

"Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement" – V.I. Lenin

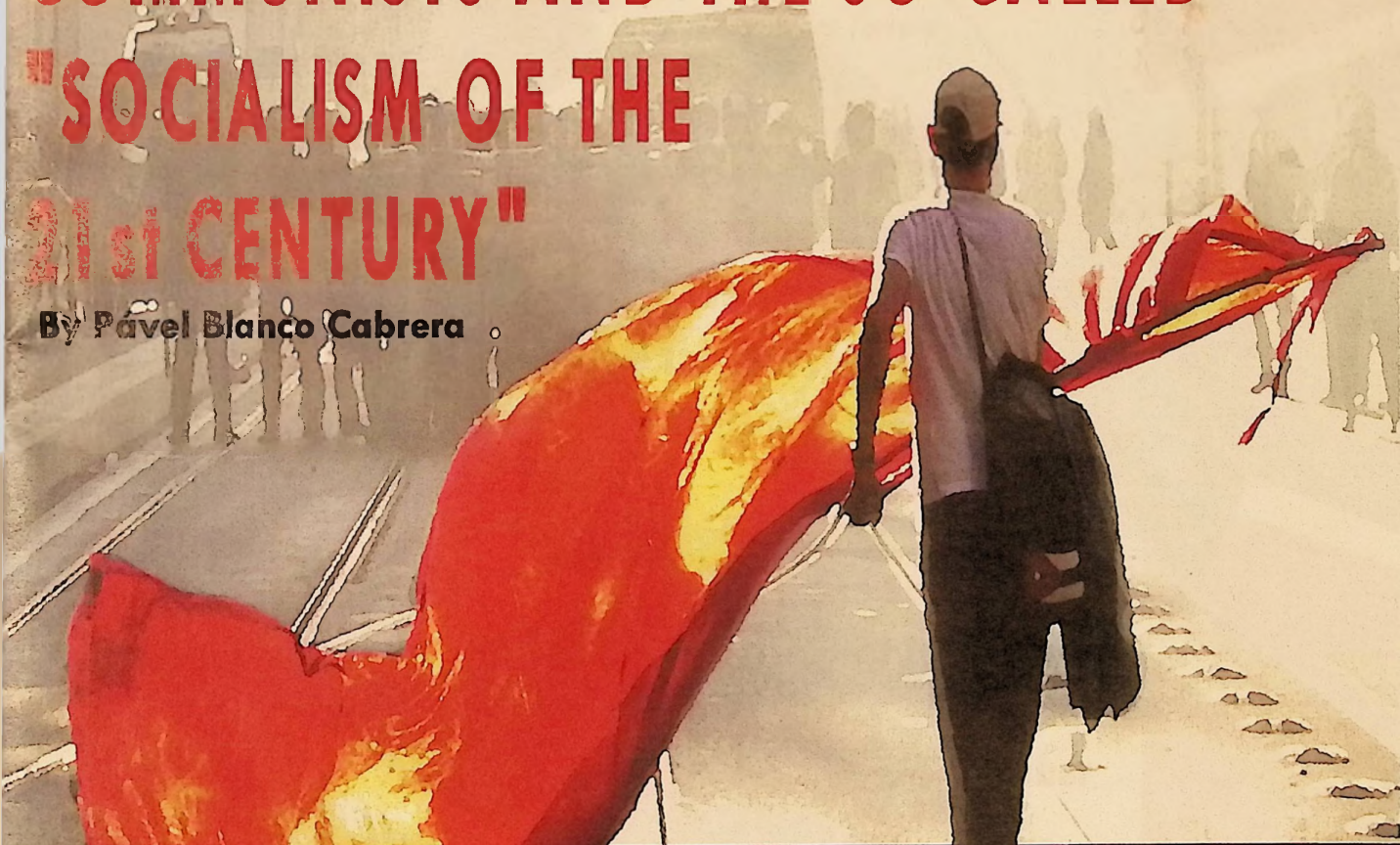
IDEOLOGICAL FIGHTBACK



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COMMUNISTS AND THE SO-CALLED "SOCIALISM OF THE 21st CENTURY"

By Pavel Blanco Cabrera



FROM EURO-COMMUNISM
TO PRESENT OPPORTUNISM

By Raúl Martínez Turrero

INTERNATIONAL:
POSITION OF THE KKE ON
WEBB'S PLATFORM AND THE
DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CPUSA

RESPONSE TO SAM
WEBB'S "MAIN REPORT
TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY USA
NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
NOVEMBER 17, 2012"

By James Thompson

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"Main report to the Com-
munist Party USA Nation-
al Committee, November
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EDITORIAL

SAVE THE CPUSA!

We believe the Party has been heading in a wrong direction ever since the death of Comrade Gus Hall and the take over of the Party by the anti-Soviet faction lead by Sam Webb, Esther Moroze, Jarvis Tyner, John Bachtell and their clique.

What has happened to the Party's tradition of pro-Sovietism, class struggle, anti-racism, anti-monopoly, anti-imperialism, political independence from the two bourgeois parties of monopoly capital,, international solidarity with the world communist movement, and indeed Marxism-Leninism?

Instead of building the Party, the current top leaders (no matter what they think or claim they are doing) have been dismantling the Party piece by piece: eliminating the print versions of the People's Weekly World and Political Affairs, giving away the Reference Center for Marxist Studies, keeping bookstores shut, abolishing the national Organization Department and several clubs in New York, Houston,DC, Minnesota, Florida, not to mention transforming the truncated YCL into a tail of the Democratic Party.

The June 2009 move to end the print edition of the PWW sent shock waves through the Party. Moreover, for top leaders to sweep under the rug the many letters of protest from individuals, clubs, and districts, constituted FACTIONALISM and a violation of democratic centralism, for which there should be accountability. With some top officers of the Party now advising against the use of the word "Leninism" as "foreign," the words "liquidation" and "right opportunism" used by many comrades seems no longer an exaggeration.

How to Build the Party

While those of us opposed to the current direction may not wholly agree on the way forward, many would agree on the broad outlines:

- Put the class struggle at the center of our thinking

and work. Organize the people's rage at Wall Street bailouts and mass joblessness by calling for nationalization and democratic control of the banks and basic industry, and by putting the Anti-Monopoly Coalition back at the center of our revolutionary strategy to win socialism.

- Put forth an anti-crisis program centered on job creation and call attention to the special suffering of youth, immigrants, and African Americans. Work in union rank-and-file movements, building unity, militancy and class-struggle policies.
- Organize the unemployed into a political force to be reckoned with by the ruling class. We need Unemployed Councils to fight politically for jobs at living wages.
- Resume our historically second-to-none role as a leading opponent of racism, national oppression and all forms of discrimination, and as an advocate and exemplar of Black-white unity. The conditions facing African Americans, Latinos and other nationally oppressed people are disproportionately bad and getting worse. Symbolic of the top leadership's tone-deafness on national oppression, it was an affront to Latino workers, an increasingly important group of the specially oppressed, to dismiss the Spanish-language editor of the PWW.
- Build political independence ideologically and organizationally. Support the few progressive Democrats when they take the side of the workers, and oppose the Democratic and Republican Corporate machines when they take the side of corporate and military interests. Support progressive independents. Run Communist candidates where possible and appropriate.
- Oppose in principle the imperialist wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Syria and Pakistan as predatory, unjust wars that must end at once. Oppose U.S. imperialism in all its manifestations and work with the World Peace Council and its affiliates both domestically and internationally.
- Re-build mass people's movements (what Lenin

called "transmission belt" intermediate organizations) with renewed energy, including the U.S. Peace Council (anti-war movement), the movement for women's equality (Women for Racial & Economic Equality), movements against racist and political repression (National Alliance Against Racist & Political Repression), and solidarity movements with countries under US imperialist pressure (US Friends of the Soviet People) Rebuild Party-related left organizations, including in the labor movement's rank & file committees (National Trade Unionists for Action & Democracy and publication Labor Today). Establish a U.S. center for friendship and cooperation with the World Federation of Trade Unions.

- Revive Marxist-Leninist inner Party educational forums, local bookstores near university centers, schools in large urban areas on both the East & West coasts and in the Mid-west to enhance members' political development. Its neglect is evident in the party leadership's opportunistic collapse on so many issues under the ideological pressure of monopoly capital.
- Join unequivocally the fight against the impending catastrophe of climate change and link this cause to the class struggle.
- Heighten solidarity with the Cubans, Palestinians, ex-Soviets, Eastern Europeans and other peoples besieged by imperialism.
- Work with other foreign Communist Parties, such as the Greeks, Venezuelans, Hungarians, Mexicans, Russians and Portuguese, who have been confronting revisionism and right opportunism and promoting international Communist cooperation in recent years, especially around the publication "International Communist Review" published in Greece.

Most of us recognize that the Party's practice in the recent period, sadly, has fallen far short of all these aspirations.

The blame belongs squarely with the Party's general political and ideological line, and not, as some say, member lethargy. The political line, rendering us indistinguishable from the Democrats, makes recruitment most difficult, saps Party morale, and leads to chronic financial crisis. Progressive minded -people who want to work for the Democrats will do exactly that. Communists who join a militant communist party do not want to work full time in electoral work for the Democrats.

All clear-headed Communists acknowledge that, in response to the greatest capitalist crisis in 70 years, President Obama has opened up some policy debates around health care, job creation, workers' rights, environmental protection and nuclear disarmament. These issues were not — and are not — even on the agenda of the Republican Party.

Yet these few openings do not cancel out the Administration's leading role in the growing death and destruction in Afghanistan, Libya, and now Syria. The billions of dollars pouring into Wall Street banks and the corporations, the re-authorization of the blockade of socialist Cuba, or the refusal to reverse Bush's policies of rendition and the abridgement of civil liberties.

These openings do not justify exaggerating the "possibilities" opened up by the Obama presidency or warrant fantasies about a "social movement" led by Obama.

More and more, our Party line subordinates everything to Democratic Party electoral work. It fails to grasp the centrality — the sheer gravity and scope — of this world capitalist economic crisis and the hardships the crisis is inflicting on the working class, and the corresponding need for a militant 1930' s style fight-back.

The current line wildly exaggerates Obama's progressive side and sows illusions about the Democratic Party as a vehicle for social change.

US / NATO led Imperialist War rages on. The Presi-

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dent recently signed an all-time high \$680 billion war budget – an obscenity – yet the Communist Party voice is almost silent..

The line since the last convention has weakened our ties to the international Communist movement. Too many joint statements by the world movement on the Middle East and other burning issues go unsigned by the CPUSA. Our Party's rosy "analysis" of the Obama Administration is rejected by the rest of a world Communist movement which is mobilizing against U.S. imperialism's current crimes. Already, our comrades in Mexico, Canada, Norway, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Russia and Belarus have voiced concern and disagreement with the current direction of the American CP.

Some top leaders push technological panaceas to the Party's declining influence and membership. Yet the over-reliance on technology is creating a dwindling party of people sitting alone in front of a computer screen. The Internet cannot substitute for direct mass contact with workers and students through print publications at the factory gates and High School and University campuses. It cannot replace struggle in the streets, shops, and communities.

Militant tactics measuring up to the desperate conditions created by this economic crisis are not pushed by the current ruling faction in the CPUSA. In practice, the current political line ignores the lessons of the 1920s, 1930's, and 1940's and our Party's finest legacies – the CIO, and the building of all mass movements from

the grass roots.

Our Party internet publications have lost working-class common sense. Their pages lavish undeserved praise on the current Democratic Administration, and downplay what really matters such as: an immediate end to the U.S. aggressions in the Middle East; a jobs program which is not a carbon copy of the AFL-CIO program, and which puts forth advanced demands such as a cut in the workweek with no cut in pay; equality for all nationally oppressed groups; an end to the blockade of Cuba and freedom for the Cuban Five; and health care reform worthy of the name.

The gap between reality and the current political line has rarely been greater.

We need a change. We want our Party back. We want to restore a fighting Marxist-Leninist Communist Party organization that leads the struggle of our class for the end of monopoly capital and its replacement with scientific socialism and continue on the road to Communism (our goal and Party's name-sake) We refuse to apologize to the American bourgeoisie and so-called petty-bourgeois radicals (social-democrats and Trotskyites) for the real achievements of the Bolshevik Party in Russia for over 70 years and the Peoples Democracies in Eastern Europe and stand for the preservation of Socialist construction in the USSR and its experience in the 20th Century.

- *The Ideological Fightback Editorial Board*

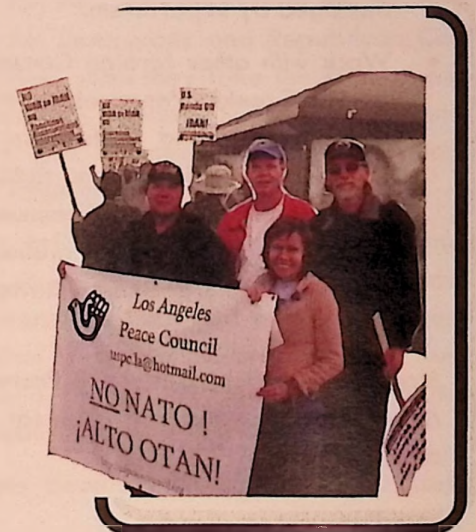
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OPINION

Reprinted from the Houston Communist Party Website: <http://houstoncommunistparty.com/time-to-change-the-line/>

Time to change the line

To: Fellow CPUSA members
 From: Transit Club, New York City

Below are some facts for Party members to ponder before again accepting the false and harmful "unity against the ultra right" line stubbornly promoted by our top CPUSA leaders.

Our Party's line, stressed at the April 21-23 national meeting in New York means, objectively, CPUSA support for corrupt, reactionary corporate Democrats in the White House, Congress, and in many state houses. Our governor, Gov. Andrew Cuomo, (D-NY) is an example. He is an instrument of Wall Street power.

Anyone who thinks working for corporate Democrats is a stage on the road to socialism, which is what our Party leaders claim, should study the appalling record below.

Before anyone counters, "But the GOP is much worse!" a notion which is, at best a half truth, there is another political line open to our Party besides Lesser Evilism, the present policy.

It is this: Support progressives and independents in the two major parties and elsewhere, whenever it still makes sense, i.e., when they fight corporate power. But the CPUSA should devote its main strength to leading the union movement -- all the people's movements -- toward building an independent political voice, divorced from both Democrats and Republicans.

This is our Party's historic position. It is a longer, harder road than Lesser Evilism. With some 16 million members across the US, organized labor still represents a powerful political force that can criticize or support a US Administration, as it sees fit.

Only the CPUSA has the history and theory to lead this effort. The social reformists, the ultra left, the liberals, and the anarchists are clueless or unwilling. About three months ago, AFL-CIO President Richard Trumka agreed to build an independent voice for labor. He conceded that is what union members are asking for.

If the Party doesn't act soon -- if it leaves matters as they are -- our Party will continue to spiral downward.

In unity,
 Austin Hogan Transit Club, New York City
 (Signed, unanimously)

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COMMUNISTS AND THE SO-CALLED "SOCIALISM OF THE 21ST CENTURY"

By Pável Blanco Cabrera

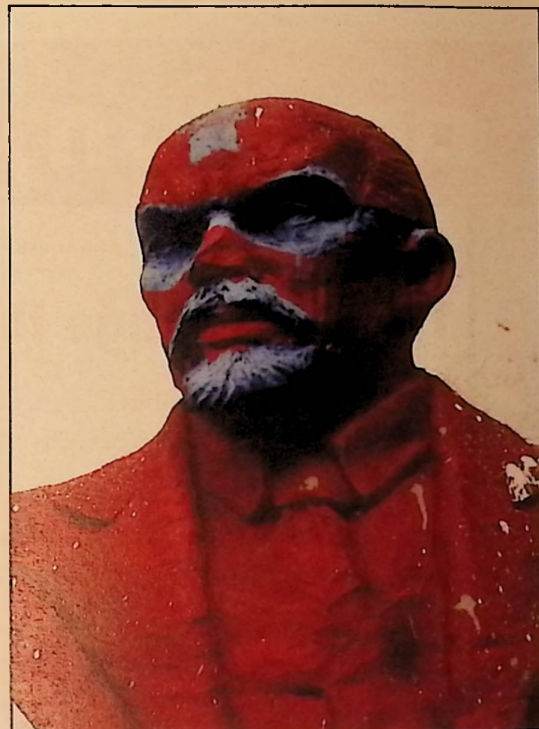
*Member of the central committee of the Communist Party
of México*

*In memory of Vladimir Ilich Lenin, on the occasion of the
140th anniversary of his birth.*

The world counter-revolution at the end of the 20th century gave impulse to the ideological field of the thesis of the end of history, a campaign to affirm capitalism for all eternity. Centered on questioning the validity of Marxism-Leninism, to disarm the working class and the oppressed people in their struggle for emancipation, this was known as deideologization. A pretension designed by thinkers in service to imperialism, this idea had as its premise the discrediting of the theory of communism and the practice of socialist construction, using the effect of the crisis that led to the temporary retrogression of the working class in the USSR and other socialist countries in Europe, Asia and Africa. At the same time, taking advantage of the confusion of the moment in the workers' movement and in the communist parties — several of which renounced their identity and objectives in order to transform themselves into social-democratic parties. This was cultivated and led to a surge of

new forms of dominant ideology, such as "postmodernism" and other variants to influence not only universities and centers of information, culture, and art, but to permeate unions, popular movements and organizations, left political forces, progressive intellectuals and also to impact negatively in communist and workers parties.

The general objective of imperialist strategy was not achieved, since reality cannot be held by a straight jacket, and class struggle did not stop for a single second, regardless of the fact that counterrevolution, triumphant at that moment, presented with propaganda historical events distorted to its favor. Today —two decades after the Berlin Wall and all that volley of irrationality- capitalism in crisis has the working class and the communist and anti-imperialist movements confronting it on all continents. Nevertheless in a secondary way this has served as a breeding ground for a series of approaches that today can become constraints to carrying the struggle to new favorable levels for the



Reactionary vandals paint over a statue
of Lenin in the Ukraine

international working class and the peoples of the world. Some of these approaches converge in the so called "Socialism of the 21st century".

The so called "Socialism of the 21st century" cannot be identified with the theoretical elaboration of a single political and ideological current, since it is the confluence of diverse currents identified by their hostility to Marxism-Leninism and to the international communist movement: for example various Trotskyite groups; heirs of the new left; latino-americanist marxists; supporters of movementism and neo anarchist; intellectuals that consider their contribution produced in the frameworks of the academy as indispensable and essential for social processes. The paternity of such concept can not be attributed to a single current, to a single author, although they all have sought as platform the actual processes in Latin America, particularly in Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador, but without renouncing to be considered as universal and disqualifying like unfeasible all that can not be grouped under its approaches. Another element of their positioning is that they insist on the "new", "innovative", "novel" character of their proposal in front of which they consider the workers' movement of the 20th century and the ideas of Marxism-Leninism as old and out dated.

In class struggle, since the conditions of social development made possible the creation of the materialistic conception of history, its not the first time that communists confront themselves with currents that in the name of socialism present the positions of the petite bourgeoisie. It is not the first time that reform or revolution are placed face to face.

In The German ideology and in The Manifesto of the Communist Party, citing two works of Karl Marx and Friederich Engels, adjustments are done with

"true socialism", "reactionary socialism" ("feudal", "petite bourgeois"), with "reactionary or bourgeois socialism" and with "critic-utopian communism and socialism". In another work, result of the polemic of Marx and Engels with Düring (although the work as was custom in the division of tasks of the teachers of the proletariat carried only the sign of one of them) the following is affirmed: "Since the capitalist mode of production has appeared in the arena of history there has been individuals and entire sects who projected more or less vaguely, as a future ideal, the appropriation of all means of production by society. However, so that this was practical, so that it became a historical necessity, the objective conditions for its execution were needed to be given first.[1]"

A synthesis of the criticisms of Marx and Engels shows us that not everything that is presented in the name of socialism has to do with the historical role of the proletariat and of the communists. The negation of socialism built in the 20th century.

"Since the capitalist mode of production has appeared in the arena of history there has been individuals and entire sects who projected more or less vaguely, as a future ideal, the appropriation of all means of production by society. However, so that this was practical, so that it became a historical necessity, the objective conditions for its execution were needed to be given first."-Karl Marx

Among the promoters of the so called "Socialism of the 21st century" there is a fundamental coincidence: the demarcation and rejection to the socialist construction experience in the USSR and in other countries of Europe and Asia. Some of them go further

blaming the own October Revolution assuming the old ideas of Kautsky and the opportunists of the II International on the immaturity of the conditions for the conquest of political power by the working class and the impossibility of socialism because what corresponded was to develop capitalism, deriving from here the bases for the alleged separation between democracy and communism; to explain that It was all condemned beforehand to failure. However the generality is that although they vindicate 1917 October the developers of "Socialism of the 21st century" assume the Trotskyite critics towards socialist construction and to the role of the Bolshevik Party particularly,

and to Marxism-Leninism in general, in fundamental matters that we are going to examine further ahead. In this they are can not be differentiated from for example the theses assumed by the opportunistic group of Bertinotti for the V Congress of the Refoundation Communist Party of Italy in the year 2002, that planted a "radical interruption with regard to the experience of socialism as it was carried out", something to which they also refer as to a "radical break with Stalinism."

Some of those —really reactionary- ideas preached as characteristics of the so called "socialism of the 21st century", is argued, are not criticized in the name of tactics. In order not to torpedo the process in Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador that are in the center of the anti-imperialist struggle of Latin America. There are even communist parties that integrate such concept to its routine vocabulary, to propaganda and to the programmatic question.

We do not believe —upon setting our divergent and critical point of view- to lack respect for those processes, which we support, of which we are supportive. These processes were not born with the flag of "socialism of the 21st century" and they have advanced a lot with relation to their initial programs, but is necessary to add that they are not consolidated processes and that the ideological confusion that is promoted with the "socialism of the 21st century" can carry them to defeat.

With Marx we say that a step of the real movement is worth more than a thousand programs, adding that an erroneous program as head of the movement can conduct it off the cliff.

It is a duty of the communists to place scientific socialism as the road of the working class and of all the peoples, defending Marxist-Leninist theory and the praxis of socialist construction in the USSR and in other socialist countries.

Before proceeding to a serious, scientific study of the experience to extract the necessary lessons for overthrowing capitalism the historical experience of the working class is condemned based on premises

elaborated by reaction or by opportunism, reformism and revisionism.

Communists reaffirm that in the same way in which the little more than 70 days of the Commune of Paris provided extraordinary teachings that enriched the revolutionary theory of the proletariat, the experience of socialist construction that started with the Great Socialist Revolution of October constitutes a valuable legacy for the heritage of the proletariat in its fight for socialism and communism and that it constitutes a serious error to reject or avoid it. We coincide with what is expressed in the document of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece On the 90th anniversary of the Great Socialist Revolution of October "One of the main tasks of communist ideological front is to restore to the eyes of the working class the truth about socialism in the 20th century, without idealizations, objectively, free of petite bourgeois slanders. The defense of the laws of the development of socialism and, at the same time, the defense of the contribution of socialism in the 20th century suppose an answer to the opportunistic theories that speak of "models" of socialism adapted to "national" peculiarities, they also respond to the defeatist discussion about errors.[2]"

Emerging subjects versus working class

The developers of "Socialism of the 21st century" coincide all in that the revolutionary role of the working class today is occupied by other "subjects", calling inclusive to the construction of new social agents; They resort to arguments of the new left, of Marcuseanism, of the 60's and 70's, on the gentrification of the working class, on their fragmentation, and on the "end of labor". They call to rethink the concept of "worker" and without performing that exercise they pass to claim social movements, indigenous, the "multitude" as the center of the transformation.

A very important aspect of Marxism-Leninism is the clarification of the role of the proletariat. Lenin express it thus: "The fundamental thing in the doctrine of Marx is that it emphasizes the historical international role of the proletariat as the builder of socialist society" and further on the same work he express-

es: "All doctrines of socialism that have not a class character and of the politics that are not of the class, showed to be a simple absurd[3]". There have been changes that is true, but in no way they destroy the contradiction in capitalism that is the one existing between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat; in no way do they destroy the fact that the proletariat is the only consistently revolutionary class to carry to the very end not only the overthrow of bourgeois order, but the emancipation of the whole human genre. They do not take into account that their role is determined by their place in production, by their objective role in economy.

The proletariat, the working class, the workers, in function of acquiring class conscience "for themselves" not only emancipate themselves, but all human kind.

Nobody will deny that in political struggle the working class needs and should forge alliances with the oppressed mass of the peoples. But there exists a distance with that and the affirmations of those who search for "new social actors" assigning them a liberating role above class conflict when reality shows how passenger movements are.

Socialism without Revolution and... without party

"Socialism of the 21st century" claims that neither the conquest of power or destruction of the State is necessary, but with the conquest of government it is possible to initiate a new road. Because of this, its developers do not speak of overthrowing, of breaking, of Revolution, but bypassing that vital need, they present post capitalism and they devise already programs to transit to a new society. Because this political-ideological nonsense, not even the barest strategic approach exists that conducts to the destruction of the State in their thinking. Consequently neither any worry regarding the construction of a revolutionary party of the working class exists, a vanguard communist party. Why is this? There is no Revolution if it does not include the working class' burying their exploiters - the moment in which the working class overthrows capitalism - if the possibility of undertaking post capitalist transformations is claimed in the framework of the old bourgeois State.

Let us take into account that besides planting that "in the Socialism of the 21st century" private and social property are able to and should coexist, inclusive the praise of a socialist market is done.

When the programmatic approaches of "Socialism of the 21st century" are observed one can not stop from noting the similarity with what was the democratic-bourgeois Revolution of 1910 in Mexico and the period of greater radical nature in the developments that happened during the government of Lazaro Cardenas in 1934-1940. During that six-year period it was established that in schools, social organizations and in state administrations along with the national anthem, The Marsellaise and The Internationale were sung; an impressive distribution of lands was carried out, a true agrarian reform; oil up till then in the hands of the American and English monopolies was nationalized and in general a politics of nationalizations was opened that conducted to the result that in the 80's 70% of the Mexican economy was nationalized; even great aid to the Spanish Republic was given. From this, under the influence exercised by Browderism, illusions on the Mexican Revolution as way to socialism grew. Just like the followers of today's "Socialism of the 21st century" then they spoke of a State placed above classes and of class struggle, as a lever for development.

For Marxists-Leninists the State is not a referee above the classes in combat, its the apparatus of domination, of repression, in the case of capitalism, of the class that has the property of the means of production and of change, the bourgeoisie. Nationalizations are not by themselves socialists, therefore in the case of Mexico they showed to be a mechanism for centralization and concentration of capitalism.

Instead of contradiction among capital and labor, it pitted north against south, center against periphery.

Another notion sustained by "Socialism of the 21st century" notes as a fundamental problem to resolve the contradiction between the rich North and the poor South, parting from deceitful statistics and above all leaving sideways that both in the north and the south of the Planet class struggle exists; the

same thing is the harmful idea of the center versus periphery that intends to ignore that we live in the monopolist phase of capitalism, the higher phase of capitalism which is imperialism and that all the countries are immersed in it, as well as with relations of interdependency.

It is not a matter of minor differences but of different roads.

There are those who maintain that in reality such a proposal has come to update the debate on the alternative against modern capitalism in crisis; that its value and relevance, its critical focus with a similar ideological base to ours helps to surpass the errors of socialist construction by bringing in a breath of fresh air to the debate.

We try to show here some questions in which the followers of "Socialism of the 21st century" converge, however it is necessary to affirm that we face a proposal that is not structured, but that results from a mixture of positions, in some cases based on aspects of Marxism, of Christianity, of the ideas of bolivarianism; with eclecticism dominating.

They express that participatory democracy, cooperatives and self-management will come to give answer to the "authoritarianism" of the Dictatorship of the proletariat. And in short they throw incoherent concepts with the purpose of torpedoing communist theory; but without arguments; nowadays a position, tomorrow another; full confusion as the calling to the construction of a "5th International" with enemies of the workers like the Institutional Revolutionary Party of Mexico.

Contemporary struggle requires us to advance firm-

ly grouped around the red flag of communism, for the transformation of the material conditions of life, for the abolition of bourgeois relations of production by the only possible way, the revolutionary way. Confusion helps nothing, the maelstrom of incoherent approaches that are raised with the debated concept and that in last instance only are presented to retouch capitalism trying the unrealizable operation of "humanizing it". For the working class, and not only in Latin America, for the class-conscious forces and revolutionary forces the duty is to fortify the communist parties that inscribe in their principles and program, in their action the historic experience of the workers of the world to overthrow capitalism and to build socialism, from the Paris Commune to the October Revolution.

It is nevertheless necessary to conclude that "Socialism of the 21st century" is an alien position and even opposed to Marxism-Leninism and to the international communist movement in not only questions of politics but ideological matters. It corresponds to the communist parties to raise the red flag for the development of class conscience, the organization in class of the proletariat and the assembly of exploited and oppressed workers, the construction of the necessary alliances with all interested in overthrowing capitalism with an objective that since 1917 has full force and validity, Socialist Revolution. Its a task of the epoch that we live at, that of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, and there is no space left for "compromises", or for confusion.

[Edited to clarify wording due to translation errors—DL]

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In February 2011, CPUSA Chairman Sam Webb published a paper called "A Party of Socialism in the 21st Century: What It Looks Like, What It Says, and What It Does" - A revisionist polemic which has since determined the line of the CPUSA, and has drawn intense criticism both from within the party, and also from the International Communist Community:



"The Webb platform renounces the struggle against bourgeois ideology and opportunism. The party which Webb describes surrenders from the ideological struggle."

- *Greek Communist Party (KKE)*

"Sam Webb insists on the anti-Communist notions to justify his criticism of Marxism-Leninism and of socialist construction. He has no doubts about taking up the discourse that criminalizes the role of Stalin, just as the distorters of history that today intend to rewrite history by likening the role of the USSR with that of Nazi Germany. And why is all this done? To please the non-governmental organizations, the liberal sectors of the Democratic Party. That is to say, not in service to the interests of the working class, but to those of the petty bourgeoisie class." - *Communist Party of Mexico (CPM)*

"He thinks his altogether limited and schematic scientific-theoretical view surpasses the comprehensive legacy of the three classic founders of Marxism-Leninism." - *German Communist Party*

"We consider that the political line advanced in "A Party of Socialism in the 21st Century" constitutes a fundamental departure from Marxist Leninist theory and practice. The pursuit of such an approach will objectively lead to the liquidation of the CPUSA as a revolutionary party of the working class in that country." - *Communist Party of Canada (CPC)*

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FROM
"EUROCOMMUNISM"
TO PRESENT
OPPORTUNISM



By Raúl Martínez Turrero.

Member of the Executive Committee of the PCPE.

Propuesta Comunista.

AS AN INTRODUCTION

The theoretical and ideological restructuring of the international communist movement on a Marxist - Leninist basis demands the continued deepening in the study of socialist construction in the 20th century and a scientific analysis of the causes of the triumph of capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR and the rest European socialist countries.

The capitalist restoration had internal and external causes. However, when addressing the latter, the analyses tend to focus on the study of the different lines of attack against socialism launched by the imperialist powers in the political, military, economic, ideological and psychological fields.

The external factors were decisive, and confirmed that the confrontation between the imperialist and the socialist camp was the genuine expression of the class struggle at international scale. However, we should deepen in the study of trends, such as Eurocommunist one, that contributed to weaken the socialist power, acting within the labor movement and the international communist movement itself, and

IDEOLOGICAL FIGHTBACK - 15

interacted often with the opportunistic policies of communist and workers' parties who were in power.

The imperialist ideological centers assisted and widely distributed Eurocommunist positions in front of the line that they contemptuously called "orthodox" or "pro-Soviet". Eurocommunism, represented mainly by the parties of Italy, France and Spain, is named after the capitalist news agencies, who with this name, referred to organizations that shared the defense of a number of points of view:

- Opposition to the existence of an organized international communist movement, defending the thesis of so-called "polycentrism" in face of the experience of the Communist International (Komintern) and the Information Office of the Communist and Workers' Parties (Kominform).

- The denial of the "dictatorship of proletariat", against which they defended the "plurality of paths to socialism", and especially the parliamentary way, in cooperation with the Social-Democrat and Christian forces, assuming the multi-party politics in a democratic-bourgeois framework.

- The replacement of the category of "proletarian internationalism", which they identified with the unconditional defense of the Soviet Union and the political line of the CPSU, with that of "internationalist solidarity" or "new internationalism".

- The acceptance of the framework of the then called European Economic Community, under the call to defend their social rights within and workers' participation in its design.

- The constant and open criticism to the USSR and the socialist countries from the standpoint of human rights and individual freedoms in their bourgeois concept.

- The revision and destruction of the "party of a new type" coined by Lenin, as by denying in one degree or another the revolutionary tasks of the communist party at the same time were denied the revolutionary principles in what refers to organization and functioning.

Eurocommunism affected communist and workers' parties from different latitudes, some of them in power and, like other opportunistic currents throughout history, Eurocommunism had a clear international purpose, despite having as a thesis being a header phenomenon attending to the national particularities and conditions. In this regard, Enrico Berlinguer, Secretary General of PCI, said:

"We obviously are not who forged this term, but the very fact that it circulates so widely shows how the countries of Western Europe deeply aspire to see the affirmation and progress of new type solutions in the transformation of society in a socialist sense."

And the Secretary General of the PCE, Santiago Carrillo, added:

"... there is no such thing as Eurocommunism, since some non-European communist parties, as the Japanese Communist Party, cannot be included under that label".

Despite the inconsistencies and falsifications that have characterized the life of Carrillo, who months after denying the existence of "Eurocommunism" he published his book entitled "Eurocommunism and State" saw the light, he was right on one thing: the phenomenon was not limited to Western Europe.

THE BACKGROUNDS OF EURO-COMMUNISM AND THE XX CONGRESS OF THE CPSU.

The basis for the birth of this revisionist trend had been established long before Eurocommunism was presented to society by Carrillo, Berlinguer and Marchais.

After World War II, a difficult stage starts for the the world revolutionary movement. The destruction caused by the German invasion of the USSR, and the subsequent efforts devoted to its reconstruction, we must add in the political field the the loss of hundreds of thousands of communist cadres who had fallen in battle against Nazi - fascism, what affected in a decisive way the CPSU and other communist parties in Europe.

The capitalist powers led by the United States, which did not experience the war on its soil and became the strongest power in the imperialist camp, immediately unleashed the so-called "Cold War" and the arms race, implementing a whole battery of measures designed to undermine the socialist power.

The internal counterrevolution never relinquished to overthrow the workers' power. With the imperialist assistance, counterrevolutionary activities were organized in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1947-48), in the German Democratic Republic (1953) and in Poland and Hungary (Fall 1956).



The class struggle continued and deepened under new conditions, the imperialist system showed signs of strength and demonstrated its ability to restructuring, creating international organizations to try to mitigate its contradictions and increase pressure on the socialist bloc (NATO, IMF, World Bank, etc.).

Within the CPSU important discussions on the building of socialism in post-war conditions were initiated, particularly on the economic laws in socialism and their character. The Party's leadership actively participated in the debates. Stalin openly fought against opportunist positions in the controversy arising about the draft of the Handbook on Political Economy[3]. After his death on March 5, 1953, the struggle continued within the CPSU and increased in the preparation and discussions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, held in February 1956.

The opportunist bloc led by N. S. Khrushchev opened the gates to the thesis of the "plurality of forms of transition to socialism", revising

Marxist theory about the class character of the state and the Leninist theory of revolution. The Report of the CPSU Central Committee at the 20th Congress, presented by Khrushchev, stated:

"... the question arises on the possibility of also taking advantage of the parliamentary road to the transition to socialism."

"... the working class, uniting around itself the working peasants, intellectuals, all patriotic forces ... can defeat the reactionary antipopular forces, win a solid majority in parliament and transform it, from being an organ of bourgeois democracy, to being the true instrument of popular will. In this case, this institution, traditional for many highly developed capitalist countries, may become the body of true democracy, the democracy for the workers"

In the speech delivered by M.A. Suslov on February 16, he said:

"In the capitalist countries ... the working class and its political supporters have full ability to group around themselves, on only one democratic platform, the overwhelming majority of the nation, the peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, intellectuals and even patriotic layers of the bourgeoisie, thus undoubtedly facilitating the working class' victory."

The peaceful transition to socialism by parliamentary means were not known in any country. However, the subjectivity of this thesis and its impact on the strategy of some communist parties came forward immedi-

ately.

In his speech to the 20th Congress, A.I. Mikolaj clearly perceived that the thesis about the gradual and peaceful transition to socialism came perilously close to the position of social-democracy, and brought about the following justification:

"It is well known that, on some occasions, some socialist parties won the parliamentary majority and that in a number of countries there have existed and even exist socialist governments. But even in these cases, the case is limited to making small concessions to the workers without any socialist construction. The state management must be in the hands of the working class, the working class must be prepared not only from the standpoint of the organization, but politically and theoretically to fight for socialism, it does not have to comply with some crumbs capitalist table but, the majority, hast to the power and destroy the private ownership of the key means of production."

Marxism-Leninism and its differences with social-democracy are limited, therefore, to a matter of will: the socialists do not want to march from reform to reform towards socialism, we do want. Marxism was pulverized, the Leninist theory of state was buried and its place was taken by the most vulgar reformism and the complete falsification of Marxism.

These positions came together with opportunist approaches in economic matters, state organization and in external matters. The opportunist turn was completed with the so-called Khrushchev's Secret Report presented to the Congress by surprise, breaking the principles of collective leadership that were said to be respected.

After the 20th Congress, and once released the "Secret" Report, the process known as "de-Stalinization" started immediately and it was greeted with relief and without question by several parties of Western Europe deleted reference to Italian CP.

On 8-14 December 1956, ten months after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, the 8th Congress of the PCI meets in Rome and approves after a proposal by Palmiro Togliatti, the so-called "Italian path to

socialism", that had been preceded of the so-called "British path to socialism" adopted in the Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain held in 1951, opposing the logics of "national paths" to the proven Marxist-Leninist theory of revolution.

This emphasizes in the deepening of the freedoms to achieve the economic and social democracy. Thus arises the concept of "advanced democracy" or "anti-monopolist democracy" that the culmination of its development would then address the transition to socialism.

Togliatti, taking the lead of the European leaders so-called "renovators", claims in his work known as "Yalta Memorial" that:

"Overall, we start, and we are always convinced that it must be like this, in the development of our policy, from the positions of the 20th Congress. But those positions are in need today, to be deepened and developed. For example, a deeper reflection on the issue of the possibility of a peaceful road to access to socialism leads us to clarify what we mean by democracy in a bourgeois

state, how the limits of freedom and democratic institutions can be expanded and what are the most effective forms of participation of the working and toiling masses in the economic and political life. This raises the question of the possibility of winning positions of power by the working classes in the area of a state that has not changed its nature of a bourgeois state and, therefore, whether it is possible to fight for progressive transformation from the inside of that nature".

While different parties begin to take such positions, attacks arise against the socialist countries, especially against the Soviet Union. The first major crack made public in the European communist movement takes place after the proletarian internationalist intervention of the Warsaw Pact countries in Czechoslovakia in August 1968. The Italian Communist Party, the Communist Party of Spain and the Romanian Communist Party publicly condemned the intervention.

The anti-Sovietism is integrated in the political line of the parties that embrace the "Eurocommunism" and becomes one of its main features. Any excuse is good as long as it is useful for a differentiation from the USSR, as long as it is presented to the public as a separate option from the main bastion of the international working class, although the anti-Soviet criticism

The anti-Sovietism is integrated in the political line of the parties that embrace the "Eurocommunism" and becomes one of its main features. Any excuse is good as long as it is useful for a differentiation from the USSR, as long as it is presented to the public as a separate option from the main bastion of the international working class, although the anti-Soviet criticism openly matches with imperialist propaganda and objectively contributes to weaken the socialist camp.

openly matches with imperialist propaganda and objectively contributes to weaken the socialist camp.

The Italian path has a new stadium with the concept of "historic compromise" developed by Enrico Berlinguer. The road to socialism is conceived on the basis of a broad multi-party alliance, which in practice means for the CP's to abandon its leading role, its vanguard role. The so-called "democratic socialism" or "socialism in freedom" adopts its final shape in open antagonism with the dictatorship of the proletariat. Eurocommunist parties assume the so-called bourgeois "formal freedoms" as their own position and defend the possibility of deepening the bourgeois democracy - which they stop to call like that - to achieve socialism, abandoning the social revolution and the revolutionary power of the working class.

THE EAST BERLIN CONFERENCE AND THE EUROCOMMUNIST REVISIONISM

In this perspective, in 1975 the Italian Communist Party (PCI) and the Communist Party of Spain (PCE) made a joint statement on their model of transition to socialism in "peace and freedom". That is the first step to the Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe held in East Berlin on 29 and 30 June 1976, whose results had a wide global resonance. The parties of Italy, France and Spain, supported at a greater or lesser extent by the intervention of some parties in power - as the Yugoslav party - erase openly presented in a common front the Eurocommunist platform.

The Italian Communist Party openly advocated for the dismantling of the communist movement, saying to the Conference of Berlin:

"... in it, the principles of autonomy that now govern the collaborative relationship between the communist parties have been strongly reaffirmed..."

The success of that policy of peace and coexistence in Europe is a precondition for democratic and peaceful progress of the Italian people towards profound socialist type transformations."

Enrico Berlinguer declared:

In their struggle against Marxism-Leninism, they revived the theories of Kautsky that "the opposition of the two socialist currents" (ie, the Bolsheviks and the non-Bolshevik) is "the opposition of two radically different methods: the democratic and dictatorial", and, as Kautsky, they tried to convert Marx into an ordinary liberal.

"... our Conference is not that of an international communist organization, which does not exist or can exist in any form nor internationally, nor at European level..."

The French Communist Party[10] emphasized the so-called democratic path and the national particularities:

"... Our party has put before the Conference the main ideas of its 22nd Congress, and in particular the democratic road to socialism, which takes into account national peculiarities of France, inviting the workers, our people."

After the Central Committee plenum held in Rome on 28 and 29 July 1976, the Communist Party of Spain made in a press conference the most complete exposition of these allegedly new revisionist positions:

"The living conditions of the various communist parties, their characteristics, the same history of each and their peoples, are different enough so that diversity is the crucial note that marks the mutual relationships..."

This diversity limits the issues on which it is possible to have a unity of opinion, as has been found during these two years of preparation.

But there's something deeper. This diversity creates a deep logical diversity of ideas especially on a set of key issues about the nature of socialism, on many contemporary problems, on many ideological issues, on political democracy...

Also in Berlin has become clear that in Europe there is a group of communist parties whose political line, whose analysis, whose conception of socialism largely coincide...

These parties are fighting for the democratic path to socialism, and for socialism in a democracy, with the full exercise of the rights of the individual, with multiple political parties, with respect to the alternation in power as the people express their will through universal suffrage. All of these parties are in favor of a socialism in which there is the most scrupulous respect for freedom of conscience and religious practice, freedom of expression, of assembly, scientific, literary and artistic freedom, the right to strike: a socialism in which the state has no official ideology."

"Eurocommunism" openly spoke as a right revisionist current, assuming the postulates of liberalism around the most varied political aspects: democracy, freedom, religion, etc.

Under the defense of political freedoms and of bourgeois democracy, especially the multi-party system

and electoral vote, they buried the class struggle, denying the role of class domination of the state. They practiced a constant and increasing policy of aggression against the socialist countries and tried to fight by every means available the coordination and advancement of the international communist movement, becoming functional in the name of national particularities and democratic socialism in functional to the anticommunist strategy of the imperialist powers.

In their struggle against Marxism-Leninism, they revived the theories of Kautsky that "the opposition of the two socialist currents" (ie, the Bolsheviks and the non-Bolshevik) is "the opposition of two radically different methods: the democratic and dictatorial[12]", and, as Kautsky, they tried to convert Marx in an ordinary liberal. They furiously attacked the Leninist premise that Marxist is who extends the appreciation of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the problem of the attitude of the proletarian state against bourgeois state, of proletarian democracy against bourgeois democracy.

As a revisionist current, the "Eurocommunism" was expressed as a continuation of the ideological struggle of the bourgeoisie against the revolutionary ideas on the basis of formal recognition of Marxism, and as Kautsky did with respect to the theory of the state, they called the same Bernstein to fight in their ranks, hoisting again the flag that "the ultimate goal is nothing, the movement is everything", or, which is the same, "the socialist revolution is nothing, the reforms are everything". Thus, they stopped any revolutionary attempt in the interests of a broad alliance with Social- Democrats and Christians meant to win a parliamentary majority that, reform after reform someday would reach socialism using as a weapon the bourgeois state apparatus, even in alliance with the bourgeoisie itself joined into a national antimonopoly front.

And, they threw themselves to destroy the Leninist character of their respective parties and the communist militancy. How could it be otherwise taking into account the organic link that, in the words of

Lenin, exists between the issues of organization and programmatic revisionist views, their politics and tactics.

"EUROCOMMUNISM" IN SPAIN AND THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PCE.

After the defeat in the national revolutionary war against fascism (1936 -39), the political leadership of the PCE did not undertake a rigorous analysis of the causes of the defeat and the role of the Party in the final phase of the war. The party leadership, with Comrade Jose Díaz[14] seriously ill and being itself dispersed in different countries, failed to articulate a strategy for continuing the war against fascism until the beginning of the Second World War. There was no fallback plan, and even less, a forecast that allowed to continue the organized struggle underground.



From 1932 to 1954 no Congress of the PCE was held[15], allowing a constant and progressive weakening of the Leninist principles of collective leadership and an ideal setting for all types of maneuvers made without considering the organicity and the struggling basis and militants of the party. Situation further enhanced by a Political Bureau, whose members lived thousands of miles away from each other and without the presence of an articulate and effective political leadership inside the country.

Parallel to the formulation of the "Italian path to socialism", the PCE adopts in Spain the so-called "policy of national reconciliation", while undertaking a disastrous retreat of the guerrilla struggle. With such precedents, a hard battle begins in the leadership of the PCE.

Led by Carrillo, appointed Secretary General at the 6th Congress, held in Prague in December of 1959 and January 1960, the leadership prepares the so-called "democratic way out", designs the so-called "alliance of labor and culture forces" and progressively imposes a revisionist and anti-Soviet line, eliminating prominent leaders, removing the cadres who, in the party leadership remained loyal to Marxism-Leninism, and expelling thousands of honest communists who heroically fought inside the country.

The Eurocommunist fraction relied all the time on the results of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, especially in the thesis that asserted the plurality of forms in the transition to socialism and the criticism of Stalin contained in the Secret Report, which served as a pretext to defame the USSR and move away from the teachings of the October Revolution in the revolutionary transition and the building of socialism. They also relied for that purpose in the counterrevolutionary events of October-November in the Popular Republic of Hungary and especially in the Warsaw Pact intervention in Czechoslovakia, used together with the above to undermine the confidence of the militants and the working class in socialism and reduce the immense prestige of the USSR.

The opportunism of the Eurocommunist leadership of the PCE knew no bounds. In 1970 Santiago Carrillo said to the French daily *Le Monde*:

"We conceive a socialist Spain where the Prime Minister would be a Catholic and where the CP would be a minority ... Spanish socialism will march with the sickle and hammer in one hand and the cross on another."

Since then, the wording of the so-called "covenant for freedom" comes to the forefront in the PCE. As in the PCI with the "historic compromise", the above mentioned covenant, the maximum expression of the triumph of inter-classism in the PCE, is not conceived as an alliance of classes or political organizations to overcome the dictatorship, but in its Eurocommunist application, it becomes the desperate search for recognition by the ruling classes, especially of the oligarchy that opposed their interests to Franco's autocratic tendency and struggled within the regime for the Spanish integration in the European Economic Community, which at the political level required a change in the form of domination, a protected passage from dictatorship to parliamentary monarchy.

And in this passage the revisionist PCE was committed. First accepting the "Moncloa Agreements" which subjected the interests of the working class and popular sectors to the economic interests of the oligarchy, in the middle of the economic crisis, playing a role of containment of workers' struggle. After that, accepting the monarchy, burying the

history of anti-fascist struggle of the working class and the Spanish people, giving up the re-establishment of republican legality and supporting the Constitution of 1978, which consecrated the change from one form to another in the exercise of the dictatorship of capital.

In parallel, from the CC plenary held in 1976 in Rome, the Leninist conception of the Party, its place and its role in society, its functions and essential tasks, its organizational principles, were attacked. In a party with thousands of purged members, the doors of the party were opened wide to thousands of new members without any control or revolutionary monitoring. All conditions were established in order to formally approve, in the 9th Congress, held in Madrid in 1978, the abandonment of Marxism-Leninism and the consecration of the revisionist policy imposed after a long process to the Spanish communists.

The Party of the national revolutionary war, the guerrilla warfare, whose militants formed in the resistance against Nazi-fascism in all European countries and fought without mercy together with the Soviet people in the battles of Leningrad and Stalingrad, had been liquidated.

The PCE had mutated beyond recognition in an organization that, even until today, is against the historical necessity of socialist revolution and the revolutionary power

of the working class - the dictatorship of the proletariat - in the transition period and the construction of socialism; a party that is opposed to the Leninist principles of organization, especially to democratic centralism; a party that renounces to the experience and lessons of socialist construction in the twentieth century, which qualifies as a sort of "state capitalism", rejecting in particular the period known as "socialist attack or assault against capitalism" in which the Soviet Union, with Stalin at the head of the CPSU, demonstrated the superiority of socialism over capitalism and achieved major successes; a party that accepts the imperialist framework of the European Union, claiming for a social and democratic version of the same under the opportunist postulates of the European Left Party; and a party that rejects all forms of recomposition of the international communist movement structured on firm ideological foundations.

In the Iberian Peninsula, the fraternal Portuguese



Communist Party withstood all kinds of pressures that, seeing among others the Spanish example, sought to end the Marxist-Leninist line of the PCP. Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, Secretary General of the PCP responded always firmly and decisively:

"This campaign appears frequently with a paternalistic tone. They lament what they call the "inflexibility", the "dogmatism", the "sectarianism", the "Stalinism" of the PCP and do hope that the PCP will become a "modern" and "western" party ...

And what are the modifications that the PCP would do to "prove its independence"?

The conditions are pointed provocatively. They all revolve around six major points: stop being a Marxist-Leninist party, breaking the friendly relations with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, criticizing the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, breaking with proletarian internationalism, abandoning in Portugal the structural reforms of a socialist character and adopting an internal operation that allows trends and divisions and breaking the unity of the Party."

In the Spanish communist movement, unlike the Portuguese, the revisionist positions promoted by the leaders of the PCE became hegemonic, and throughout this process the PCE was divided into two main forces: those who resisted the Eurocommunist offensive and defended Marxism-Leninism grouping in 1984 in the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain, and those who persisted and persist in wallowing in the revisionist swamp, without having made a serious and rigorous self-criticism, a simple analysis that goes beyond mere lamentations about what the "Spanish transition" could have been but was not and continue to defend in the practice the path of bourgeois parliamentarism wrapped up, nowadays, with the same Republican flag that once they betrayed.

Let us give an example of this. In the organ of expression of the PCE from April 2010, under the title "Political offensive towards the Republican Conference of the PCE", the Republican Movement Secretary of the PCE says among other niceties:

"In the PCE we understand that the republican project should not be pigeonholed in terms of terminology referring to spaces in the political spectrum. We must give the word Republic an entity of proposal to make it more accessible and appealing; the Republic is the economic, social, political, ideological reform and the reform of new values to the real situation."

Then, the Director of "Mundo Obrero", in his article entitled "Building the Republic" gives us even more clear signs of complete confusion within the reform-

ism:

"We are not against the Constitution whose deep reform we are asking for, we are clear that the goal is against an archaic monarchy, obsolete and guarantor of the values of neoliberalism. We do not want any republic, but a federal and democratic one with the values of the 1st and 2nd Republics applied to the current situation ...

The future republican Constitution should be focused in the contents of the solemn declaration of the UN Human Rights from December 10, 1948, and must also adopt the three covenants signed in 1966 and accepted by Spain which develop those contents...

Democracy as a permanent agreement between free and equal beings to keep agreeing permanently has a range and depth that enables the public accessibility to making all kinds of decisions ..."

The old revisionist content, adopted in Spain and other countries as "Eurocommunist", thus fits with the times. New language for old approaches and no trace of Marxism. The theses of the 18th Congress of the PCE say:

"At this 18th Congress, the PCE is reaffirmed in the defense of socialism as a coherent development and full implementation of democracy. Therefore it includes the recognition of the value of personal freedoms and their guarantee, the principles of secular state and its democratic articulation, the plurality of parties, trade union autonomy, freedom of religion and worship practiced in the private sphere and the total freedom of inquiry, and artistic and cultural activities."

Exactly the same as the Eurocommunist PCE said after the Central Committee plenum held in Rome in 1976, whose quote we have reproduced above.

The so-called Socialism of the 21st Century is the new flag of our present republicans and yesterday Eurocommunists[18]. A proposal whose most elaborated versions depart from these revisionist theses that have crossed the central debates of the labour movement since it entered in History, from Bernstein to Eurocommunism, opposing to scientific socialism an exercise of eclecticism mixed with liberal – bourgeois positions.

Therefore it is not surprising that the parties heirs of Eurocommunism have warmly greeted the proposal of a 5th International, where their revisionist approaches can coexist naturally with forces that have fully renounced to the class struggle, with all kinds of social democrats, Trotskyists and every modern variety of opportunism, both right and left, as they already do at a regional level in the European Left Party.

22 - WINTER

IN CONCLUSION.

Eurocommunism was a right-wing revisionist current opposed to scientific socialism and erase therefore an enemy of Marxism-Leninism that, as at other times throughout the history of class struggle, served as a vehicle for the penetration of bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the working class and the communist movement.

Eurocommunism interacted with the opportunist policies that, especially after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, were imposed in several communist parties in power. Eurocommunism based its performance on the cracks opened up by those opportunist positions and at the same time, betrayed the proletarian internationalist principles by practicing a crude anti-Sovietism, that contributed to undermine the confidence of the working class in socialism.

Opportunist positions in both the communist parties in power and those which were not, were not sufficiently fought from the Marxist-Leninist positions. Unlike what happened in the days of Lenin and Stalin, a rigorous ideological debate was not opened within the international communist movement, where the "diplomacy" prevailed instead of the support to the consistent revolutionary positions who faced revisionism.

The facts have not confirmed any of the Eurocommunist claims. Eurocommunism led to the working class in their respective countries to the dead end of inter-classism, extremely weakened the revolutionary positions and led to the liquidation of the communist parties that adopted it as revolutionary detachments. erase destroying the Leninist model of party.

The communist parties which embraced Eurocommunism, and have not been completely liquidated, have not made any rigorous of their past positions. Currently they are trying to adapt the same revisionist positions with the times, grouping in Europe around the European Left Party.

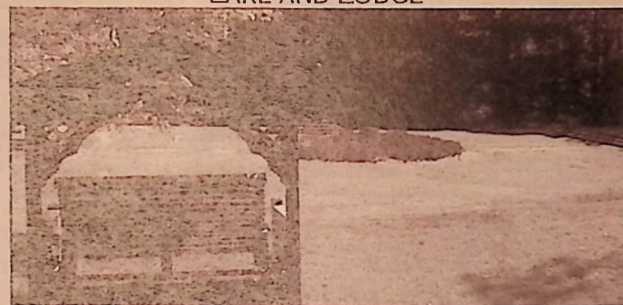
The development of the class struggle internationally, with the progress of the working class, the peasants and the anti-imperialist positions in different countries, particularly in Latin America, has made a new variety of opportunism enter the scene. The so-called Socialism of the 21st Century, based on the eclecticism and the denial of the categories and principles of scientific socialism, is

called to occupy the same position as the so-called "Eurocommunism" held in the second half of the twentieth century in Europe and elsewhere .

The Marxist-Leninists should be actively involved in the ideological struggle now being waged in the world anti-imperialist revolutionary movement, contributing decisively to the urgent reorganization of the international communist movement to ensure the success of social revolutions to come.

[Edited to clarify wording due to translation errors, footnotes omitted due to the size issues—DL]

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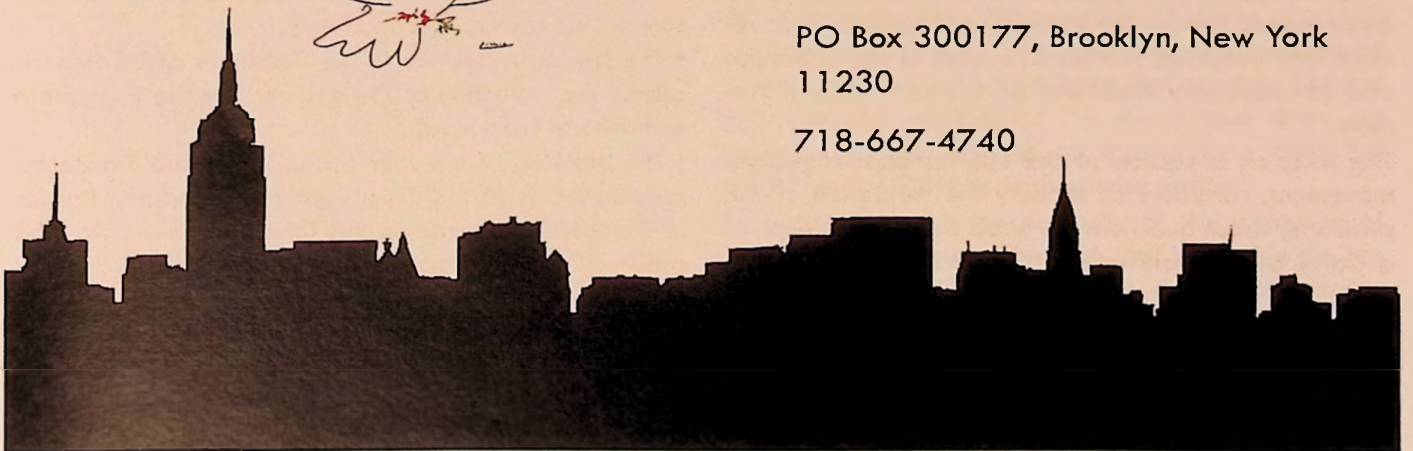
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Position of KKE on Webb's platform and the developments in the CPUSA

Athens, 13 April 2011

**To the members and cadre of the CPUSA,
To the workers that struggle in the USA
To the communist and workers parties**

Dear comrades,

In February 2011 the chairperson of the CPUSA, Sam Webb, published an article in Political Affairs, the electronic publication of the CPUSA, entitled "A Party of Socialism in the 21st Century: What It Looks Like, What It Says, and What It Does". Even if the specific article is accompanied by an editorial note which claims that "The following article represents the views of its author alone. It doesn't necessarily reflect the official views of any organization or collective.", it is obvious to us that the public position of the head of a Communist Party concerning such an important issue requires special attention.

On 16th February we received a letter from the editorial team of Political Affairs which invited us to send in our opinion.

Our party, after studying this article and the reactions it has provoked within the ranks of communists both in the USA and internationally, considers it necessary to take a public position through this letter, as is required by its responsibility as a part of the international communist movement.

Our assessment is that we are dealing with a comprehensive liquidationist platform of 29 theses which has been placed before the international communist movement and proposes the total revision of the principles and revolutionary traditions of the communist movement.

The KKE, as a section of the international communist movement, considers as its duty the refutation of this platform, which questions the need for the existence of a party of the working class in the USA, and in general is directed against the revolutionary and anti-imperialist movement internationally. The 18th Congress of our party stressed that "the battle against social-democratization tendencies in Communist Parties



– through the intervention of imperialist mechanisms, anti-communism and the bourgeois media – must be fought firmly and consistently by defending the historic role of the working class and its organized vanguard, the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of socialism. This task takes on even greater significance in face of the growing anti-communist offensive in the EU and internationally."

Dear comrades,

The platform that has been presented today, through the article of the chairperson of the CPUSA, constitutes the culmination of a course of "adjustment" in the last decade as the author himself points out. There have already been developments in this intervening period which communists in Greece, as well as in the USA and other countries have followed with concern, such as:

- The handing over of the Party's archives to the imperialists, the bourgeois state of the USA in 2007.
- The closure of the print publication of the newspaper (People's Weekly World) and the journal Political Affairs, with the simultaneous alteration of its character.
- The organizational shrinkage and dislocation of the party.
- The political "tailing", behind one of the two pillars of the bourgeois political system of the USA, that is to say behind the Democratic Party.
- The stance in relation to the ambitions of US imperialism (e.g. rejection of the demand for the immediate withdrawal from Iraq)
- The blocking of the Joint Statement of the Extraordinary Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties in Damascus, because in the final text there was the position for the withdrawal of the imperialist occupation forces from Iraq.

These elements intensified after the 29th Congress of the CPUSA. It was not by chance that immediately after the congress, an article was published in Political

Affairs which called into question not only the need to maintain the name of the party, but the possibility and even the necessity of a Communist Party's existence in the USA today.

Today the Webb platform comes as the culmination of this course and openly propagandizes the abandonment of the Marxist-Leninist worldview, the abolition of democratic centralism, and the undermining of the principles of the party of a new type.

We would like to draw your attention to the following basic aspects of this platform:

ON THE QUESTION OF THE THEORY OF THE PARTY:

It proposes the replacement of our theory by an eclectic hotchpotch which does not go beyond the limits of liberal bourgeois ideology. It attacks Marxism-Leninism directly, which constitutes one of the central laws of the existence and activity of the party of the new type, as V.I. Lenin pointed out: "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement... the role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory." In this specific platform various extremely old opportunist positions are promoted as new (e.g. Marxism-Leninism is foreign, anti-democratic, it is a distortion of Marxism by Stalin etc.), these are positions which disarm the labor movement and surrender it, without theoretical tools, to the claws of the exploitative system.

ON THE QUESTION OF THE POLITICAL PROPOSAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY:

It promotes the view that there can be solutions in favor of the working class within the framework of capitalism. In this way, it promotes as an alternative solution the line of the so-called "green" capitalist restructurings. In addition, the Webb platform considers the characterization of the crisis as a capitalist crisis of overproduction insufficient. It distorts the essence of the over-accumulation of capital as it associates it with.... A lack of investment opportunities. It states characteristically: "Short of a new New Green Deal on a global level, it is hard to see where the dynamism for a sustained upswing, let alone a long boom, is going to come from."

These views "recycle" social-democratic and opportunist theories on economic recession and development which whitewash capitalism and conceal its class essence, leading the Communist Party to give up on its strategic goal and support political proposals, which have as their goal the acquisition of new super-profits by the capitalists, in the name of "ecology", at the same time when they are turning nature and natural

wealth into commodities, and destroying the planet in various ways.

THE QUESTION OF THE SOCIALIST PERSPECTIVE:

It renounces the struggle for socialism. The notion of revolution is entirely absent. It proposes an endless process of successive stages, in which the alliances will be formed not on the basis of the character of the era and the class interests of the working class. Webb proposes working for "- the balance of forces is to shift in a progressive direction". This view condemns the party to submit itself to the temporary circumstances and not to work with a strategy for the overthrow of capitalism through the concentration of forces.

Nevertheless, it is obvious to us, that the tactics of a Communist Party must serve its strategy, which is the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of a socialist-communist society. The position of Webb in practice abolishes the strategic goal of the Communist Party, and finally aims to shake the very character of the Communist Party. Socialism is in any case on the agenda, since we live in the era of imperialism, the highest and final stage of capitalism. The timeliness and necessity of socialism-communism is projected by the impasses of capitalism, the imperialist wars, the economic crises, the huge social, economic, environmental, ecological and other problems which capitalist society breeds. A Communist Party must form tactics and alliances which facilitate the concentration of forces, the class unity of the working class and the social alliance with the popular strata, with the aim of maturing the subjective factor for the acquisition of power by the working class, and not to be trapped in alliances and stages, which will lead it to struggle under a "foreign flag" in the logic of managing capitalism.

ON THE QUESTION OF THE FORMATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

The Webb platform proposes moving beyond the Communist Parties. It says that "A party of socialism in the 21st century embraces Marxism, understood as a broad theoretical tradition that reaches beyond the communist movement." "A party that does not struggle for the interests of the working class but "fights for the interests of the entire nation."

This position denies the necessity of the existence of the Communist Party in the USA and indeed in the entire world. The KKE successfully dealt with similar views, when they emerged in our party 20 years ago under the influence of "Gorbachevist" theories. The communists of Greece fought hard to repel these opportunist views, for the preservation of the KKE, for

the preservation and strengthening of its revolutionary, class and internationalist character. Today, 20 years later, the communists not only in Greece but all over the world can judge the positive results that the outcome of this battle had for the KKE. The KKE was able to stand on its feet, to elaborate serious theoretical and political issues, without deviating from the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It approved its new program and came to important conclusions concerning the causes of the overthrow of socialism, enriching its perception of socialism. It has taken significant initiatives for the unity of the communist movement at a regional and international level. It strengthened its bonds with the working class and the other popular strata. The influence of its positions and its reputation has been strengthened as it plays the leading role in the regrouping and development of the class-oriented labor-trade union movement and in the tough strike mobilizations of the workers in our country.

None of the above would have been achieved, if opportunism had prevailed 20 years ago in the KKE. The KKE would have gone down the road of dissolution and the labor-popular movement would have lost its basic pillar of support.

ON IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE :

The Webb platform renounces the struggle against bourgeois ideology and opportunism. The party which Webb describes surrenders from the ideological struggle. He writes "A party of socialism in the 21st century doesn't turn – liberals, advocates of identity politics, single issue movements, centrist and progressive leaders of major social organizations, social democrats, community based non-profits, NGOs, unreliable allies, and the "people" (according to some, a classless category concealing class, racial, and gender oppression) – into enemies."

But can a Communist Party enlighten the working class, the other popular strata, if it does not have an ideological front against views which present capitalism as the only way, which simply promote different types of management of the exploitative system? The answer of the KKE to this is that it is impossible for the struggle of the people to develop without a firm and consistent ideological front against unscientific bourgeois and opportunist theories. This is especially true in today's conditions, when the role of the various NGOs has become obvious, which are connected financially and in other ways with the imperialist organizations. In conditions when social-democracy has been in government and has demonstrated in practice that is a pillar of support for the bourgeois political system. In these

conditions the communists not only must not give up on ideological work and struggle, but they must intensify the struggle even further against these forces.

ORGANIZATIONAL OPPORTUNISM

Webb rejects the Leninist organization, the organization of the vanguard of the working class which corresponds to the needs of the class struggle for the abolition of exploitation. He rejects the Leninist organization because he rejects the struggle for socialism and has taken sides with the bourgeois class for the perpetuation of capitalism.

So, a state machine which is both experienced and powerful will be opposed by a "party", according to him, based on the Internet, with an open door policy for new members as an organizational principle: "Joining should be no more difficult than joining other social organizations".

Thus we can see that not only does he reject the tried and tested organizational principles of the Communist Party of a new type, which were established in the era of Lenin, but he promotes the idea of a party of an NGO type, which corresponds to the content which he himself proposes and is in the direction of a "Communist Party" assimilated into the bourgeois system, which will work for the salvation and "correction" of capitalism and not for its overthrow.

A PARTY OF REVOLUTION OR REFORM?

Reform is the answer given by Webb to this fundamental question, which was posed a hundred years ago. His view denies that the party is the vanguard of the working class and subordinates its activity to the lowest level of class consciousness ("A party of socialism in the 21st century takes as its point of departure the issues that masses (relative term) are ready to fight for"). Of course a reformist line is proposed as well as the prioritization of the intervention in the institutions of the bourgeois state. The struggle for reforms within imperialism is acclaimed not only as a "means" but an end for this "new" party.

In reality, when has the path of reforming the capitalist system ever led to the abolition of the exploitation of man by man and the vindication of the workers' desires? The "recipe" of reforms has been tested by the peoples through various social-democratic and center-left governments, which in practice have been proved to be the main vehicles for the imposition of anti-people and anti-worker measures, and as pillars of support for the imperialist organizations and wars.

"MARXISM"...WITHOUT MARX

Webb calls the class nature of bourgeois democracy into question. As he writes: "what I'm chal-

lenging is the notion that everything is subordinate to class and class struggle no matter what the circumstances." He questions the class nature of the bourgeois state, that is to say the dictatorship of the US monopolies and claims that "thus the nature of the struggle isn't simply the people against the state, but the people winning positions and influence in the state and then utilizing them to make changes (within and outside of the state)".

This is an old opportunist position which Marx had already rejected in his era, and was revived by the bankrupt eurocommunist current. And this alone would be enough for us to come to the conclusion that the "Marxism", which is mentioned as being the theoretical basis of the "party of the 21st century", has nothing to do with Marx but aims at its vulgar distortion, the burying of revolutionary theory, and the deception of the workers.

ILLUSIONS CONCERNING THE ROLE OF THE US GOVERNMENT AND THE MONOPOLIES:

The Webb platform fosters illusions and works for the submission of the people to the government of the USA, that is to say the world's leading imperialist power: "The point isn't for the U.S. government to simply to crawl into a national shell, but to reinsert itself into world affairs on the basis of cooperation, peace, equality, and mutual benefits..."

At the same time he fosters illusions concerning a "humanized" version of the monopolies: "big sections of the transnational corporate class have pulled the plug on the American people, economy, and state... the commitment of major sections of the transnational elite to a people-friendly public sector, a vibrant domestic economy and a modern society has waned..."

As the Chairperson of the CPUSA has given up on a class approach to society, the abovementioned positions are to be expected. These are positions which not only have nothing to do with the history and struggles of the party he represents, but they bear no relation to reality either. The continuing occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan, the new imperialist war in Libya demonstrate what kind of activity the US government has developed outside its "national shell". And it conducts similar anti-people activity for the defense of the interests of the monopolies inside its own country.

ESCALATION OF THE LINE OF "TAILING" CAPITAL AND THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY:

The strengthening of political reaction which is intrinsic to imperialism and is intensifying in the conditions of crisis is interpreted as "ultra-right extremism".

This leads to conclusions which violate the truth and reality, such as "the election victory in 2008 cracked open the door for another "burst of freedom"", "we say too definitively that the independent forces stand no chance whatsoever of taking over the Democratic Party. That still may be the case, but it is a mistake to rule it out completely at this point." The equation of the working class and its movement with the trade union bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO is consistent with the political line of alliance with sections of capital.

TURN TO ANTICOMMUNISM:

Webb's article marks an overt siding with the class enemy and a complete alignment with contemporary state-level anticommunism. It calls for "an unequivocal break with Stalin" and lines up with the slanderous assault on socialist construction which offered so much to the Soviet peoples and played the decisive role in the anti-fascist victory of the peoples. In essence, these positions attempt to conceal the reality, the complex problems of the class struggle in the USSR and the tough confrontation of working class power with the bourgeois class in the countryside, the kulaks.

It adopts, in essence, every kind of slanderous simplification of complex problems, such as the sharpening of the class struggle in the USSR. The article goes a step further and joins up with Havel, Walesa and all the reactionary anticommunists of the EU who talk of "crimes against humanity". It lines up with the tendency that attempts to criminalize the Communist Parties and the defense of socialism: "to describe these atrocities as a mistake is a mistake - criminal".

As is well known the opportunist current in Europe that forms the so called Party of the European Left (ELP) holds a similar anti-historical position.

*Dear comrades of the CPUSA,
Members, friends and cadre of the CPUSA,
Conscious Workers of the US,*

At this very critical moment for your party the KKE calls on you to take into account that the ideological attack against the Party of a New Type focusing on its identity, its character and its organizational principles was unleashed from the very first moment of its existence. The revisionists have always supported the dissolution of the party of the working class; they have always been a pillar of support for the bourgeoisie. The bourgeois class and its supporters understood from the very first moment the role of the party in the political emancipation of the working class and its movement. The ideological attack which was unleashed continues up to the present day as is

demonstrated by Webb's article.

We call on you to take into account the fact that the party can only fulfill the role of the proletarian vanguard on the condition that it is equipped with unity of will, unity of action, and unity of strict discipline; wages a ceaseless struggle against opportunism and bourgeois ideology; Its internationalist character stems from its nature; it constitutes an integral part of the world communist movement.

Experience confirms and practice which is the yardstick of truth proves that the revolutionary line of struggle not only does not restrict mass work but it reinforces it. It strengthens the expectations of the working people, it provides a way-out and a perspective, it contributes to the change of the correlation of forces. The independent action of the party is a prerequisite for the formation of a policy of alliances that will be subordinated to and serve the strategy for the overthrow of capitalism.

In addition, we consider it necessary to take into account that the necessity of the socialist revolution and the construction of the new communist socio-economic formation is not determined by the correlation of forces, which is shaped at the various historical junctures, but by the historical need to resolve the basic contradiction between capital and labor. The counterrevolutions in the USSR and the other socialist countries have not altered the character of our era which is an era of transition from capitalism to socialism which is timely and necessary as shown by the tragedy of the millions of workers and unemployed who suffer from exploitation and the intensification of the problems that the exploitative system causes.

We believe that the replacement of the principles of Marxism Leninism by revisionist approaches in the name of national peculiarities caused a great deal of damage to the communist movement and continues to

do so. No national peculiarity can negate the necessity for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, the necessity for the conquest of political power by the working class, for the socialization of production and central planning. The economic crisis that broke out in the capitalist world and the intensification of the inter-imperialist contradictions further highlight the timeliness of socialism. Under these conditions the driving back of the new wave of state anticommunism, the defence of the socialism we knew, of its great contribution to the world working class, of the identity and the revolutionary traditions of the communist movement acquire a special importance.

Dear comrades,

Historical experience, the developments themselves have refuted the views that spoke of "the end of history", the "obsolescence of Marxism-Leninism" and the "end of the Communist Parties". On the contrary, today there is a stronger need for the existence of Communist Parties that have roots in the working class and the workplaces, which believe in Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The labor movement must consciously act and rise to the challenge to ensure the existence of a revolutionary party of the working class. This is a crucial duty and a challenge for the most advanced workers and for communists in all the countries of the world and of course above all in the USA.

The consistent confrontation with and rejection of this opportunist-liquidationist platform is a requirement which springs from the historical traditions the labor and communist movement in the USA, it is a condition for the revival of revolutionary communist ideals in the US labor movement and society.

- The International Relations Section of the CC of KKE

Reprinted From The KKE's Web site: <http://inter.kke.gr/News/news2011/2011-04-13-kke-to-cpusa>



KKE Members Demonstrate against Imperialist EU forced austerity outside of the Acropolis in Athens, Greece.

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la causa de todos los pueblos oprimidos"*

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FIGHTBACK

Response to Sam Webb's "Main report to the Communist Party USA National Committee, November 17, 2012"

by James Thompson

What is really significant about Chairperson Webb's "report" is that it is not a report at all. The document is written in vague generalities with a great deal of bombast, pontification and posturing. Chairperson Webb fails to specify what the CPUSA has been doing as an organized party or what it intends to do in the future. He only makes vague statements about how almost all of the members participated in the election. By participation, does he mean managing campaigns, running candidates, doing fundraising or working in a capitalist party's campaign? Perhaps he just means voting. This is unclear.

It appears that Chairman Webb has forgotten Marx' teaching that "content precedes form." This paper is all about form with little regard to content.

Let's examine the title of the document "Defeat for the right, victory for the people & democracy." The first phrase "defeat for the right" is hard to fathom. Although it must be conceded that President Obama has taken a more progressive stance on a number of issues when compared with his opponent, candidate Romney, this does not mean that President Obama is a socialist or communist. He is a member of one of the two ruling bourgeois parties in the United States. For this reason, it can be expected that he will support the interests of the wealthy classes more often than not. It should also be remembered that he was elected with the endorsements of both Colin Powell and Michael Bloomberg. His campaign received truckloads of money from the ultra-wealthy and their corporate surrogates. These endorsements and financial contributions must be remunerated by Mr. Obama and such remuneration will dearly cost the people.

The second phrase "victory for the people" is also hard to stomach. To which people is Mr. Webb referring? Is he referring to the people of Palestine and/or Iran? Is he referring to workers in this country who are oppressed? Is he referring to labor union members who received no support from the president on passing the Employee Free Choice Act? Is he referring to maimed

and deceased veterans returning from the endless imperialist wars in the Middle East and elsewhere? Perhaps Mr. Webb is referring to the people on Wall Street and in corporate offices across the USA. If you look at Mr. Obama's record, it is clear that he has served those people well over the last four years.

The third phrase "victory for... Democracy" also presents some problems. To what kind of democracy is Mr. Webb referring? In the USA, there is only one form of democracy and it is bourgeois democracy. This form of democracy serves to protect the interests of the wealthy classes. It protects the wealthy classes from the demands of working people. It upholds the interests of imperialism, while simultaneously creating an illusion among workers that they really have a voice in the conduct of the business of the country. Although elections, even bourgeois elections, are an important arena for struggle, we should not harbor any illusions about their real purpose, which is to prop up the wealthy classes. As Lenin said, "elections solve nothing."

Mr. Webb says "The better angels of the American people spread their wings." This phraseology would be appropriate if written by a Catholic priest rather than the Chairperson of the Communist Party. Such idealistic thinking should be anathema to a Communist Party based on Marxism Leninism and dialectical materialism.

It is interesting that Mr. Webb notes that "An African-American president was reelected to the presidency, the Democrats unexpectedly strengthened their hand in the Senate and House, new progressive voices, like Elizabeth Warren, are coming to Washington, and victories, including for marriage equality, occurred at the state level." Although it is a fact that an African-American was elected to the office of presidency, what does this mean in terms of the progressive struggle? In fact, the statement reflects some racist thinking. Martin Luther King, Jr told us that people should be judged not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character. It opens the question "What would Mr. Webb suggest we do if Dennis Kucinich was running against Clarence Thomas?" Mr. Webb's reference to Elizabeth Warren "coming to Washington" fails to recognize that also the right wing Tea Party extremist, Ted Cruz, from Texas, will also be moving to Washington.

Mr. Webb maintains "The Communist Party said a year ago that the 2012 elections would be the main front of the class and democratic struggle and subsequent events have confirmed that fact." To what events is Mr. Webb referring? Many people agree that wages and

benefits of workers are always the front line of the class struggle. The fight for peace and justice and the right to organize are also main fronts of the class struggle. The fight against imperialism is also an important front in the class struggle. Mr. Webb goes on "Indeed, we argued...that defeating right-wing extremism was the key to moving the whole chain of democratic struggle forward." There is only one way to defeat right-wing extremism once and for all and that will happen when socialism replaces capitalism on a global level. Again, it must be asked that if Mr. Webb believed that this election was crucial to the class struggle, what did the CPUSA do to participate in that struggle? Mr. Webb makes note that "a few weeks before the election, I attended a rally in Cleveland organized by the Teamsters, where many labor leaders and members of Congress spoke of the urgency of supporting President Obama." Gus Hall and William Foster must be spinning in their graves. They would certainly ask why the chairperson of the CPUSA was merely attending a labor rally but not speaking. They might also ask if the party attempted to organize any activities of its own.

Mr. Webb makes a good point when he says "Not least, President Obama needs to hear from the tens of millions who reelected him." However, he goes on to confusing statements such as "The president is the most popular politician in the country. Nobody has the political and moral authority that he has. He isn't a radical, but by the same token to classify him as a run-of-the-mill capitalist politician doesn't fit either. Of the Democratic Party presidents of the 20th century, none had the deep democratic sensibilities that he possesses. It is crucial that he lead the struggle." To what struggle is Mr. Webb referring? Is he referring to the fact that Mr. Obama has deported more immigrants than any other president? Is he referring to Mr. Obama's use of drones to assassinate foreign nationals? Is he referring to the struggle for the Employee Free Choice Act? Mr. Webb also states "Which is where communists, socialists and left and progressive people come into the picture. Our main task is to build broad people's unity, guarantee the participation of the key social and class forces, counter the right-wing narrative with a working-class and people's narrative, and bring forward an alternative program." It would be helpful if Mr. Webb could be specific about the concrete actions that need to happen to bring this about.

Mr. Webb writes "For some time now our party has recognized powerful progressive trends in the labor movement. In this election, the actions of labor brought those trends to a new level." The question must be

asked "What is the party doing to build and support 'progressive trends in the labor movement'?"

In his section on "foreign policy", Mr. Webb takes some issue with the Obama administration "There is some reappraisal of the conduct of our foreign policy going on in the Obama administration and the national security state." Again, Mr. Webb needs to be more specific about this "reappraisal." He goes on "In all likelihood some changes will occur, not necessarily unimportant ones, but at the same time don't expect the Obama administration or US ruling circles to give up their global ambitions." Without labeling administration policies as imperialist, he does specify a number of global hotspots to which the Obama administration has mimicked the positions of right wing extremists including Iran, Palestine, Cuba, DPRK and Latin America among others. However, he proposes no action to oppose imperialism.

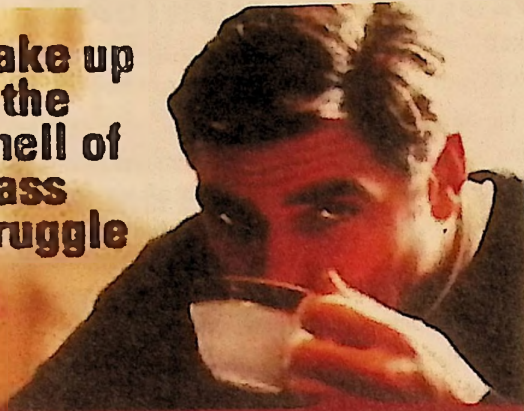
Mr. Webb seems to not have learned anything from Mr. Romney's 47% remark. Speaking of the CPUSA, he writes "Our main audience is not among those who sat out the election struggle, but among those who were in its front ranks." Since reports indicate that only 60% of eligible voters voted in the most recent election, he is dismissing the other 40% who may have been disgruntled with the capitalist parties and their policies. He is also dismissing people who are not eligible to vote. This would include large segments of the population such as undocumented immigrant workers, and people with felonies. He is also dismissing all those who have failed to register to vote without any study of why they failed to register. He notes that the CPUSA is too small. With such myopic vision, one can only say "no wonder."

In response to his vague statements about building the party, the question should be asked "What are the concrete steps the party will take to build a larger party?"

Another man by the name of Webb, Jack Webb, who played the part of Sergeant Joe Friday, in the television series *Dragnet* many years ago used to say, "Just the facts, ma'am." This is important to remember when discussing politics and economics. If we Communists are to have any credibility at all, we must be scientific in our analyses, method and program. We need leadership which meets those standards. The people of this country don't need any more talking heads. There is enough of that on their TV.

Reprinted from: <http://houstoncommunistparty.com/response-to-sam-webbs-main-report-to-the-communist-party-usa-national-committee-november-17-2012/>

wake up
to the
smell of
class
struggle



Marxism Leninism

Ideological Fightback is published quarterly by the Ideological Fightback collective. We believe in the science of Marxism-Leninism and reject the attempts of the present faction that usurped control of the CPUSA who direct workers toward social-democracy as a solution to their problems.

We are pro-Soviet, and actively campaign for the restoration of socialism in the former Soviet Union and other former socialist countries.

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