



"Without a Revolutionary Theory  
There can be no Revolutionary Practice!"

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# A DECLARATION

The 40-year-old struggle for a Marxist-Leninist Party of the American working class enters a new stage

Thirty-nine years ago, inspired by the Russian Bolshevik revolution, and convinced by the victorious theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism, revolutionary American workers hoisted the banner of proletarian internationalism and established the Communist Party. The validity of the Marxist-Leninist internationalist outlook of these workers was confirmed by this historic circumstance in our country, just as in every other, this new Marxist-Leninist Communist Party was a logical outgrowth of the struggle against the same bourgeois ideology, and in the first place, against opportunism — bourgeois theory and practice — masquerading as "labor" policy.

It was a declaration of war not only against the "two-party" swindle, but likewise against the petty-bourgeois reformist "municipal" and "post office" socialism. It not only hurled defiance at bourgeois police terror and its extra-legal auxiliaries; but likewise, it exposed the counter-revolutionary essence of anarcho-revolutionism and its shallow and narrow rejection of political action, its adventurism, dual unionism, and sectarianism. It not only rejected the openly bourgeois doctrine of "white supremacy", but likewise spurned its more subtle variants—the denial of the special, revolutionary character of the Negro question in the U. S., and the reformist sermon on "patience".

The formation of the Communist Party was the most decisive historic event in the development of the U. S. working class movement. For, although the basic essentials of a rounded revolutionary policy on the trade union question, the Negro question, and sectarianism were developed only in the course of a decade — still, the formation of the Party was the decisive step, first and foremost because: it enlisted an indestructible core of American workers in the cause of Marxism-Leninism, as a contingent of a world proletarian revolutionary front against imperialism, and for the defense and the advancement of socialism.

As such, this new Party characterized modern capitalism as monopoly capitalism, and showed that imperialism is not a mere policy of government, but the highest and, at the same time, the moribund stage of development of the capitalist social system itself.

The new Party recognized not merely that socialism is the inevitable answer to imperialist wars, poverty, oppression and insecurity — but also that a new revolutionary state power led by the working class with the support of the most oppressed of the remainder of the producing population — in short, a dictatorship of the proletariat — is an indispensable requirement for

smashing capitalism and laying the foundations for the development of socialism, the first stage of Communism.

The new Party determined to mold itself on the lines of Lenin's principles of Party organization, as a "Party of a new type", a Marxist revolutionary, working class party, worthy of the historic task of leading in the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The new Party dedicated itself to the cause of international proletarian solidarity, the very negation of all chauvinist, nationalistic, jingoistic, exclusionist ties with the U. S. bourgeoisie. This internationalism was expressed first of all in its unhesitating and uncompromising defense of the October Revolution as not only the liberator of the Russian masses, but as the fortress, the champion, the rallying point of the working class and the oppressed masses of the whole world against imperialism. Secondly, this internationalism was expressed by the establishment of the closest possible fraternal relations with other Communist Parties through affiliation with the Communist International.

The basic soundness of these principles of the founders of the CPUSA is confirmed again today in the call of the Twelve-Party Declaration for an intensified struggle against revisionism. That historic Communist statement defined the main features of modern revisionism as: 1) Denial of the historic necessity for the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat; 2) Denial of the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party; 3) Rejection of the principles of proletarian internationalism; 4) Rejection of the Leninist principles of Party organization.

Truly, then, the Communist Party was born in the struggle against revisionism!

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The founders of the Communist Party base themselves upon principles of Marxism-Leninism, the fundamental condition for defeating revisionism, and all other forms of opportunism.

However, the history of the Communist Party of every country—and especially that of the CPUSA — has shown that basic Marxist-Leninist principles must be constantly defended, renewed, and developed in the struggle against opportunist deviations within the Party.

The reason for this is clear to workers who understand these words of the Twelve-Party Declaration: "The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source."

So serious have these bourgeois influences and imperialist pressures been on the Party, that

three times they have led to mortal crisis.

In 1928-1929, the dominant leadership headed by Jay Lovestone promulgated the notorious revisionist theory of "American exceptionalism", according to which Marxist-Leninist theories are not valid for the United States. Timely advice by the international movement aided decisively in enabling the Party to rid itself of Lovestone's misleadership. This action occurred on the very eve of the 1929-32 economic crisis, an event which dramatically exposed the anti-working class nature of "American exceptionalism". Lovestoneism was shown to be a product of bourgeois influence within the ranks of the Party.

In 1943-44, the entire leadership, headed by Earl Browder, and including Foster, Dennis, Davis, et al, promulgated the revisionist theory of "progressive imperialism", according to which imperialism (American imperialism in particular) would proceed in the post-World War II era to raise wages and lower its rate of profit in a program of "enlightened self-interest", in cooperation with the USSR. Timely advice from the international movement aided decisively in enabling the Party to rid itself of Browder's misleadership.

The post-war assaults by monopoly capitalism on the political and economic position of the working class, and the development of the imperialist Cold War policies exposed the anti-working class nature of Browderism. Browderite revisionism was revealed as the product of bourgeois influences in the Party, brought to fruition in the long period of collaboration with the "liberal" bourgeoisie and in the period of war-time prosperity.

As we have noted, dramatic, historic developments (the Great Depression and the "Cold War") furnished quick confirmation of the correctness of the Party's rejection of Lovestoneism and Browderism.

But the very forcefulness of these objective events was allowed to serve in place of the needed deepening of Marxist-Leninist understanding in the Party. As a result, the Party never carried through a full eradication of the old revisionist ideas, the exposure of their class sources; and it preserved and built up a traditional bureaucracy effectively insulated against the operation of the Marxist-Leninist practice of criticism, and incapable of self-criticism. In this way, not only was the ideological level of our Party forced to remain at a low level, but at the same time, unification, purification, and corrective replacements of leadership were made almost impossible.

In the post World War II period, bourgeois influences within

## Communist Conference

### Marxist-Leninist Caucus Maps New Party

A historic Communist Conference was held in New York City on the weekend of August 16-17. Eighty-three delegates, representing local caucuses throughout the na-

tion, met to guarantee the survival of Marxism-Leninism in the U.S.A. This meeting of the most consistent Marxist-Leninist forces in the Party, amongst whom were several already expelled leaders, unanimously approved a collective course of action and ideological direction. Thus a new stage was reached in the struggle against revisionism which has wracked the CPUSA for the last two years.

The call to the Conference had been issued by a provisional committee and had the endorsement of the Waterfront Section, the Lower Harlem Section, the North Philadelphia Section and of State Committee members in New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio. In addition, rank and file members from many other areas of the Party were present.

The Party bureaucracy's answer to the call was a statement issued by the National Administrative Committee, threatening any member who attended with immediate expulsion. The statement was issued in that week-end's Worker, along with a story naming various people as "ring-leaders" of the group. One of the first actions of the Conference was to vote a condemnation of this as "another service rendered to the ruling class by the leadership of the CPUSA, we now 'finger' us to the FBI."

The Conference was opened by Harry Haywood, internationally known authority on the Negro question. Haywood greeted the delegates and submitted a proposed agenda which was unanimously adopted.

Lucille Bethancourt, former Smith Act defendant, and one of the leaders of the movement in Chicago, chaired the first session.

One could not avoid noticing the outstanding composition of the Conference. Workers, Negroes and Puerto Ricans stood out at this Conference in sharp contrast to present day meetings of the CPUSA. Forty percent were under 45 years of age and the average age level was thirty-six! This composition and the dynamic enthusiasm of the delegates prompted one of them to say: An hour has struck!

The main political report was delivered by Armando Roman, party veteran, leader of the Puerto Rican Section, and a member of the New York State Committee. He analyzed the struggle raging in the Middle East and the serious threat of war, exposed the Titoite revisionist line of the leadership on all fundamental questions of the class struggle, and proposed concrete programmatic steps to guarantee the survival of Marxism-Leninism in the USA.

On Sunday the Conference reconvened amidst great enthusiasm. After unanimous approval of the political report it proceeded to the report on Organization. The report, entitled "Immediate Organizational Tasks of the Marxist-Leninist caucus in the CPUSA", was delivered by A. Marino, Waterfront Section organizer and member of the N. Y. State Committee. It dealt with the latest developments in the Party crisis, traced the history of the Marxist-Leninist Caucus, and called for the formation of a Provisional Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of a Marxist-Leninist

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the Party combined, in effect, with the pressures of imperialist repression against the Party. As a source of revisionism, illusions about the vitality of American imperialism were reinforced now by the imprisonment and terror employed by the government against the Party.

Under these circumstances, the shallowness of the "correction" of 1945 became apparent. Illusions about the possibility of continued alliance with the "liberal" bourgeoisie, continued to be the center of the political orientation of the Party leadership.

Simultaneously, under the pressure of the Smith Act prosecutions, the Party leadership developed the revisionist dogma of "peaceful, parliamentary, constitutional transition to socialism" in the United States through the evolution of the people's front. (See W. Z. Foster, History of the CPUSA p. 555).

Soon, outright liquidation of the Party was being advanced aggressively by the revisionists. They pursued this policy, not only in the field of open "coalition" political work, but in their line for the direction of the illegal Party organization. Every development was seized upon to justify neo-Browderism — the ending of the Korean War, the Geneva Spirit, etc.

The revisionists saw their great opportunity with the self-critical revelations made by the 20th Congress of the CPSU. Under the open leadership of the Gates forces, they moved for the liquidation of the Communist Party. In place of the banner of Marxist-Leninist proletarian solidarity, they raised the opportunist slogans of "National Communism".

Thus was precipitated the present mortal crisis in the Communist Party of the United States.

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But both the basis of the present internal struggle and the eternal conditions of its development differ decisively from those prevailing during the two previous crises.

The eternal setting of the present internal struggle is, above all, the already advanced second stage of the general crisis of world capitalism, marked by these chief features:

First: the growth of the military, economic and political strength of the socialist world, guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism.

Second: the simultaneous emergence of an irresistible upsurge of the national liberation movements.

Third: the corresponding de-

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# HIGHLIGHTS OF

## Excerpts From Reports

Report delivered by Armando Roman, Secretary. The following excerpts highlight the main points of the political report to the August 16-17 Conference. The full report will be printed later.

### On Struggle For Peace

The main task which Communists throughout the world face at this period of history is the fight for peace. The fight for peace calls first of all for effective containment of imperialism, and among American imperialism, since American imperialism has developed not only as the greatest exploiter in the world, but also as the gendarme of world imperialism.

The most decisive sector in the fight for peace is the working class and specially the trade union movement. But how can the leadership of the CPUSA help to generate a peace movement within the ranks of labor if its labor policy is based on the tactic of trailing the trade union bureaucrats? How can they build any movement against imperialism if they refuse to expose the imperialist agents within the labor movement. Exposure of the connivance at the trade union brass with the war-mongering American imperialists is a prerequisite for the mobilization of labor's participation in the struggle for peace.

### On Negro Question

The next most important sec-

tor in the fight for peace is the Negro people. The Negro question is the Achilles heel of U. S. imperialism. This is correct. One bears the leadership of the CPUSA repeat this over and over while at the same time, in practice, it works to prevent the full impact of the Negro liberation struggle in the fight for peace.

From Moscow to Peking, from New Delhi to Caracas, Little Rock has become the symbol of American imperialist oppression. The Puerto Ricans, the Venezuelans, the Algerians of the Lebanese, indeed all the oppressed colonial peoples perceive a reflected identity of their problems in those of the Negro people in the United States.

It is precisely in this international aspect of the Negro people's struggle that the reformist line of the Party leadership in regard to the Negro question has been most harmful. Nor is it accidental that this is so.

The theoretical propositions advanced by James Allen, Jim Jackson and Ben Davis, which represent in fact the line of the whole leadership, is aimed at destroying the theoretical base of the Negro question. This is the understanding that the Negro question essentially involves the existence of a nation and people oppressed by American imperialism within the boundaries of the United States. Without this conception, the revolutionary edge and the international character of the Negro question is impossible. It is for this reason that the Party leadership spared no

effort to "Americanize" the Negro question and to limit its strategic aim to the achievement of civil rights, that is, to reforms.

Another obstacle in the way of adding fully the Negro liberation struggle to the peace front has been the distortion of the Marxist-Leninist all-class unity tactics on the Negro question. Here again we observe the same class collaborationist policies of TAILING, applied specifically to the national question.

It is a beautiful dream to expect ALL classes to be integrated fully in any national liberation front. Beautiful, but dangerous and deadly for the anti-imperialist struggle.

### On Struggle Against Revisionism

Last but not least in the struggle for peace, is the task of eradicating revisionism and its most deadly variant, Titoism, from the ranks of the Communists. This is something we have to keep constantly in mind. Without a CP free from every vestige of revisionism, the fight for peace becomes stagnant and ineffective. That is just the reason why the peace movement in the U. S. is so obviously backward. Not unless and until there exists a real Marxist-Leninist Party in the U. S., with the purity of its working class ideology safeguarded, can there develop a powerful and effective peace movement. . . .

Recent events on an international scale demonstrate that the world we are living in today

is pregnant with revolution. It proves that the general crisis of the capitalist system in its second stage of development, is not just a theoretical abstraction but a living reality, a terrible reality for world imperialism.

This real world does not conform to the picture painted by the leadership of the CPUSA before, during, or since the 16th Party Convention. They painted a picture of a world full of "crisis" in the Communist movement, "Hungarian tragedy, etc.

From this distortion of world reality flowed the political perspective of "Independence", "Peaceful Constitutional transition," their statements of "guarding against the excessive reliance on the international movement"; "The uncritical attitude towards the Soviet Union" etc.

That subjective world of frightened people has nothing to do with the real world of the capitalist system in severe and acute crisis. . . .

Until now we have been involved in a very decisive phase of the inner-party struggle. This phase concerned us almost exclusively with the fight for ideology. With the split which has been forced by the leadership, a new phase in the struggle has emerged. No more can we just confine the struggle to the ideological phase. From now on we must seek the concretization of theory in a wider field of practice. From now on our task can't be limited to convincing members of the CPUSA of correctness of Marxism-Leninism and of the bankruptcy of the Titoite line of the leadership.

Excerpts from the organizational report delivered by A. MARINO.

Two years of inner-Party struggle since the revisionists launched their assault on Marxism-Leninism have radically transformed the Party. Of 17 or 18 thousand members at the time of the Convention, it has been reduced to 3 thousand members. All the glowing reports of "healthy status" of the Party are so many lies. The party is prostrate and with the present policies being pursued by the Titoite leadership it is no longer a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party!

We envision the CP as The vanguard of the working class, the 16th Convention abolished that concept.

We call for the Leninist principles of Party organization and above all democratic centralism, which was abandoned at the Convention.

We believe in criticism and self-criticism as the only guarantees for a real-Marxist-Leninist party. The Convention abandoned those principles.

Our expulsion from the CPUSA presents us with an inescapable responsibility. And that is to find the way to chart the course and carry on our fight for a real Marxist-Leninist party, under any and all conditions!

We therefore propose that this Conference and the organizations represented here, declare ourselves a Provisional Organizing Committee for the re-constitution of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

That this Provisional Organizing Committee adopts the Leninist Principles of Organization and that our movement shall henceforth function on the basis of Democratic Centralism.

That this Conference elect a 19-member National Steering Committee whose duty it shall be to act as a temporary leadership, until such time as this Conference reconvenes in Convention.

The National Steering Committee shall accord representation to any new areas, or districts in which it established a local organization.

The incoming national steering committee shall have the immediate duty of issuing a set of rules.

### MEMBERSHIP—

Any person who agrees with the political line of the Provisional Organizing Committee, who actively shall be eligible for membership.

Rights and Duties of Members. All members have the right and duty to help in the determination of policy.

All members have the right of election and being elected.

All members shall have the right to freely criticize any officer or member of the Provisional Organizing Committee.

### DUES—

A minimum of 50c per month shall be paid by all members.

### PRESS—

This conference authorizes the establishment of a monthly publication. Said publication shall constitute the official organ of the Provisional Organizing Committee.

## Declaration

(Continued from page 1)

tion" of the agrarian question in the South, and in the rest of the country, through the blind operation of economic forces which reduce the farm toilers to abject poverty in a land bursting with agricultural surpluses.

7) We will withhold, henceforth, the title "Comrade" from those who used their position of leadership in the CPUSA to subvert and destroy the Marxist-Leninist movement in Puerto Rico, and who spurned the hand of international solidarity extended by the Communists of Latin America at the time of the 16th National Convention.

8) We denounce their unauthorized and secret liquidation of the Communist Party in the South in 1951.

9) We repudiate their bourgeois nationalist distortion of fact and theory regarding the position of the Jewish population and the Jewish question in the USSR and other socialist countries.

10) We denounce their attempts to discourage the special struggles of Negro and white women in the cause of peace and democracy and women's rights — at the very time when women workers have come to constitute a third of American wage labor.

11) We condemn their liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist youth movement — at a time when the imperialist bourgeoisie has developed its most concentrated attack on the interests of American youth.

The old CP leadership, which has a historically-confirmed habit of hartering Marxist-Leninist political and organization principles (via the "interpretation" route) for momentary and illusory "advantages" in the trade union field, electoral field, in the courts, etc.

Such a "leadership" has shown itself unworthy of the confidence of the American working class

and of the international movement. Their policies have reduced a still-declining organization to a mere shell of some 2 to 3 thousand members, mostly inactive. Such a "leadership" has forfeited all claim to the militant and internationalist traditions of the founders of the CPUSA.

Therefore, we of the Marxist-Leninist caucus of the old Party, having met in a national conference on August 16th - 17th 1958, have constituted ourselves as a Provisional Committee for the Reconstitution of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

Our membership is composed mainly of proletarians, Negro, white, and Puerto Rican from a number of industrial centers of the Eastern and Mid-Western sections of the United States. We directly represent the former caucus movement. We represent indirectly the far wider group of Communists with or temporarily without organizational connections, who share our views of the present political situation; we are confident that we represent in an organized form the revolutionary, internationalist Marxist-Leninist traditions of those American workers who established the CPUSA 39 years ago.

We mark this anniversary of that event by reaffirming the principles of Marxism-Leninism. We call upon all those who adhere to these principles to join with us in developing a program for building the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in our country.

Harry Haywood  
Joe Dougher  
Armando Roman  
A. Marino  
Howard Penn  
Alma Velez  
Lucille Bethancourt  
Mary Moore  
Les Thornton  
Archie Miller  
Bill Porter  
Issie Farber

## The Jewish Question

By Izzy Farber — N. Y.  
"It is . . . among the Jewish members of our Party here in the United States that the revisionists and liquidators have played the greatest havoc, with their deliberate confusion of the issue of nationalism.

"Unmoved by the growing anti-Semitism in the U. S., coincident with the rise of the white citizens councils and the developing economic crisis, they decided to live with the demobilization of Jewish work in the Communist Party, rather than endanger "unity". They have taken no steps to repudiate their infamous line on the Jews in the Soviet Union. The international solidarity of the proletariat in the struggle against American imperialism has been subordinated to the demands of petty-bourgeois Jewish nationalism.

"Admitting that anti-Semitism is illegal and prosecuted by public law in the Soviet Union, all of these detractors base themselves on the alleged "failure" of the Soviet C.P. to reestablish Jewish culture in the Yiddish language. Admitting that the best culture of the Jewish people, that of Sholom Aleichem, Peretz, and living authors such as Ehrenberg, Kasedevich, Siminov, are published in the Russian language (Why don't they, Levy, Fast, Schappes, etc. write in Yiddish?) they are nevertheless demanding that the Soviet government immediately take steps to establish schools, newspapers, magazines and theatres in the Yiddish language, under penalty of confirming their accusation that the Soviets are "departing from Leninist national

policy" and even that they are "tolerant" of anti-Semitism. Of course there may be Jews in the Soviet Union who have a need for socialist cultural expression in Yiddish. But the extent of that need is a matter for the Soviet comrades, including the Soviet Jewish comrades, to decide. From here, any such demand is unwarranted and an arrogant interference in the affairs of a brother Marxist party, and is an attempt to nurture hatred for the Soviet Union.

"To genuine Marxist-Leninists . . . the national question is part of the general question of the struggle against imperialism and for socialism. Contrary to the nationalists of Yugoslavia, Hungary, etc. and their supporters, to whom nationalism is an absolute, Marxists support national movements only when they are directed against imperialism and to the extent that they are directed against imperialism.

"The real interest of the Jewish people, and especially of the Jewish working class, is opposed to those Jewish nationalist policies which function in the interest of imperialism . . . Their interests lie with the seventy million Arabs in the fight for liberation from Eisenhower's Middle East doctrine of maintaining Standard Oil's profits, and with the Negro and Puerto Rican people in their fight against discrimination in the U. S. And the first step must be to sweep away the clouds of nationalist chauvinism directed against the Soviet Union."

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### SUGGESTED READING

"Struggle Against Yugoslav Revisionism". Series in Peking Review.

Hilda Moore  
Anna Ramirez  
Issie Segun  
Carl Williams  
A. Killpatrick  
James Josephs

# THE CONFERENCE

## On Peace

Howard, Philadelphia  
The key question for every Communist Party is the question of peace. This is especially true here in the U.S.A. because American imperialism is responsible for the war drive. We have to win the American working class for a decisive struggle for peace.

## 6-Hour Day

John — Pittsburgh  
I would like to speak on the six-hour day with 8 hours pay. There must be a Marxist approach to the problems of the workers in order for the party to be in the leadership. The only way to have socialism is to have the workers control surplus value. The struggle for the eight-hour day took place 100 years ago! What are we to do? Wait another 100 years for any further progress?

The fight for a shorter work week will bring the most militant workers forward. In such a struggle the youth question and the Negro question will be brought forward. The people will accept it. It will be an ideal program for a mass movement.

## Security

By S. — Pa.  
I feel, according to what I have learned in my few years in the Party, that one of the most important things during this most difficult struggle, is that we should be growing, recruiting, building our party — even during the period of the most vicious attacks upon the whole progressive movement. We have seen the consistent decline in party membership. This deserves our consideration, because if we are to move along Marxist-Leninist lines at this point, we must not be under the illusion that we are not going to be attacked head-on by the ruling class.

One of the questions we should deal with is the question of security; in my estimation there have been a lot of false concepts built up around "security". "Security" to the extent that a great number who could have been active, could have been waging ideological struggle against the ruling class, have been silenced and pushed underground.

When Marxists talk about security, they are not concerned solely with personal security. The maximum effort must be placed upon protecting the working class. If we are successful in protecting the working class, they will in turn be successful in protecting us.

## Youth

The youth must have their own organization, an organization especially designed to educate our young people for socialism, and win them as allies of the workers. The young people must be hardened to the class struggle and taught how to take their place at the side of the working class. We must base our work among the working class youth and Negro youth.

The history of the American communist movement shows that whenever the leadership was getting ready to liquidate the Party, they first discouraged work among the youth. They realize that in order to do away with the struggle altogether, it is necessary to kill the enthusiasm of the young people by dispersing their struggle. We will do the opposite! We will reconstruct a youth movement. We will prepare the way for the develop-

ment of a revolutionary program leading to a mass movement of the youth for peace, jobs and socialism.

## Spirit of the Conference

BETTY, N. Y.  
I would like to say that from the first moment this conference opened it was an inspiration — the whole conduct, the reports, the discussion, the representation. I haven't seen this kind of spirit for many years. The inspiration we get from this conference we must take back with us, convey it and win recruits. Our slogan must be convey, win to the line, win to the Marxist-Leninist party. There are precious people with whom we have contacts; we already have in our minds comrades we could win. We are about 300 now, and we can be six or seven hundred soon. This is how good we feel about the conference!

## Cult of the Individual

Trade Unionist, N. Y. area  
I am very happy to hear the emphasis on the struggle against the cult of the individual because when you get right down to it, when you ask yourself why many honest rank and filers don't follow us, the answer is this very thing — the cult of the individual. Most comrades in the party say or think: Well, Bob Thompson fought in Spain, Ben Davis fought for the Scottsboro boys, Foster led the Great Steel Strike . . . and we know there is something wrong, but how can these people be so corrupt? How is it possible that these people are everything you say they are? We must stay with them, we can't abandon these leaders. And so it goes. The cult of the individual has permeated the Party for many years, and has led the Party to its present plight.

## The South

Many years ago in the deep South I was recruited into the Communist Party. A month ago I returned there for a visit.

There is a struggle to vote in the deep South. For twenty-eight years or more our Party developed and applied the Leninist concept of an oppressed Negro nation within the United States. We advanced the struggle for Negro rights.

A few days ago I had the opportunity to hear James Jackson, speaking as the southern director of the Communist Party. He said that a Negro nation never did exist and does not exist today. The only trouble is, they have not been melted into the pot yet! This is more tragic than funny.

In the South there is no Communist Party. It has been dissolved. What is the meaning of the dissolution? It is the job for which the liquidationists are now reaping the rewards in the dismissal of the Smith Act cases.

In the South a CP is needed more than ever before . . . The responsibility will be great; no other will do it for us. Let us join hands again and bring forth a program that will get us out of the rut . . . because comrades in South are looking to this conference.

## On Leadership

KIL, CLEVELAND  
If we are going to reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist party, can we do it from the old dead carcass party or revisionism? Go back to 1944. It was the majority of the present leadership who dissolved the party. The same in this crisis. In 1945 we reconstituted the party with the aid of Duolos. At this last convention they didn't want to hear about Duolos or any other "foreigner". They said we are basing our principles on Washington, Lincoln, Paine and Douglass. They forgot about the Communist Manifesto and the American working class.

As a member of a union from an industrial state, I saw the revisionists tear up the Party all over the state. They are now talking about what other organizations will do, and don't ever say what our party will do. At the last convention I asked whether they are giving up the principles of Marxism. The little revisionists in the State Board — when you push them into a corner, they say, lets see what the National will do! I tell them damn the National! They are not going to do anything!

The present leadership doesn't really have a membership. Most of the working class section of this party is sitting on the side lines, waiting to see what is going to happen — not because they don't want a party, but they are waiting to see what this Party will do. The leadership says: in the name of unity lets forget about politics, theory and ideology and go do some mass work. Marx said that theory is a guide to action. If you don't have revolutionary theory, you don't do anything.

## Marxist Education

By a Philadelphia Housewife  
I felt that Comrade Marino's report was very good, that he put it on the line in a simple way. In the past we didn't prepare ourselves for revolutionary struggle. We had no conception of what had to be done in a revolutionary organization. I know for myself, after the convention, I wasn't convinced that the leadership was revisionist. I wasn't alert to it because the working class Negro cadres have been neglected, and we have paid for it by not knowing how to open our mouths when we wanted to. We have to develop our Negro cadres politically and ideologically. They must be accepted on an equal basis. There can't be catering and no criticism if we are to understand ideologically what we are to do in the movement. There should be a concrete program for study, to develop ideologically every single person.

In the past few weeks, with the Middle Eastern situation, the Party in Pennsylvania took almost no stand. All over the world they talked about what the United States was doing in Lebanon, but our leadership was so tired and sleepy they couldn't discuss it.

There are no political babies here and we are going to fight. We don't have any choice! And when we do fight we will win the workers!

## Excerpts From Rank and File Speeches

### A Puerto Rican Comrade

. . . I remember when I came to America in 1926. I was a Nationalist then. I spoke in the streets of Harlem. I remember in 1931 when the Nationalists were invited to participate in the May Day demonstration — it was one of the greatest experiences of my life. There were 200,000 people in that demonstration, but this is the significant part: there were Americans, Latin Americans, Negroes, Chinese, Indonesians — people from every country of the world. And there were slogans for the independence of Puerto Rico. I couldn't resist joining the Communist Party that very same day, and I did. Very soon I learned a great lesson — that the fight for independence of Puerto Rico, and for all colonial peoples, was an integral part of the fight for the overthrow of capitalism.

Now this change — the party leaders started saying imperialism is progressive in Puerto Rico! "No," they said, "we can't raise the slogan of independence under the Roosevelt administration."

And now the same thing. They tell us we can't achieve independence except through gradual measures, through support of the commonwealth state!

. . . The American Communist Party and its leaders are bankrupt. It is our job to create an organization to set in motion the future Marxist-Leninist party in the United States.

## Fascism

By A Spanish speaking comrade:  
I have to congratulate this committee of the rank and file for carrying on the fight against revisionism in the leadership of the CPUSA. Marxism-Leninism is accepted by all the Communist parties except the American and Yugoslav parties. We are very proud of this group fighting revisionism in this country and raising the banner of solidarity with the working classes of the world.

Let us remember, comrades, the Spanish struggle against fascism and those Communists from our community and from all over America who went to Spain to fight against fascism. For a long time we haven't heard anything in the Party about Spain. I want to say this for our group to remember: that they have been twenty years under the fascist regime in Spain and there are many old political prisoners from that time, and many new ones — and this question is not to be put aside.

We have to fight fascism all over the world because the main fascists are supported by American imperialism. U. S. imperialism controls bases in Spain for the purpose of war against the USSR. NATO could not exist without Spain. For this reason imperialism knows that Spain plays a vital role in the drive for war against the Soviet Union. But they will find out that the Spanish people are against the Franco regime, against war and against American imperialism. The Spanish people are very friendly to the American people who supported Republican Spain, and are very sorry about the neutrality of the American and English governments during the civil war. I ask that the resolution we pass here today take into consideration the struggle against fascism in Spain and throughout the world.

## Blacklisting

I would like to speak about waterfront. It seems like our group has been vilified more than any other single group. We don't have to be super-Leninists to know that in 1948, with a sharp swing to the right in the nation we were screened out of the industry. Now we are being screened out of the Party. We see the thing that happened in the trade union happening now in the Party. We can only come to the same conclusions. We can avoid expulsions from the Party the same way we could have avoided screening off the ships. By giving up principle.

When we were screened the Party wrote us off. They said, "You can't fight screening". "We'd be half way to socialism before you guys get back to the ships." They called us adventurists, super-leftist to take this fight on. Some of us didn't hear too good. We launched a fight against screening, and won some important victories, in spite of the Party leadership. We are struggling to expand the fight, as a basic part of the fight for civil rights for the left in the labor movement. The Party is not interested in a Marxist-Leninist left in the labor movement.

The fight now is to expand that struggle, to get ourselves back into the industry, not as seascouts, but as Communists who were kicked out, and are coming back. The guys on the ships say, "Hey, the Reds are coming back." We'll come back on the basis of successful defense of our rights as Communists.

## Conference

(Continued from page 1)  
Party. The report summed up the purpose of the Conference in a nutshell when it said: "Our expulsion from the CPUSA places on us an inescapable duty. That is to find the way to carry on the fight for a real Marxist-Leninist party under any and all conditions."

After electing a 19-member steering committee by acclamation, the conference adjourned. Here was a group of Communists who knew what their task was. They left the Conference determined to carry it out.

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Convention Reports

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line in the relative strength of world imperialism:

a) economically: the vast extension of parasitism, militarization, expansion of the government debt, and drastic reduction in the percentage of productive (non-military) consumption in the total production;

the instability of the economies of the capitalist countries — the slow and unsteady expansion of production, and in the unprecedented frequency of sharp crises;

the extreme unevenness of development of the imperialist countries — the emergence of U. S. imperialism as the one great imperialist power.

b) politically: the decisive defeat of old-style colonialism, and the isolation of the comprador agents of imperialism as the internal enemies of oppressed nations;

the defeat of Nazism, Mussolini fascism and militarist fascism as methods of bourgeois rule in Germany, Italy and Japan;

the simultaneous exposure of the limits of bourgeois democracy — the exclusion of French and Italian Communists from their proper parliamentary rights; the suppression of popular governments in Guatemala and British Guiana; the racist policies generally followed by all imperialist governments, most notoriously displayed by the oppression of the Negro people in the United States and by British Imperial policy in Kenya and South Africa.

a) militarily: the smashing of the Wehrmacht and the imperial Japanese armed forces;

the historically decisive defeat of U. S. imperialism in North Korea and China, the victories over imperialism at Dienbienphu and Suez, and the continuing armed struggle of the Algerian National Liberation Front;

the ending of the imperialist monopoly of nuclear weapons; and the demonstrated lag of the imperialists' techniques in the field of long-range weapons.

Inevitably, such vast developments of the general crisis of world capitalism have sharply reduced the base of operations and maneuvering room of opportunism in the world working-class movements, including the Communist Parties.

First of all, the decline of colonial domains of imperialism have adversely affected them as a source of subsidy for Right opportunists in the imperialist countries. This, in part, accounts for the relatively less important role of Social Democratic leadership in post-World War II Western Europe as contrasted with the period after World War I.

Secondly, the main specific function of opportunism — the diversion of the workers from Marxist-Leninist policies of class struggle — is undermined by the enhanced international role of the Soviet Union, China and other countries of the socialist world under Marxist-Leninist leadership.

Thirdly, the emergence of the anti-imperialist front of the colonial semi-colonial and formerly colonial peoples, as manifested at Bandung, has, by the test of international proletarian solidarity, exposed the chauvinist character of Right opportunism in imperialist countries.

Fourthly, the very accentuated unevenness of imperialist development, which has thrown up the U. S. as the overshadowing Great Power of the capitalist world, has strengthened the development of the most openly bourgeois forms

# A DECLARATION

of opportunism at the expense of its more "radical" - sounding varieties.

Fifthly, the moral superiority of Marxism-Leninism over opportunism was demonstrated with especial forcefulness by the historic Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Union in its self-corrective attacks upon the problem of "worship of authority" and the "cult of the individual."

The Communist Party's present internal crisis has developed in the presence of these external conditions, and its distinctive features are connected with those external conditions. These distinctive features are to be found in the following facts:

1) The extreme Right not only espouses American exceptionalism to Marxist-Leninist theory, not only advocates the outright liquidation of the Party — it combines these with open attacks upon the countries of Socialism and deny the general validity of Marxist-Leninist theory for "Western" countries.

2) The "Left"-Center leadership has not only refused to carry through a thoroughgoing fundamental correction of opportunist errors, has not only pressed for "unity" deals with the Right without regard to principle, but it has throughout the crisis attempted to suppress any vigorous defense of basic principles of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

3) And most important of all, the crisis developed not only two main factions, but three. The Right, the "Left" conciliators, and also, the so-called "ultra-Left", so labelled by its enemies because of its uncompromising defense of Marxism-Leninism.

Factionalism became general and quite open in the Communist Party late in the autumn of 1956, upon the publication of William Z. Foster's article "On the Situation in the Communist Party", in *Political Affairs*, (October, 1956). Then, for the first time, the membership as a whole began to rally against the conspiracy of Gates and other Right-wing elements who sought the outright and formal liquidation of the Party.

At that time, and until after the February, 1957, 16th National Convention, this opposition to the Gates line was organized under the general direction of the so-called "Left" faction, headed by Foster, Benjamin J. Davis, William Weinstone and Charles Loman. But this leadership increasingly revealed itself to be incurably infected with conciliationism, because of its basic political agreement with the main revisionist theories of the Right and the Center (Dennis, Jackson and Stachel). The Foster-Davis leadership made a pretense of struggle against the open liquidationist line of the Gates forces, by raising the slogan of "maintenance of the name and form of the Party". By doing this, they succeeded in narrowing down the struggle against revisionism because the name and form of the Party has significance only in the context of Marxist-Leninist policies.

The aim of this strategy was to eliminate basic Marxist-Leninist principles as barriers to "unity" among the self-perpetuating leadership; the fruit of it was the suppression of any serious challenge to the various brands of revisionism, which were crossbred to produce the line of the 16th Convention.

But the "Left"-conciliators had gone to the well once too often. On the one hand, the Convention ended with the National Committee dominated by the Gate faction in alliance with the Center; on the other hand, right

in the very nest of the conciliators there was hatched a brood of Marxist-Leninists who were determined to smash not only avowed revisionism, but conciliationism as well. After the Convention, this latter grouping continued organized activity as the Marxist-Leninist caucus, and it was tagged as "the ultra-left" by the leadership of the other factions.

The history of the internal struggles of the CPUSA since the 16th Convention can be divided into three periods:

1) The period of the ascendancy of the open liquidators, Gates, Charney, Stein, et al., with the cooperation of the Dennis Center elements. This period lasted from the Convention until the onset of the economic crisis, the launching of the Sputnik, and the issuance of the historic 12-Party Declaration, late in 1957.

2) The period of renewed and sharpened factional struggles among the leadership, resulting from the pressure of the changing economic and political climate. (All important is the fact that these factional struggles took place on a "back-room" level, excluding the rank and file membership, the "ultra-left" faction particularly, and Marxist-Leninist principles generally from participation.) This period ended with the factional realignment carried through around the Dennis Resolution adopted at the February, 1958 National Committee meeting. This maneuvering, falsely called a "victory over revisionism" by its sponsors, placed a new coalition in the dominant position in the national leadership, the Center (Dennis et al.) and the "Left-conciliators" (Davis, Bob Tompson, et al.)

3) The period which began with the Dennis Resolution and ended with the expulsion drive against the Marxist-Leninists of the "ultra-Left", and the final fatal split of the old Party.

Since present events were directly precipitated by actions in this third period, it is necessary to give some brief attention to it.

The Marxist-Leninist caucus had been excluded from National leadership by the revisionist-conciliationist "sweetheart" agreement at the 16th Convention. However, from its base in certain proletarian sections of the Party, it continued to put the principled "life-or-death" questions before the Party.

This struggle by the Marxists-Leninists was decisively aided by the 12-Party Declaration. Basing itself squarely upon this Declaration, the caucus prepared and published "Two Roads," a general indictment of both the extreme Right and the Center "Left" conciliator coalition dominant in the leadership since the February National Committee meeting. This article demanded the endorsement of the 12-Party Declaration, the repudiation of the 16th Convention line, and the calling of a special National Convention to reconstitute the Party on a Marxist-Leninist basis.

Being unable to silence the caucus and at the same time, being unwilling to endorse the 12-Party Declaration, the revisionist-conciliationist leadership resorted to suppression of the Marxist-Leninist documents and to expulsions of the leaders of the caucus. We shall prolong this presentation to cite only a few examples of this method.

On the Jewish Question and the USSR, the New York County Convention in 1957, condemned the anti-Soviet position of the State leadership as anti-Soviet, anti-workingclass, and bourgeois nationalist. This resolution, adopted upon the initiative of comrades of the Marxist-Leninist

caucus, was never published; it was suppressed by the "Left"-conciliator leadership of New York County.

On the theory of the state, the caucus distributed a pamphlet "The Main Thing," aimed at defending Marxism-Leninism against the attacks of John Gates and the 16th Convention, particularly to defend the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy. Although it had previously been submitted to the national leadership, it has never been acknowledged even in the form of a criticism. This was an attempt to suppress discussion of a question of paramount importance of the Party.

On the Negro Question, the 1958 article by Harry Haywood has been suppressed, even though the basic theory on the Negro question was supposed to be open for discussion. Although it was condemned for not having gone through "channels," Comrade Haywood was never given a chance to participate in the discussions "within channels" on the resolution of this key theoretical problem.

On the 12-Party Declaration, the Marxist-Leninist caucus made charges of incompatibility between the Declaration and the 16th Convention line of the leadership of the CPUSA. What more general criticism could be made of a Communist Party leadership? The only defense made by the leadership was to condemn "Two Roads" as a "factional document" (statement in *The Worker*, August 17, 1958); in short, to attempt to suppress it.

Since the Marxist-Leninist caucus refused to be suppressed, however, the National Committee determined to defend its unprincipled position by expulsions. That which they could never resort to against Gates for fear of its effects upon the 16th Convention "unity" deals: that which they could never attempt against the liquidators for fear of being "outvoted" — that step, expulsion, now suddenly became not only possible, but necessary to them. Suddenly they saw "unity" in a different light, unity was impossible with only one group, the "ultra Left."

This could hardly have been better spelled out, than it was in the report of Robert Thompson, National Organizational Secretary to the June, 1958 National Committee meeting. Said he: "... when Gates and Clark and Fast et al., were running rampant... our Party couldn't do much to defend itself against factionalism. Well that day is passed," Thompson went on in this concluding section of his attack upon the Marxist-Leninist caucus, "Our Party... has the capacity to declare war on factionalism... whether from the direction of revisionism or the direction of dogmatism." It remains merely to add two notes. First: Thompson's talk about warring against revisionism was just so much eye-wash. For, it so happened that the open revisionists, Roberts and Lightfoot were the very ones who directly implemented Thompson's "declaration of war" by expelling Marxist-Leninists from the Party in Chicago and Philadelphia. Second: for all their fondness for the "dogmatist" label against the Marxist-Leninists, they have never found it fitting to attempt to prove the charge by engaging in any form of polemic on the subject.

But, in truth, "that day is past" when the struggle for Marxism-Leninism can be subordinated to the "cult of the clique" which has arrogated to itself the title of "the Communist Party."

The class struggle is the central, underlying feature of American economic, political, ideological, and social life. At times, this struggle, which is the real substance of our everyday, ordinary, national existence, inevitably erupts in great events and crises which become pivotal punctuation marks of our history. For the everyday struggles and for the great crises and eruptions, the working class and democratic masses require the guidance of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard party. This fact and this necessity, together, constitute a guarantee of the existence of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in our country.

However, this historic guarantee must be implemented. The significance of the developments we have been discussing is that this guarantee now can no longer be implemented by the old Communist Party.

Events have already shown which road the leaders of the old Party have followed. They have pointedly refused to endorse the 12-Party Declaration, in pursuance of their "courtroom socialism." They seek to minimize the significance of this refusal, by pretending to the international movement and to the Party membership that this is merely a matter of formality. They refused even to discuss the need for a special convention to cancel the shameful revisionism of the 16th Convention. They add insult to injury by coupling their recent "anti-revisionist" pretenses with repeated reaffirmations of their adherence to the 16th Convention line.

They owe their very positions of authority as members of the national committee to convention-time collusions with Gates and others who have since openly renounced Communism. Yet, instead of returning this tainted mandate to the membership, they use their lofty perch for hurling down anathema on their Marxist-Leninist critics. They demanded the liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist caucus and resorted to expulsion of its leaders.

To surrender to this attack, to break our Marxist-Leninist ranks, would mean to abandon effective struggle for a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. This we will never do!

Here and now, we declare our stand in relation to the dominant clique in the old Communist Party.

1) We refuse to countenance their expulsion of honest, militant, veteran comrades whose only "crime" is their refusal to compromise with the revisionist-conciliationist National Committee and 16th National Convention.

2) We refuse to acquiesce in attempts to make the Communist Party into a "cult of one-or-a-few individuals" who must be regarded as being unanswerable to the criticisms of the proletarian membership of the Party and of the international movement.

3) We condemn a National leadership, which after almost two years still finds it "inconvenient" to repudiate its anti-socialist resolution on Hungary of November 1956.

4) We mean now to disassociate ourselves once and for all, from the opportunist trade union policy which would isolate us from the rank and file workers in order to combat "isolation" from the labor lieutenants of capital.

5) We will no longer submit to their perversion of democratic centralism to impose on the Party its opportunist and bourgeois-reformist line on the Negro question, a policy which has already seriously weakened the Negro liberation struggle and working class solidarity.

6) We reject their line for "so-

(Continued on page 2)