a policy and is giving leadership. This assumption exists because there is no discussion of the policies or program of the CPUSA. As one example, the refusal of the CPUSA to endorse the 81 Party document was not discussed. The removal of the only National Committee member who wished to endorse the 81 Party line from the National Committee was not discussed either.

The authors of this article feel that a correct Marxist-Leninist policy with a vital Marxist-Leninist organization are extremely important in the U. S. We trust that comrades abroad will demonstrate their solidarity with the U. S. working class and their allies by paying critical attention to theoretical affairs in the U. S. If they do so they will be acting in the spirit and practice of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, all of whom paid serious attention to U. S. developments.

World Developments

U. S. troops in Southeast Asia again demonstrate the correctness of Lenin's thesis that the final stage of capitalism—imperialism—is a period of wars and revolution. Imperialism is moribund, dying capitalism, said Lenin, and the present actions of the U. S. government are the acts of a desperate, dying system.

The main characteristics of today's world are: (1) The growth and strength of the Socialist system. (2) The vitality, increasing strength and experience of the National Liberation movement in the bitter struggle against imperialism. (3) The sharpening contradictions within the imperialist camp over markets, over the H- bomb and over the tactics of the leading imperialist country—the United States. (4) The internal contradictions with-

in the various capitalist countries which feature over-production, automation and growing unemployment, huge surplus storage and greater numbers of impoverished workers—all ingredients of a major capitalist crisis and sharpening of the class struggle.

Every effort made by the imperialists to resolve the contradictions of capitalism produce more contradictions. For example, as Kennedy moves into southeast Asia, the resistance increases. More millions of Asians are involved in the defence of their homeland. The greater the efforts to deprive Cuba of self-government, the more determined are all Latin American peoples to achieve self-determination—freedom from Wall Street domination.

Capitalist propaganda and ideology reflect the objective conditions of the dying system. Words about self-determination accompany the invasion of Viet Nam, Thailand and the recent slaughter in Algeria. The fascist McCarran Act is passed in the name of democracy. The neo-Nazis are re-armed in the name of anti-fascism. Promises of peace are joined with threats of H-bomb war. Great power chauvinism is practiced in the name of "free world" responsibility.

Revisionism and Imperialism

This propaganda has not in itself sufficed capitalism since its class bias is too obvious. What then is the reason that division exists in the anti-imperialist camp? How explain the lack of demonstrations in the world against troops in Thailand? The anti-imperialist forces are divided because the capitalists have succeeded in developing an alien ideology within the working class and national liberation movements known as modern revisionism. Modern revisionism was identified by the 12 Party statement of 1957 and the 81 Party statement of 1960 as the most dangerous deviation in the Marxist-Leninist movement. This is the distortion of Marxism which claims that the nature of imperialism has changed.

Lu Ting-Yi in a report to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on April 22, 1960, put it clearly: "The modern revisionists have completely betrayed the revolutionary spirit of Marxism-Leninism, betrayed the interests of the people of the world and submitted and surrendered to the bourgeoisie and imperialism."

Out of this anti-Lenin concept flows the lie that peaceful coexistence means negating the class struggle, failing to give Marxist-Leninist leadership to national liberation struggles, and almost sole reliance on negotiations with capitalist governments. Above all, it attacks the Lenin-Stalin thesis that the unity and strength of the Socialist camp is the very essence of peaceful co-existence. The so-called peaceful co-existence of the revisionists leads only to furthering imperialist preparations for war and postpones the day of ending the war danger altogether by ending capitalism.

Left-sectarianism is also a danger since it leaves the workers and their vanguard party without allies and would leave the workers in a position where they fight single-handedly, thus also harming the revolution and the struggle against imperialist war.

Modern revisionism is the greatest ideological danger because in practice it is capitulation and accommodation to imperialism. Thus the struggle against world wide modern revisionism is part and parcel of the anti-imperialist struggle. If revisionism on the Algerian question had not been challenged in theory and practice by Mao Tse Tung then the Algerian victory could not have been won. This statement is based on testimony by most conservative leaders of the Algerian revolution.

Growth of Revisionism

The victory of the imperialists via the modern revisionist technique in Yugoslavia has spread like a malignant infection in the Socialist countries of Europe and Marxist-Leninist parties in many capitalist countries. Khrushchev has supplanted Tito as the leading exponent of attacks on the dictatorship of the proletariat and discounting the class struggle in capitalist countries. He expressed naive surprise at the invasion of Thailand and Viet Nam instead of giving ideological leadership to the anti-imperialist forces. Khrushchev has attacked Lenin's thesis on imperialism by Trotskyite harangues against Stalin, whose Leninist collective leadership in World War II wrecked the imperialist plans of crushing socialism and opened up the possibility for great new socialist victories in Asia and Europe.

Khrushchev and colleagues have weakened the unity of the Socialist camp by slanderous snide attacks against the Chinese C.P. and open vulgar attacks against the Labor Party of Albania. His disgraceful coddling of Tito has not only encouraged the spread of revisionism but actually endangers Socialist frontiers since Tito has become a helpless, willing tool of the imperialists who can order him to use his U. S.-supplied arms for aggression.

The very existence of Socialism in the USSR, buttressed by the teachings and leadership of Lenin and Stalin, has slowed the revisionist efforts of Khrushchev. For example, in the development of space exploration, begun under the leadership of Stalin, Khrushchev has been forced to take a Socialist path. The teachings of Lenin and Stalin on heavy industry are still felt. In agriculture, however, Khrushchev has succeeded in the partial restoration of Bukharinism—reliance on private ownership and the middle peasant—and Soviet agriculture is suffering.

Respect for the pioneer accomplishments of the heroic CPSU, and confidence that the revisionism of its leaders will be defeated, does not mean keeping silent. Respect for the CPSU would be sufficient cause for the sharpest criticism by Marxist-Leninists of Khrushchev's words and deeds.

Revisionism in the U. S.

Modern revisionism in the most powerful imperialist country has developed rapidly. It is characteristic of modern revisionism in other countries and also makes special "contributions" of its own, such as: The Negro question is no longer a national question but merely requires an executive order to be resolved. Revisionism advocates cooperation with the labor opportunists and has worked hand in glove with them in their attacks on unions with

left-wingers in the leadership—in the name of fighting dogmatism, of course. Revisionism liquidated Marxist-Leninist youth organizations. Revisionism “fights” the McCarran Act and other fascist measures so that their class nature is not exposed—in this way the revisionists help legalize these acts. U. S. revisionism joins Khrushchev and the Trotskyites in the slander of Stalin, Albania and China.

Every crisis of capitalism finds Hall and the CPUSA leadership providing excuses and rationalization for the government of U. S. capitalism led by Kennedy. These revisionists helped conceal U. S. responsibility in the Congo by blaming only the Belgian imperialists. When many left-progressives became disillusioned about Kennedy after the Cuban invasion, Hall came up with “the ultra-right is the main danger” theme which served to deflect criticism from the U. S. government.

As the Latin American people strive for freedom from Wall Street, James Jackson is quoted in *The Worker* of March 25, 1962 (which he edits) as saying: “The Alliance for Progress is a step in the right direction.” Gurley Flynn finds the Peace Corps “better than a war corps”, thereby seeking to disarm those in the national liberation movement who distrust Kennedy. *The Worker* tells us that the Marines were in Thailand, not because U. S. capitalism is in the imperialist stage, but that Kennedy has been influenced by evil men in the Pentagon and Viet Nam.

According to Hall, the sellout of the steelworkers, followed by the Kennedy-Blough hocus-pocus, is a victory for the “anti-monopoly coalition.” Every week produces a new betrayal—not least is the call for joint action with the right wing U. S. Social Democrats whose bourgeois pacifism, anti-Sovietism and ties with the State Department are known to everyone.

The many positive contributions of the CPUSA since its birth up to and including the Korean War are now used to cover up for criminal capitulation to the enemy. From fear of revolution the leadership of the CPUSA has degenerated into supporting counter-revolution.

The CPUSA leadership has weakened the working class and Negro liberation movement by preaching the doctrine of inevitable peaceful transition in the U. S. A. As Negroes are jailed and attacked in greater numbers, as workers mourn their brothers and sisters jailed and beaten for strike activity, as Puerto Ricans and other national minorities are attacked by police, the betrayers of 26th Street chant: “The capitalists are now, and forever will be, peaceful.” Little wonder they are being sought as speakers in the colleges — who could better conceal the violent nature of U. S. imperialism than the peaceful transistors — not even a bit of static.

The national leadership of the CPUSA and the major districts as well are completely controlled by men and women who publicly supported counter-revolution in Hungary and have never admitted their error. These revisionists laud Khrushchev's advocacy of bourgeois democracy as opposed to proletarian dictatorship. Their “democracy” in practice is expulsion for anyone who challenges their policy and suppression of any criticism in *Political Affairs* and *The Worker*. The Constitution adopted at the 17th convention has not been circulated to the membership or even printed.

Those who do not challenge this state of affairs are taking an unprincipled position — a position of accommodation to policies which serve the class enemy. There is no logical reason to believe that there is now, or will be in the future, sufficient forces to cleanse the leadership of revisionists and paid FBI agents who have been allowed to infiltrate the national organization from top to bottom in the name of "democracy" and fighting sectarianism.

Our Responsibility

Marxist-Leninists in the USA have a special responsibility since our government is the leading enemy of not only the U.S. working class but of all progressive mankind. We must demonstrate by word and deed that our class and the Negro people have a common cause with the oppressed of other lands in the struggle against U. S. Imperialism. We must expose the 2-party system and rip the liberal mask from the reactionary face of Kennedy and the Democratic Party. We must give leadership to the struggles of the Negro nation. We must make our contribution in the struggle against revisionism throughout the world.

We must develop a labor policy with union forces who, for whatever reason, struggle against Kennedy's fascist labor laws and anti-labor executive acts and war measures. We must expose to the workers the counter revolutionaries who are posing as Communists. We must organize the people against military action in Asia. The banner of a Socialist United States must be honored once again.

The unsound cowardly doctrine of the revisionists that U.S. imperialism is an impregnable fortress must be countered with a program based on unity of anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. All possible strength must be organized tactically in the immediate struggles. Our program must be based on the realistic strategic concept of U.S. imperialism as a paper tiger, as an animal whose destruction will be accomplished by ourselves and all others who suffer from its imperialist claws.

The Party

These great tasks cannot be accomplished without a vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party. Such a Party must be organized as soon as possible. The task is a formidable one, but every Marxist-Leninist should regard it as primary. It is not the purpose of this document to spell out a program. The undersigned are confident that those who accept the 12 Party Statement and the 81 Party document can hammer out a correct program. We believe that a U.S. Marxist-Leninist Party will have as one of its main assets the capacity to extend the fraternal hand of comradeship to Marxist-Leninists in all lands. We will welcome and study their ideas and criticism. We will pay special attention to the teachings of comrades in Latin America, Albania and Asia — countries now specifically threatened by U. S. imperialism and its revisionist agents. We will study the mature contributions of the Chinese C.P. to the wealth of Marxist-Leninist thought.

We urge the following steps be taken: (1) that discussions start immediately at all levels — around kitchen tables, at area meetings and at plenums and forums. A national preliminary consultative conference on organizing a Marxist-Leninist Party should be kept in mind. (2) That the discussion of these proposals be mailed to the undersigned. We will endeavor to publish them. (3) That there be no waiting on taking action on Viet Nam and other important issues. Let no one be deceived by the revisionist argument that nothing can be done except plead with Kennedy. Combine the discussion on a vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party with actions that will help build the Party. (4) That those who are honestly confused on the question of unity of the left be told again and again that the only unity possible for Marxist-Leninists is based on adherence to Marxist-Leninist principles.

Our class duty, our obligation as champions of international solidarity, is to speed the destruction of U.S. imperialism and the victory of Socialism in the United States. To that glorious task we dedicate these proposals.

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The editors of Political Affairs, The Freiheit and The Worker campaigned for Kennedy when he was calling for armed attack on Cuba. These same editors now ban publication of Albanian and Chinese theoretical articles.

It is possible to receive the viewpoints of the Albanians and Chinese in the U. S. Write us for information.

Contributions for distribution of this article should be mailed to the Publishers:

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