

ON BARRY WEISBERG'S MLOC/"CPUSA (M-L)":

# Against Social-Democratic Infiltration of the Marxist-Leninist Movement

## Part 2

In Part One of this article, which has also been published as a pamphlet, we showed how Barry Weisberg's MLOC/"CPUSA (M-L)" represents an agency of social-democracy which is trying to infiltrate into the Marxist-Leninist movement from the outside. We examined the history and political positions of this social-democratic agency.

In this article, while further elaborating on certain questions of the political stands of the "CPUSA (M-L)", we will concentrate more on the question of the methods used by this miserable sect. We shall show how it combines the use of the most high-flown alleged "Marxist-Leninist" phraseology with the practice of the most underhanded, dirty methods.

### A PUBLIC CHALLENGE TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE MLOC/"CPUSA (M-L)"

Since Part One of this article was published, and as of the August 1 issue of *Unite!*, there has been no public reply from the "CPUSA (M-L)". None of our facts have been contested. This is not surprising. Our article was based on painstaking study, including examination of the writings of Mr. Weisberg and the public documents and publications of the MLOC/"CPUSA (M-L)" and the Institute for Policy Studies. Our study has value not only as a polemic against the "CPUSA (M-L)", but as an open call for struggle against social-democracy and as a reference work for the study of the history of the revolutionary movement in the U.S. We showed with convincing proof that Mr. Weisberg was trained in social-democracy and anti-communism at the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS). The IPS is a social-democratic "think tank", funded by the big bourgeoisie and staffed by intellectuals who float in and out of appointed posts in the federal government. Weisberg's mentor at IPS was Marcus Ruskin, a former member of the National Security Council under President Kennedy. Weisberg himself went on to be a co-founder of a regional offshoot of the IPS, the (San Francisco) Bay Area Institute of Policy Studies. The Bay Area Institute specialized in Asia in general and in China in particular and included early advocates of the U.S.-China alliance. From that time to the present, he has preserved his social-democratic politics while adapting his phraseology to the growing prestige of Marxism-Leninism among the advanced section of the revolutionary activists. Today the politics of the MLOC/"CPUSA (M-L)" are still in essence those of the IPS, but covered over with "Marxist"-sounding phrases.

We were proud to issue our article openly, before the whole world, so that everyone could see and, if they wished, attempt to challenge it. When we published it, with the very first mailing we sent copies to the "CPUSA (M-L)" itself, as we also do with all polemical material directed against them.

On the other hand, the "CPUSA (M-L)" has been reduced to public silence. Silent in the press, it has run into a frenzy, spreading rumors and slanders against the COUSML and against our article. A few days ago, we learned that the Central Committee of the "CPUSA (M-L)" had apparently issued a private statement on July 1 attacking our article. This statement contained slanderous, contemptible and utterly unsupported allegations. Thus it is quite natural that the "CPUSA (M-L)" sees fit to circulate such things only in the dark of night, behind the back of informed public opinion.

We issue an open challenge to the Central Committee of the "CPUSA (M-L)". If you have any reply to our exposure of your social-democratic nature, publish it openly before the whole world. If you don't dare to do so, then this is yet further proof that you are nothing but a bunch of anti-communist social-democrats, slanderers and contemptible adventurers, insects who come out only in the dark and who flee from the light of day.

### HYPOCRISY - A TRADEMARK OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

The underhanded methods of social-democracy lead the "CPUSA (M-L)" straight into the most shameless hypocrisy. The "CPUSA (M-L)" denounces the COUSML as "... up until late last year... the most frenzied, infantile supporter of Mao Tsetung Thought in the U.S.", and they say that "COUSML raised a call to uphold Mao Tsetung Thought as a new and higher stage of Marxism-Leninism and wrote pamphlets such as 'Mao Tsetung Thought Against Opportunism'." (*Unite!*, April 1, 1974, p. 10). They scream that COUSML's position on Mao Zedong has shown that "... no one in the U.S. has taken a more anti-Leninist stand, or more infantile left position than COUSML." (*Unite!*, February 15, 1979, p. 12). But strangely enough it turns out that it is the COUSML which has openly and courageously denounced Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought as anti-Marxist-Leninist and revisionist. While it is the virtuous "CPUSA (M-L)" which has not yet withdrawn their current views on Mao Zedong, to say nothing of condemning Mao Zedong, they apparently still regard Mao Zedong as a Marxist-Leninist, although more or less serious deviations from Marxism-Leninism.

Can the depths of such hypocrisy be fathomed? These social-democrats condemn COUSML for Mao Zedong Thought at a time when the COUSML stands openly and staunchly against Mao Zedong Thought, while the MLOC still clings to the right of the "Marxist-Leninist Mao Zedong".

This hypocrisy pervades their entire attitude to the international communist movement and to the question of the defense of socialist Albania. The "CPUSA (M-L)" takes great pains to present themselves as the only genuine supporters of the international polemics against Chinese revisionism and Mao Zedong Thought. But when the issue comes of asking them their stand on the issues raised by these polemics, they twist and turn and evade an answer. Instead of giving their stand, they change the issue and start casting innuendoes at the international communist movement, whimpering about the dangers of "blindly following" and "getting in step". They write: "But the Party (Weisberg's sect - ed.) emphatically rejects the infantile tendency to place the PSRA (People's Socialist Republic of Albania - ed.) or any socialist country on a pedestal... The Party rejects blindly following and mechanically adopting as its own view the views of any other party." (*Unite!*, March 15, 1979, p. 7). Why are they muttering such unspeakable trash, suitable only for "independent radicals" of the *Guardian* or in *These Times* varieties? Because they are afraid to give their views. They want to be known as the great opponents of Mao Tsetung Thought. But ask them what they think, and their only reply in print is that they "reject blindly following and mechanically adopting". What does this mean? That in the opinion of the "CPUSA (M-L)", to condemn Mao Zedong Thought as anti-Marxist and revisionist is to be guilty of allegedly "blindly following and mechanically adopting"!

We do not denounce serious revolutionary elements in struggle against imperialism and revisionism who need time to come to the correct Marxist-Leninist conclusions about Mao Zedong. On the contrary, our attitude is to help such elements find their way to sound revolutionary positions. But the "CPUSA (M-L)" is not a revolutionary element. And it is they themselves who have made the issue into which group defends Mao Zedong Thought. Very well. Then they stand condemned as opportunist charlatans and heroes of trickery by the very standard that they themselves have chosen.

The social-democrats, admitting that COUSML stands firmly against Chinese revisionism, can think of nothing better to say than that "COUSML Gets In Step" (*Unite!*, February 15, 1979, p. 12). But the truth of the matter is that COUSML has been "in step" for a long time. It is the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists led by COUSML who have been fighting fiercely against social-chauvinism and Chinese revisionism. The COUSML's stand against Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought is taken with the experience of years of struggle against Chinese revisionism: first against neo-revisionism, then against the theory of "directing the main blow against Soviet social-imperialism", then against the "three worlds" theory and now on the issue of Mao Zedong Thought. Is it not clear that the theory of "directing the main blow at Soviet social-imperialism" and of the "three worlds" are fundamental questions of Chinese revisionism?

The COUSML condemned the theory of "directing the main blow at Soviet social-imperialism" in *The Workers' Advocate* of September 1, 1976 in the article "Mao Tsetung Thought or Social-Chauvinism, A Comment on the October League's Call for 'Unity of Marxist-Leninists'". This article was reprinted in the pamphlet "Mao Tsetung Thought Versus Opportunism", that book that so scandalizes the virtuous "CPUSA (M-L)". The COUSML called for all-out war against the OL social-chauvinist advocates of the "main blow" theory. But the MLOC, those great heroes of not "blindly following and mechanically copying", those Marxist-Leninists who allegedly always stood aloof from Chinese revisionism, what was their stand? They were supporters of the Soviet Union as the "main danger" theory, blind followers of Chinese revisionism, mechanical copiers of the Klonkyite Pentagon-socialists, and searchers for unity with the OL social-chauvinists. They did not denounce the "main blow" theory until almost one full year later, in August 1977. And they are vacillating to this day about the significance of the "main blow" theory, because in a *Unite!* editorial on March 1, 1979 they hold that the Klonkyites have still not come out yet "with a direct call to the U.S. working class to set aside its struggle against U.S. imperialism because it would 'weaken the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism'." Indeed, we see that today the "CPUSA (M-L)" goes out of its way to denounce the pamphlet "Mao Tsetung Thought Versus Opportunism", whose historical role was its denunciation of the "main blow" theory and its declaration of war against social-chauvinism.

Well, what about the struggle against the "three worlds" theory. The COUSML enthusiastically lauded *Comrade Enver Hoxha's Report to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania* and immediately pointed out that Enver Hoxha's Report demolished the "three worlds" theory. (*The Workers' Advocate*, November 20, 1976, introduction to the Supplement). But the MLOC refused to denounce the "three worlds" theory till September 1977. And even then they continued to vacillate on the basic questions of the "three worlds" theory, writing for example, nonsense about the inadequate arming of the West European imperialists. (See *Reply to the Open Letter of the MLOC*, chapter 5).

It follows that the COUSML has been fighting Chinese revisionism, while the MLOC/"CPUSA (M-L)" has been stubbornly defending Chinese revisionism, giving up one position after another

only under intense pressure from the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists. The MLOC would sweep aside all these facts. They claim that the issue is whether one supported Mao Zedong Thought by saying that it was a new and higher stage of Marxism-Leninism, or whether one supported Mao Zedong Thought by saying that "the defense and development of Marxism-Leninism by Mao Tsetung was on a par with that of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin." (*Unite!*, March 15, 1979, p. 7, characterizing MLOC's former position on Mao Zedong Thought). Clearly this is a ridiculous quibble when the issue is that Mao Zedong Thought is anti-Marxist. The facts are clear: the MLOC opposed the struggle against the "main blow" theory waged by the COUSML; the MLOC opposed the struggle against the "three worlds" theory waged by the COUSML. Today the "CPUSA (M-L)" opposes the COUSML's stand that Mao Zedong is anti-Marxist and revisionist, calling this "getting in step" and "blindly following and mechanically copying". This is fact. All the rest of the mountains of high-flown talk of the "CPUSA (M-L)" on Mao Zedong Thought is a monumental diversion, the fast-talk of the social-democratic hustlers.

### THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS HAVE NOT CONDEMNED MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT AS ANTI-MARXIST

Thus the "CPUSA (M-L)" is caught in a web of deception. They attempt to hide their actual views on Mao Zedong Thought when they present their false front in *Unite!*. They attempt to give the impression that they have condemned Mao Zedong Thought, they publish quotations from Marxist-Leninists denouncing Mao Zedong Thought, but they themselves do not condemn it. Let us examine their recent actual stands chronologically up to the present:

**Mid-1978:** According to an article in the March 1979 issue of *Unite!*: "By mid-year 1978, ... a plenum of its (MLOC's - ed.) Central Committee, adopted the position that Mao Tsetung could not be considered a classic teacher of Marxism-Leninism." (p. 7) The MLOC/"CPUSA (M-L)" has not announced a decision by a plenum, a central committee statement or any other official document on Mao Zedong Thought since that time.

**December 1978:** The Draft Party Program and Constitution adopted in December 1978 are completely silent on the issue of Mao Zedong Thought.

**January 15, 1979:** *Unite!*, in its lead article entitled "Party of the Working Class Reform!", speaks of "the grave deviations from Marxism-Leninism made by Mao Tsetung, particularly in regard to the United States." (p. 2, col. 2). It does not condemn Mao Zedong Thought as anti-Marxist or revisionist. This is consistent with the position that Mao Tsetung is a Marxist-Leninist, but one making serious mistakes.

**March 1979:** According to the April 1 issue of *Unite!*, in March the "CPUSA (M-L)" held a "national cadre training school". The article reporting on this training school does not mention Mao Zedong Thought nor is it given as an item on the reported agenda. Thus apparently the "CPUSA (M-L)" did not consider the question of Mao Zedong Thought as an important question to discuss with its membership. Or perhaps the "CPUSA (M-L)" is embarrassed to admit what the stands and positions on Mao Zedong Thought discussed at this training school were.

**April 1, 1979:** *Unite!* denies that there is an international opportunist trend fostered by Chinese revisionism. According to *Unite!*, "there is probably not a single point on which 'all the people' who visited China could agree." *Unite!* denies that the Chinese revisionists attacked the genuine Marxist-Leninists and developed groups of opportunists. Instead, according to *Unite!*, the problem was simply "the CPC's failure to dis-

tinguish between Marxist-Leninist and revisionist parties".

**July 14, 1979:** The "Grand Opening" of the *Unite!* bookstore in Oakland takes place. This store carried very few Marxist-Leninist works, but it did carry one set of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*. At the store, they said that they still considered Mao Zedong to be a Marxist-Leninist who, however, made serious deviations. Thus the "CPUSA (M-L)" is still disseminating the works of Mao Zedong at the same time that it is trying to give the impression that it has condemned Mao Zedong. Or perhaps this is evidence that the "CPUSA (M-L)" is a loose social-democratic amalgam, a place where "a hundred flowers blossom", where even on the most important issues contradictory lines can exist and be propagated.

**August 1, 1979:** The latest issue of *Unite!* carries an article on the "RCP, USA". The article does not condemn Mao Zedong Thought, but only "the banner of defending Mao Tsetung Thought as a new and higher stage of Marxism-Leninism," (emphasis as in the original). This is "CPUSA (M-L)'s" old, old trick all over again. The "CPUSA (M-L)" has not condemned Mao Zedong Thought. It has only condemned the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists. The "CPUSA (M-L)" weeps and cries and tears its hair about how the revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of the U.S. used to believe that Mao Zedong was a Marxist-Leninist, while to this very day the "CPUSA (M-L)" still holds that Mao Zedong was a Marxist-Leninist, albeit one who made mistakes.

In fact the "CPUSA (M-L)" has gotten no further than condemning what it regards as the line of Lin Biao. As Barry Weisberg himself puts it, "the line of Lin Biao that Mao Tsetung Thought was a 'higher and completely new stage' of Marxism." (*Unite!* Special Supplement, March 1, 1979, p. 3, col. 2). The MLOC was founded in 1975, well after the downfall and death of Lin Biao. Its whole fuss about the "infantile leftism" of regarding Mao Zedong Thought as a new and higher stage of Marxism-Leninism is just a repetition of the then current line of Chinese revisionism about the "ultra-left Lin Biao". The "CPUSA (M-L)" presents its stand against "the line of Lin Biao" in glorious anti-revisionist colors, stating that "From its birth in 1975, the MLOC consciously rejected the view of the Communist Party of China that Mao Tsetung Thought represents 'a new and completely higher stage of Marxism-Leninism.'" (*Unite!*, March 15, 1979, p. 7). This is absolute nonsense. The MLOC followed formulations on Mao Zedong Thought that were the ones being given by the factions of the Chinese Communist Party that were then triumphant. That was why *Hsinhua News Bulletin* for November 28, 1976 reprinted as item 112714 excerpts from *Unite!*'s article "Eternal Glory to Mao Tsetung!" Not only were MLOC's formulations on Mao Zedong Thought acceptable to the Chinese revisionists, but MLOC negated Marxism-Leninism in practice by adhering to the theory of "three worlds" and to the social-chauvinism and Browderite liberal-labor politics of the OL Pentagon-socialists.

Theoretically speaking, the "CPUSA (M-L)"'s assertion that it is "the line of Lin Biao" that negated Marxism-Leninism is a straightforward whitewashing of Chinese revisionism. It is a denial that Chinese revisionism as a whole, including the Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai), Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-fang) and Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-ying) factions, all negated Marxism-Leninism; it is a denial that Mao Zedong Thought itself negates Marxism-Leninism. It is a denial that the theory of "three worlds" negates Marxism-Leninism. It is one of the most striking proofs of how tied up the MLOC/"CPUSA (M-L)"'s history is with Chinese revisionism that it is unable to defend itself without thereby also whitewashing Chinese revisionism. □

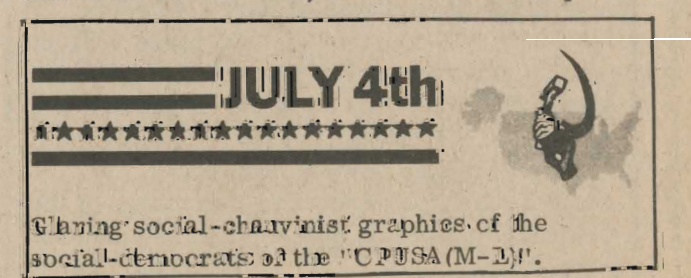
## Glaring Social-Chauvinism of the Social-Democrats

Social-democracy is inherently chauvinist. The social-democrats do not have a revolutionary outlook, but go along with the dominant ideology of the country, that is, with the ideology of the monopoly capitalist ruling class. Thus it should not surprise anyone that the social-democrats of the MLOC/"CPUSA (M-L)" take glaring social-chauvinist stands that display their ultra-nationalistic attitudes.

Consider the July 1 issue of *Unite!*, organ of the MLOC/"CPUSA (M-L)" social-democrats. On the pretext of commenting on the U.S. imperialist national holiday, the fourth of July, this paper carries, both on its front page and on page 5, graphics of a somewhat abstract arrangement of the stars and stripes. We reproduce this graphic, as otherwise we are afraid that our reader may not believe our description of this graphic. Naturally the reader would think it unbelievable that an allegedly "Marxist-Leninist" paper could carry such jingo rot on its front page. As is well known, on the fourth of July it is considered the patriotic thing to do to fly the American flag, "old glory", the stars and stripes. Naturally, when a "Marxist" paper also carries such an emblem for July 4th, it is showing graphically its social-patriotic nature - i. e. socialism in words, but superpower patriotism in deeds.

This social-chauvinism of the MLOC/"CPUSA (M-L)" also shows the sham nature of this social-democratic sect's alleged "opposition" to "three worlds-ism". Elsewhere we have documented its history of "three worlds-ism" and its constant

opposition to the struggle against the Klonkyite Pentagon-socialists. Why the very thought of pointing a finger at a notorious social-chauvinist class traitor, such as Klonsky, seems uncouth to them. Now with this article we show how the "CPUSA (M-L)" social-democrats take up the graphic symbolism of the Pentagon-socialists. For it was the Klonkyite Pentagon-socialists who tried to reintroduce the red, white and blue into the Marxist-Leninist movement. In 1976 the OL began printing its publications in the American imperialist national colors - red, white and blue - in particular the May 1 issue of *The Call* and the Spring-Summer issue of *Class Struggle*. This included showing woodcuts of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao in red, white and blue. Thus the OL "three worlders" flew the colors of rabid U.S. imperialism. The revolutionary Marxist-Leninists fiercely denounced OL for this. And even the open "three worlders" of the OL/"CP (M-L)" have had to drop this color combination, for fear of total exposure.



Glaring social-chauvinist graphics of the social-democrats of the "CPUSA (M-L)".