

# PEOPLES'



# TRIBUNE

*"The Communist's ideal should not be a trade-union secretary, but a tribune of the people, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression."*

Vol. 3, No. 3

Lenin

March 1971

## IMPERIALISTS PUSH TOWARDS CHINA!

Why doesn't the U.S. army get out of South East Asia? The people of the U.S. are disgusted with this slaughter of the Asian peoples. The U.S. imperialist army gets wiped out wherever they go. Why do they stay there and even expand such an unsuccessful, unpopular war? The answer is that the imperialists have no choice, they must stay in Asia.

lose another market, another source of profit. Ever since Eisenhower and Dulles, the imperialists have tried to surround China with a belt of fascist countries in order to stop the "germs" of communism from spreading to the rest of Asia. They have sent in troops to keep fascist governments in power in Korea, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos because these countries surround China.

to isolate and attack China. Nixon can talk about peace all he wants, but the fact is that imperialism can never bring us real and lasting peace.

In their drive to surround China with a belt of hostile countries, the imperialists have failed everywhere. They were stopped in Korea and Vietnam, and now their puppet armies

(cont. on p. 4)

They must stay because, first of all, they need to control Asia for profit. Asia is a huge market of hundreds of millions of people. In China alone live one-fourth the world's people. The imperialists must have markets. These markets serve several purposes. They use the markets to invest their profits in, as sources of raw materials and cheap labor, and finally as places where they can sell their commodities or goods. But today U.S. imperialism's markets are shrinking. This is why China looks so good to the imperialists. They figure if they can enslave China they'll be able to prolong their existence. They see Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia today primarily as stepping stones to China. The imperialists drool at the thought of all the wealth they can get by draining S.E. Asia of their raw materials, labor, and by selling their goods to these peoples.

But, ever since World War II the Asian peoples have been waking up and taking the path of revolution to get independence from foreign exploiters and oppressors. Only with napalm and tanks can the U.S. imperialists hope to dominate Asia and keep their money rolling in.

Secondly, the imperialists cannot get out of Asia because they must stop the spread of communism by surrounding and eventually attacking China. Because everytime a country wages a successful socialist revolution, the rotten imperialists

The imperialists are too stupid to see that communism doesn't really come from China. It's not Chinese communist agents, but the unbearable conditions of imperialist oppression and exploitation that push the Asian peoples toward communism. At the same time, it's true that the Peoples' Republic of China is the bulwark of communism in the world today. Wherever the people are fighting to kick U.S. imperialism out of their countries, China gives both material and moral aid. This is another reason why the imperialists must try



### what's inside

- Teamster-UFW .....2
- Women .....2
- Puerto Rico .....3&7
- American Populism .....5
- Self-criticism .....7
- Pollution .....8
- Build A Class Party .....9

# Teamster Union Leads Fascist Attack On Farm Workers

Recently there has been much confusion concerning the "dispute" between the Teamster Union and the United Farm Workers Union over the lettuce field organizing. The Peoples' Tribune would like to explore this "dispute" in history and in principle.

Lettuce, like grapes, is a big business for the agricultural capitalists in California. Most of the nation's lettuce is grown here at tremendous profits. Most of the work is highly mechanized except for the weeding or hoeing and the picking. This is done almost entirely by highly exploited Mexican and Mexican-American farm labor. These workers work long hours, are subject to pesticide poisoning, are forced from job to job, and are poorly paid.

The first lettuce fields organized were those of Bud Antle. In 1961 Antle foresaw the possible loss in profits if a real union organized his field workers. Therefore, he made a

deal with the Teamster Union to organize his farm. Of the two thousand workers on the farm, 1,950 were field workers and 50 were machine operators, truck drivers, etc. The phoney contract, or "sweetheart" contract, gave good pay to these few skilled workers, and ignored the vast majority of unskilled field workers. The contract did not cover "braceros", green card, or temporary workers from Mexico. All of the field workers were "braceros". Further, the Teamster Union loaned Antle one million dollars from their pension fund. For their sell-out contract they were repaid the loan, plus "interest, or over \$100,000 a year. Antle may pay the Teamsters huge amounts of "interest" on the loan, but he makes it back because of the super-exploitation of the field workers whose interests were not covered. The ending of the Bracero Program in 1964 did not improve the field workers' plight any.

In the summer of 1970, the

grape growers admitted defeat after five years of battle with the United Farm Workers. The union won the right to organize. The lettuce growers, seeing the advance of the U.F.W. immediately followed Antle's lead, and in July-August of 1970 over 200 growers "signed" with the Teamsters. Similar financial arrangements were worked out with the leadership of the Teamster Union. The field workers were neither told of their new

(cont. on p. 6)



## Women Workers In The Negro Nation

One of the most exploited persons is a working woman. She knows all the struggles faced by workers all their lives. One of the most oppressed sections of women are the working women in the Negro Nation (the Black Belt area of the South). I was one of those women who worked in the South. I know the struggles they face and how they have to make a living.

First of all, let us look back into slavery times. If you look, you will see that women suffered all the miseries of the slave system. They had to work in their master's home, cook, houseclean, babysit and work in the fields. Women were beaten and treated like dogs by the rich plantation owners. This is the history of working women in the Black Belt or Negro Nation.

Today in the South there is a state which I know something about. That is Mississippi. How do I know? Because I am a working woman from there. Here is what life in Mississippi was like for me.

My family is a poor, working family like most of the families in the Negro Nation. When I was a little girl my parents had to sharecrop for a rich landowner and we had to go to the field and work. My parents and other workers had to hoe cotton in the hot sun. It was so hot that sweat was pouring down their faces and sometimes some of the workers fainted. Most of the workers were women. These women worked just as hard as the men. All working

women in the South have driven tractors and plowed mules at one time or another. At first, we were working for \$2 a day and this went up to \$2.50 and \$3.00 a day. This was average pay in the fields for working women.

Things are just as bad now. Today, women work in the imperialist's homes for \$5 a day. If they have to work overtime they don't get paid for it. In Mississippi, there is a government factory where they make parachutes for the war. Almost all the people who work there are women. Most of them kill themselves working in this factory so hard. The blood-thirsty capitalists don't care who works there as long as they are from age 18 to 65 and they work hard and never ask for more pay.

All over the South you can see women slaving, doing everything for the boss and getting nothing in return. Most of these rich capitalists are from the North. They control all the workers in the South because all the big stores and factories belong to them.

Women in the Anglo-American Nation are also going through many of the same hardships as the women in the Negro Nation. They get hard jobs, low wages and the worst kind of work. And, national minority women have it the worst of all.

Working women, as well as the whole working class, have to realize that we are the ones who produce everything in this country. Through our work we

produce clothes, cars, food, houses etc. But it is the capitalists who get rich off our work while we're constantly struggling just to keep alive.

All of us working and oppressed people know that we have to get together and overthrow the rotten capitalist dictatorship that we live under and set up a dictatorship of the working class. This means we poor and working women, both in the Anglo-American and Negro Nations, have to join in and take the lead in the struggle along with the men.

The imperialist bosses will always try to keep men and women apart and fighting each other. They do this by pushing the line of male supremacy, by saying that women aren't as good or as smart as men. By saying that "woman's place is in the home", not in the outside world of politics etc. But these are all capitalist lies! As Stalin said, "Not a single great movement of the oppressed in the history of mankind has been able to do without the participation of working women. Working women, the most oppressed among the oppressed, never have or could stand aside from the broad path of the liberation movement."

Women are not only capable but must take an active part in all areas of life and in the revolutionary struggle. Working class women are half the Negro Nation and half the Anglo-American nation. Once the men and women unite, no imperialist or fascist government can stand in our way!

# PUERTO RICO — A Colony of U.S. Imperialism

Puerto Rico, an island of less than three million people, is a direct colony of the United States. It lies in the Caribbean Sea just 1500 miles southeast of New York City. The handful of bankers and factory owners who control the U.S. — the capitalist imperialists like Rockefellers, Morgans and Duponts — have enslaved Puerto Rico for 73 yrs. and for 73 years the Puerto Rican people have been struggling for liberation.

What exactly are the Puerto Rican people struggling against? What is life like for the vast majority of the population in this U.S. dominated colony? And, why must the Anglo-American working class give unconditional support to the working and oppressed people of Puerto Rico?

For the masses, life is one of extreme hardship and poverty. For those who are able to work and could find a job the average wage in 1966 was \$1.29 per hour, less than half of what it was in the U.S. 42.9% of all Puerto Rican families make less than \$2000 per year. On top of this Puerto Rico has such a high cost of living that a dollar buys on the average 12% less than it does here in the U.S..

Welfare checks are also much lower than here. A welfare check for the largest families is no more than \$35-40 per month. This forces many women and even young girls 10 and 11 years old into prostitution, and the rest of the population into stealing and other degrading "professions." The Puerto Rican people are forced into doing whatever is necessary in order to survive. This is the kind of "economic aid, improvement and help" the U.S. imperialists are so generous in giving to Puerto Rico.

Huge areas of the island are covered with sugar cane planted by the U.S. imperialist companies. These companies however, don't even harvest a good deal of this sugar cane. Instead, while the Puerto Rican people are starving to death because there is no land for them to grow food on, the crop owners simply let the sugar cane rot. They keep the island covered over with sugar cane so that there's no possibility of the Puerto Ricans growing food to eat. No wonder there is such bitter hatred toward these U.S. imperialist dogs and in the end the Puerto Rican masses will see to it that they are wiped off the face of the earth. Is there any wonder that hundreds of thousands of working class Puerto Ricans have come to the U.S., mainly New York and Chicago, even though they have to accept the worst jobs, live in rat infested tenements and

be constantly under attack by the police. Even this is better than the misery and starvation forced on Puerto Rico.

## HOW PUERTO RICO IS RULED

The U.S. imperialists put on a show of "home rule" in Puerto Rico. For 25 years the governors, beginning with the lackey of U.S. capital Luis Munoz Marin, have been Puerto Rican. But real control lies with the U.S. Congress and President — that is, with big imperialist money. Puerto Ricans cannot even vote in federal elections. There's a lot of trick talk about Puerto Rico's "status" — whether it should remain a "commonwealth", become a state, or even become politically independent (but still controlled by U.S. business). All this talk serves only one purpose, to get people's minds off the only solution to Puerto Rico's slavery: a revolution, led by the working class to get rid of U.S. imperialism entirely.

Economically, the imperialists have and are making a fortune off the Puerto Rican people. They have moved thousands of small and large factories to the island because of the rock bottom wages and all sorts of tax write-offs they are granted for setting up shop there. As early as 1964, 60 of the 500 largest U.S. companies had 117 factories there. The imperialists make huge profits from this kind of exploitation of the Puerto Rican working class. Another money maker used by the imperialists at the expense of the Puerto Rican people is the use of Puerto Rico as a market. Many U.S. workers aren't aware of this but absolutely every single item sold in Puerto Rico comes from the U.S.. Even those goods produced in Puerto

Rico are shipped to the U.S. and then back to Puerto Rico before they are sold. Then these goods, like all goods, are sold at 3 or 4 times their worth. For example, a single beef steak costs around \$7.00 in Puerto Rico today.

Militarily Puerto Rico is a fortress of U.S. imperialism. 30,000 American troops stationed in Puerto Rico guard against revolution there as well as guarding the Panama Canal. Also, it's only a short leap from Puerto Rico to Latin America where the major portion of U.S. finance capital is invested. One need only look at a map to see that Puerto Rico is a key link in the chain to Latin America.

Politically Puerto Rico is a propaganda weapon for the imperialists. They have used it as a "model" of how "the American way" brings "progress" to "backward" nations, how America can give oppressed peoples an "alternative" to communism. But we can see the sort of "alternative" it is — endless poverty, misery and tyranny.

The enemy of the Puerto Rican and the U.S. working classes is one and the same. But we in the U.S. have been divided from our class brothers and sisters in Puerto Rico and all of Latin America by bribery and deception. We have been deceived by being kept ignorant of what really goes on in Puerto Rico and being taught that the U.S. has brought "progress" and "democracy" to the "island." We have been bribed with a much higher standard of living, with good housing, higher wages, higher welfare checks and lower prices etc. All of this we've been able to get only because the imperialists have raped Puerto Rico and used their super-profits to bribe us, to keep us quiet, to try to get us to support imperialism.

(cont. on p. 8)



## War in Indo-China

(cont. from p. 1)

are getting wiped out in Cambodia and Laos. What can they do now? They can't win and they can't give up. The only thing left to do is escalate and expand. That's why they started bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (north) again, and are now threatening an invasion of north Vietnam.

But the more they escalate and expand this war, the closer they will come to a war with China. The Chinese government has warned that the Chinese people will not tolerate imperialist troops approaching China's borders through Laos or north Vietnam. On February 12, 1971, the government of the People's Republic of China issued a statement declaring:

"The Chinese Government and people indignantly condemn U.S. imperialism for its savage crimes of aggression against Laos. Laos is a close neighbour of China. U.S. imperialism's aggression against Laos is also a grave menace to China. The Chinese people absolutely will not remain indifferent to it!

The Chinese Government reaffirms: the 700 million Chinese people provide a powerful backing for the three peoples of Indo-China; the vast expanse of China's territory is their reliable rear area. It is the unshirkable internationalist duty of the Chinese people to support the Laotian, Vietnamese and Khmer peoples in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The Chinese people will take all effective measures to give all-out support and assistance to the three peoples of Indo-China so as to thoroughly defeat the U.S. aggressors and their running dogs."

Do the imperialists dare invade the Democratic Republic of Vietnam? Again, China has warned that this will not be tolerated. The imperialists know that if they attack the DRV they will end up fighting not only the north Vietnamese people, who are well prepared to fight, but the Chinese also. They must be scared to death of such a force as the Vietnamese and Chinese people fighting together. But they are losing in Cambodia and Laos, they can't give up, and there's only one place left to go: north Vietnam. They are forced to invade, whether they like it or not, but they are sure to meet defeat there too.

What about war with China? The imperialists have always been determined to attack and re-enslave China. When China was first liberated in 1949, the imperialists wanted to invade, but for several reasons were unable to do so. One reason was that at that time Stalin and the Soviet people declared that an attack on China was the same as attacking the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Red Army stood along the Manchurian border, ready to back up their words. Another reason was that the Chinese

people themselves were ready to fight while the people of the world, the U.S. and Europe in particular, were neither willing nor ready to support an aggressive war like that, just three years after the destruction caused by World War II. Europe especially had to have time to rebuild. So, politically and militarily the U.S. was unable to attack China.

Today, the imperialists again find themselves in a very precarious situation. Because of China's strength, its size and its numbers, a war with China would mean almost a total commitment of all U.S. forces to that area. This in turn would open the door to revolution in Latin America, Africa, Puerto Rico, etc., as well as in the U.S. itself. The oppressed peoples of the world would rise up and strike fierce blows at U.S. imperialism, causing it to lose its rear area, Latin America, plus many of its other "markets". So, you can see that whichever way the imperialists turn, they are destined to meet defeat. If China is attacked, the imperialists will have world revolution on their hands.

Also, the other imperialist powers want China for themselves. The U.S. imperialists may be the most powerful today, but the other imperialist countries like Japan and the U.S.S.R. are just as greedy (after Stalin's death, the revisionist traitors inside the Soviet State set about restoring capitalism in the U.S.S.R.). Neither the Russian social-imperialists of today nor the Japanese imperialists will allow the U.S. imperialists to grab China, without trying to grab it for themselves. There could easily be a world war over which imperialist country gets to plunder China.

Even though the risk of world revolution and world war prevents an attack on China today, the imperialists are not going to give up this idea. It is the very nature of imperialism that it must continually expand its domination of the world in order to survive. With more and more revolutions around the world threatening them, the imperialists get more desperate to conquer the last big market left in the world today--China. The question of war with China is very real and close.

What does all this mean for the U.S. workers? The U.S. working class can't afford to fall asleep while the imperialists invade Laos, next north Vietnam, and eventually China. If we fall asleep now, we are sure to wake up one day and find ourselves living in a new version of Hitler's Germany. As the war grows hotter, so does fascism grow in this country. Because, how can the imperialists win a war in Asia while they've got wars going on right in their own cities? They can't. In order to win the war they will drown our movements for peace, for Negro liberation, for better wages



Laotian fighters waiting for South Vietnamese mercenary troops.

and housing--drown them in blood.

Yes, our rulers, the U.S. imperialists, are capable of atrocities worse than even Hitler thought of. They have proved this in Vietnam and they will prove it in the U.S. BUT THEY ARE NOT CAPABLE OF VICTORY! No matter how many tons of bombs they drop on S.E. Asia, the Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian peoples will never get on their knees and submit to imperialist rule. Neither will the U.S. working class be treated like dogs!

The workers are sick and ashamed of this war. But the U.S. imperialists will never bring us peace. If it isn't in Vietnam, there will be a war to keep the peoples of Latin America or Africa enslaved. As long as imperialism exists there will be wars against the colonial peoples and wars between the greedy imperialist powers for control of the colonies.

U.S. imperialism has one goal and one strategy: to enslave the people of the world, including the U.S. working class. Following from this, the U.S. workers can have only one realistic strategy if they want peace--that is the overthrow and destruction of U.S. imperialism.

But imperialism can't be destroyed until the U.S. working class unites with and builds massive support for the people of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, and China. We have one and the same enemy--by fighting together we will win!

We will show the imperialists what it really means to fight for "freedom" and "democracy". To us, "freedom" means freedom from imperialist oppression and rule; and "democracy" means to suppress this small class of murderers, the imperialists, so that the majority, the working class, can have real democracy!

VICTORY TO THE INDO-CHINESE PEOPLE!

FIGHT FOR A DICTATORSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS!

# American Populism: FASCISM IN DISGUISE

Nixon's State of the Union Message marked a new level in the move of the U.S. ruling class toward fascism. Finding that the U.S. working class did not like the tough law and order talk dished out by the candidates in the last elections, the Rockefellers, Morgans, Duponts and their political hired hands are trying a different approach. Suddenly we find the big imperialist mouthpiece Nixon, joining the other ruling class puppets, like Wallace and Jimmy Carter in the South, in bowing down to the "common man" and the "little people". Nixon even raved about "returning power to the people" and the need for a "new American revolution".

Why have the imperialists changed their tone? How can it be that the self-proclaimed hangmen of popular revolution around the world, who have murdered millions of poor and oppressed people for profit suddenly talk about "fighting big business and big government" and giving power to the "blue collar" workers? The answer lies in the deep crisis that the imperialists are in the middle of. In Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, the imperialists are suffering defeat after defeat. But they cannot afford to lose control of their colonies, so they must expand their counter-revolutionary wars against the peoples of the world. It is the U.S. workers who must pay for this expansion.

But here in the U.S., workers are not going along with this. To the working class the imperialists' wild scheme to enslave the people of the world means welfare cuts, bad contracts, mass layoffs, and open police attack on the most exploited and oppressed workers. The masses of workers are fed up with this system that makes things worse instead of better; that takes their sons away to die fighting the imperialist wars. They want something better.

The imperialists know that they must control their own working class if they are going to continue to enslave other nations. With this in mind they are "courting" workers with "revolutionary slogans" and promise of "drastic change". But their phoney populist talk is only the front man for the real change; the change from a system that still allows a few "freedoms" to the system of fascism.

As George Dimitroff, the great Bulgarian Communist said, "Fascism in power is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital."



This is what Nixon means by "New American Revolution."

That means that for most of us fascism is the smashing of all our civil rights, poverty wages and the right of the fascist U.S. rulers to murder and plunder at will. It means the trade unions become the open arm of the U.S. rulers, within the working class. The trade union leaders are working hard to create these fascist labor fronts of highly bribed workers right now, by actively fighting against rank and file participation in union leadership, and by sabotaging the drive to organize the masses of unorganized workers, as in the case with the Teamster Union attack on the United Farm Workers' drive to organize lettuce pickers. Tied in with the fascist's strategy of dividing the working class is the chauvinistic attacks on national minorities and workers of other nations.

### Phoney Populism Nothing New

Mussolini and Hitler came to power talking "socialism" and "anti-capitalism" to the Italian and German people. At the same time, they carried out a policy of murdering and terrorizing the working people of their own and other countries, a policy of fascism. They claimed to be for the "little man", but in fact, Hitler and Mussolini simply carried out the fascist rule of the German and Italian imperialist rulers. Many workers in those countries supported Hitler and Mussolini because they too lived better by robbing the wealth of other nations. The imperialists in those countries knew that only by bribing a section of the

working class could they carry out their open terroristic expansion. But the fascist armies were crushed and their cities blown to bits and the German and Italian workers learned the reality that fascism is the deathbed struggle of desperate capitalists and can only lead to the destruction of the working class.

We must learn from the fate of the German and Italian workers. It is the duty of communists and all who love the working class to point out the real meaning of this "revolutionary" talk of the Nixons and the Wallaces. We must see that supporting a policy of enslaving other nations will surely lead to our downfall and destruction. Behind Nixon's right to work jive is the crushing of organized labor, and leaving select groups of fascist gangs to carry out their bidding. Behind the "power to the people" talk is the open fascist rule of the Negro and Puerto Rican nations and open attacks on the national minority workers who are fighting for their rights. Welfare will become a reward for carrying out the capitalists' orders. These "masters" are talking peace, while making war. They try to twist patriotism, love for one's country, into chauvinism, hatred for other countries. A recent example of this was the prisoner of war farce that the imperialists invented to whip up hatred for the Vietnamese and prepare for the invasion of the North. They talk freedom while they push this chauvinism into hatred for the Negro nation and all blacks. They shout about "power to the people"

(cont. on p. 8)



## Teamsters - U.F.W.

(cont. from p. 2)

union nor given a chance to vote on it. Upon learning of the deal between the owners and the Teamsters, the field workers walked out. On every farm where a vote was allowed to take place the U.F.W. won. This is because the U.F.W. fights for the interests of the farm workers much more than the Teamsters.

However, now the Teamsters are yelling it is a "jurisdictional dispute". That is, they maintain the U.F.W. is trying to move in on their territory. The Teamster membership has been divided, some members protested the chauvinist action by the leadership, yet others have acted as scabs and goons to enforce the sweetheart agreement. Momentarily the Teamsters are getting some privileges for being the friends of the growers. However, this privilege will soon be forced, by the world revolution into its opposite.

Lenin once said "We communists stand against privilege in every form." And why is this? Because Lenin saw that as long as certain sections accepted privileges over, and at the expense of, the other sections of the working class, it will be divided and weak. Over the years, the one thing that has been plain in the struggle of labor with capital is that the workers must stick together. Unless the privileged workers reject privilege and fight for equality, there can be no unity. For why should the women, or unorganized, or super-exploited workers unite with those whose ideology is the same as the capitalist class?

The whole concept of privilege and bribery is intrinsically tied to imperialism. Because they rape and pillage the entire non-socialist world the imperialists are able to bribe the Anglo-American working class with a few crumbs. But this bribe is not univessally equal. The bribery is directed mainly at those workers in the skilled occupations such as engineers, pilots, plumbers, electricians; and secondly, at those workers in the central industries such as auto, steel construction, transportation, etc. What is the manifestation of this bribery. Auto workers in the U.S.

get \$4.25 an hour while the Brazilian auto workers get about .75 cents for the same or harder work. In transportation the U.S. workers average around \$5.00 an hour, while the worker in the Negro nation gets \$2.00 and those in Latin America get \$1.00. Compare the U.S. mine workers \$200 a week to the South African black miners \$200 a year. The imperialists must "buy off" certain sections of the Anglo-American working class to support their policies of expansion and aggression.

Since WW11 the U.S. imperialists have faced an ever increasing loss of external markets. This has been manifested in the fight back of the colonial people, led by the peoples of China, Vietnam, Korea, Cambodia and Laos. Before U.S. imperialism could shift any economic crisis from its borders to the backs of the world's toilers. Thus the U.S. workers led the "good life", while the world's people starved by the millions.

The present crisis in the capitalist economy is increasingly harder to shift on the world's people and the Anglo-American workers are beginning to feel the pinch. Each day the pinch becomes more like fascism. The U.S. workers must decide whether or not they will fight against imperialism and fascism or whether they will become its docile tools. Many workers, especially the unskilled and unorganized, have already made their decision. They instinctively realize that fascism will mean only a worse life for them. Yet there are those workers, central in production and skilled workers,

whose job conditions and wages have been relatively improved. It is with these workers the fascists are attempting to form a fascist labor front. A fascist group within the working class which will lead the attack on the class. This group is headed by the trade union leaders in the AFL-CIO and the construction trades quickly followed by the leadership in the ILWU, UAW, United Steel Workers and United Mine Workers. The leadership of the pro-fascists in these unions will only serve the capitalists. The small bribes will only prolong imperialism a few more years. The interests of the workers is to fight privilege and imperialism. Privilege is the protection of imperialism.

In the recent attack by the Teamsters on the United Farm Workers we see what it means to fight privilege and fascism. The Teamster leadership is directly helping the monopoly capitalist agri-business crush the farm workers. The Teamster leadership is even taking money from the employer, running a goon squad for the employer, and scabbing and propagandizing for the employer. The Teamster Union Leadership is paving the way for fascism, at the expense of the Mexican-American farm workers.

The teamster rank and file should take heed, as should all these workers whose union leadership is pro-fascist. Take your stand now - with the toilers of the world or the blood soaked fascists. The world is being swept with revolution, only a few imperialists and their henchmen stand in the way. If organized labor and the skilled workers choose fascism in order to maintain some small privilege - so be it. But those workers, the rank and file Teamsters included, who may think fascism looks sweet today, should remember that tomorrow world revolution will swing the pendulum the other way.

**SUPPORT THE  
U.F.W. - BOYCOTT  
LETTUCE!**

**For further information about the  
Communist League or People's  
Tribune write:**

P.O. Box 3892  
Merchandise Mart  
Chicago, Ill. 60654

P.O. Box 72306  
Watts Station  
Los Angeles, Ca.

P.O. Box 170  
Times Plaza Station  
Brooklyn, N.Y. 11217

P.O. Box 24241  
Bayview Station  
San Francisco, Ca.

# Puerto Rican Liberation Fighters Convicted

In the preceding People's Tribune, we reported that the patriotic revolutionary forces in Puerto Rico are being hounded, framed, and tried by the imperialist courts. Last week the courts found the Puerto Rican Marxist Leninists guilty as charged. What were the real charges? The real charges were having the freedom and independence of Puerto Rico. The real charges were that these comrades exposed the rotten neo-colonialism, the phoney left-wing, and the make-believe Communist Party of Puerto Rico, who try to hide the naked colonial oppression of Puerto Rico. These comrades were indicted and convicted only because they laid bare the misery, oppression and exploitation that U.S. imperialism has brought to Puerto Rico.

We have received a communication from our comrades,

a part of which we want to make public. "The trial of our six comrades started on Feb. 2, 1971. The trial lasted for five weeks and during that time the colonial press launched one of the most vicious attacks against our comrades. From the beginning it was very clear that our comrades were judged for their political ideology. This was shown by the great interest of the corrupt imperialist system to convict them.

The results of the trial were the following: Jose M Marti and Antonio Manzano were found guilty in regard to article 8--regarding the carrying of a weapon or firearm. The penalty is from one to five years. Jose M. Torres, Maria Torres, Luis Rivera, Juan A. Toledo, Jose M. Marti and Antonio Manzana were found guilty in regard to article 6--the possession of a firearm and in "conspiracy" to over-

throw the legal government by means of arms and violence." (We would like to ask, who gave the U.S. imperialists the legal right to overthrow the popular and legal government and by what legality is the colonial government seated?)

We want to say before the whole world, that we, the Communist League, who speak for the very best of the U.S. working class, will stand beside our Puerto Rican comrades. We are proud to be associated with them, because they are associating themselves with the finest traditions in the history of the Americas.

We call upon the democrats and revolutionaries throughout the United States and throughout the world to understand the meaning of these trials and convictions. We call upon them to assist the Puerto Rican freedom fighters in all ways.

Here is an opportunity to give real meaning to the idea of proletarian internationalism.

**WE DEMAND THE FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF PUERTO RICO!**



## Self-Criticism of C.L. Program

The Volume II, Number 6 issue of the Peoples Tribune contained a draft program of the Communist League. In the following issue of the paper the program was withdrawn.

The leadership asked for, received and will continue to accept criticism for the publication of that "program".

The published program of the CL was a mistake for several reasons. First of all such programs are programs for mature and stabilized Communist Parties. We can only have one point on the program and that is to build a national Communist Party. Our daily tactics are too varied to detail or systematize in a program. Our only criteria is to do those things and develop those tactics that will contribute to the construction of a Marxist-Leninist Party.

It was a "new leftish" influence within the CL that prompted the program. Actually, as the Manifesto points out, "The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from the other working class parties by this only:

1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality.
2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they

always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole." (Karl Marx & Frederick Engels, The Communist Manifesto)

The publication of the "program" indicated a weakness that borders on political laziness. We had hoped to wrap up a neat package and every time a worker asked, "What does the Communist League stand for?" we could simply hand the worker that program and automatically gain a supporter. The class struggle is not so simple.

The leadership of the Communist League criticizes itself for this political error, and on the basis of this criticism more resolutely address ourselves to the task of winning the toilers in their millions to the cause of Socialism, to the cause of building a militant Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the USA.

# POLLUTION: Capitalists' Biggest By-Product

In a small Japanese town, poor fishermen and workers became afflicted by a "strange disease" that attacked their nervous system. Many of them were killed and many others were crippled by this "disease" that turned out to be caused by mercury contaminated fish.

The whole problem of pollution is not merely a matter for the ecology do gooders, but it has become a question of survival. If capitalism is not destroyed, it will destroy this whole planet! The U.S. imperialists dump their garbage and scum all over the world. Our rivers and lakes have become filthy deposits of sewage. Nothing can even survive in them. They have become unfit for fishing or drinking. In Lake Michigan and Lake Erie, once beautiful fresh lakes, there is not a living thing! All the fish are dead! The blue ocean waters have become black with oil slicks from San Francisco to New Orleans to New Haven, Conn. The waves wash up bones of dead fish--because all the fish were destroyed by the big imperialist oil companies!

Much of our food, including meat and milk, is poisoned with DDT and other insecticides. The imperialists are perfectly willing to sell and make profits from food that is poisoned.

It's enough to make you sick! Capitalism is completely overturning the balance of nature. It will be a long time before the country of Vietnam will be able to grow anything. The U.S. dumps tons of poisons and defoliants and napalm on the land and the people in order to carry out their war of aggression in order to enslave and oppress the people of Southeast Asia. In the U.S. the capitalists' junk pollutes the air, but in Vietnam they use their poisons to wage a chemical warfare on the people.

Capitalism breeds chaos. The imperialists are only in-

terested in making profits, so industry rages out of control, dumping its waste and filth everywhere. Some cities, such as Los Angeles in California, have to have smog alerts because the air pollution is at such a dangerously high level. Children are kept home from school and kept inside. But there is no smog alert for the masses of workers. They must still go to work and breathe the capitalists' muck into their lungs. How could the imperialists possible allow the workers to stay home for even one day--they would lose billions of dollars of their "precious" profits.

We are still using cars powered by the out-dated internal combustion engine that gives off fumes into the air. The capitalists who control the big auto industry and oil companies won't change the cars so that they would not poison our air because they would lose profits. An official of General Motors has openly admitted that they could make devices that would cut down pollution, but the workers would not pay for it. This clearly shows that the imperialists don't give a damn about anything but money.

Capitalism never has and never will have any concern for the people or environment, only for profits! The working class must overthrow capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only under socialism will we be able to begin to correct all the damage the bourgeoisie has done. For example, in the People's Republic of China, through study, the people have been able to take once polluting wastes and turn them into something beneficial. In one factory, by analyzing the waste material, they obtained copper oxide, which could be used for pigment in the country's enamel industry. Socialism in China has just about licked the pollution problem.

(cont. on p. 12)

## Puerto Rico- (cont. from p. 3)

But, the situation in the world is rapidly changing. The U.S. imperialists are faced with world wide revolution. The anti-imperialist struggle is being waged by oppressed and exploited workers and peasants everywhere. The people of the world will no longer sit by while imperialism ruins their countries and destroys their peoples. Where imperialism rears its ugly head it's being struck death blows. As a result, the living conditions in the U.S. have been steadily declining. The bribe is shrinking. Fascism is increasing. The fight is on. The U.S. working class has a choice: Either support actively or by remaining silent, the aggression of U.S. imperialism on the world's people, in exchange for a few extra crumbs, in other words, support the obsolete, bankrupt, degenerate U.S. imperialists who are doomed to failure; or make a complete break with our own imperialists, and join hands with the colonial peoples struggling to liberate their nations. This alliance with the vast majority of the people of the world will yield the Anglo-American working class no immediate material results. But it will be infinitely more valuable than crumbs, for it will mean that we'll take our rightful place in the growing, vigorous army that is privileged by history to smash once and for all the system of exploitation and oppression, and establish Socialism, the rule of the workers.

The workers and oppressed people of Puerto Rico and Latin America are on the move. So are we, the Anglo-American and Negro Nation workers and poor. But in order for us to win, to defeat imperialism and growing fascism, we must link up these struggles in a solid united front. It is for this reason, to gain the trust of the colonial peoples and to fulfill our responsibilities as members of the super-oppressive Anglo American nation, it is for this reason that we Anglo-American workers must support morally and materially the liberation struggle in Puerto Rico.

## American Populism-

(cont. from p. 5)

ple" while they push male supremacy to divide our class. Wallace claims he wants everyone to have guns, but does he want to face armed Negroes? Of course not.

The imperialists and their puppets are trying to convince the working class that they have a new system, neither capitalist nor communist. But behind their smooth slogans is the ugly face of rising fascism, the real system of the capitalists.

We must smash their phoney slogans and expose what is behind all their jive; the rich

capitalists desperately trying to confuse and mislead the rising revolutionary struggle of the working class. We cannot stop rising fascism by raising our own slogans of "fighting the fat bosses", "leading the poor against the rich" and other vague talk about revolution. We must call things as they are: It's not a fight between the rich and poor, but a class struggle between the working class and the capitalist class. The capitalists and their puppets talk populism only to cover up the growth of fascism in the U.S.

We must learn from history. Fascism was smashed

only in those countries where the working and oppressed people were led by a class conscious organization of working class fighters; a communist party. We must build a communist party to bring class consciousness to the working class! Led by a communist party we can unite our class to smash the bloody rule of the capitalist imperialist class once and for all. Led by a communist party we will insure real democracy for the working class, by establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat that will never allow the rotten capitalists to enslave the working class again!

# Build A Class Party; Build A Mass Struggle!

A year has passed since the Tribune published the article, "Build a Class Party, Build a Mass Struggle". That original article was written to indicate to the class and to the Communist League the general path of the U.S. revolution and to make a marked distinction between us and the scores of middle class adventurers that populate the left in the United States.

The propositions contained in that article a year ago are still true and will be true for so long as capitalism is being fought in the United States and the world.

First of all, we want to re-assert our position as **revolutionaries**. We are revolutionaries because we are convinced that the capitalist system cannot bring the people anything but war, depression, unemployment and moral degeneration. The Negro people, the Puerto Ricans, the Mexican-Americans and the Indians are facing a new wave of lynch violence that is being prepared to drive them back into the semi-slavery they have been fighting against. The poor on welfare are being attacked with the idea of starving them into sweat shop low paying jobs--making them become a real reserve army of the unemployed that can be used to attack the militant workers and drive down the wages. The working class is being attacked with all sorts of laws, amendments, injunctions and union busting procedures that will leave them defenseless before the attack of the capitalists. As Lenin said, "Imperialism is reaction down the line". When a system cannot provide the people with work, leaves millions hungry, ill housed and ill clothed, it need be done away with. The capitalist system must go in order to liberate the people and lay the basis for the happiness of humanity. History has shown that there is no possibility of voting or talking our way into a better life. Our class, the working class, must seize the power of the state. They must take for themselves all the things that are necessary for life and happiness. The mines, factories, mills and farmland can and must be used for the people and not for the benefit of a few. All this requires a revolution. Therefore, we are revolutionaries and not just liberals or progressives who believe that something should be done to help the people.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the great teachers of the working class, used scientific analysis to prove that revolution is not only necessary but inevitable. The profound scientific teachings of these great revolutionaries raised

the hopes and dreams to the level of science, and gave mankind the weapon necessary to liberate himself. Therefore we are Marxist revolutionaries.

In 1917, the Russian workers overthrew the capitalist system. Faced with the unending slaughter of World War I, starving and brutalized by the Tzarist dictatorship, the Russian people rose up and seized for themselves the vast country we now know as the Soviet Union. The Russian workers were led by Lenin, who applied the teachings of Marx to the practical problems of the revolution. Lenin developed Marxism into a series of tactical and strategic maneuvers and assaults that brought the first workers and farmers state into being. **Leninism is Marxism in the period of imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions.** Therefore, we are not simply Marxists, but Marxist-Leninists. We stand on, use and develop a scientific revolutionary movement that is 150 years old. We utilize all this experience and knowledge in our struggle to overthrow this social system and its property relations. Understanding and using these scientific tactics and strategies means starting with reality, with the struggle as it exists, and not with hopes and dreams.

We are living in a period of maturing social consciousness of the masses. People are beginning to see and act on the obvious division of the country between rich and poor. Most of the struggles in the country today are based on this simple understanding that the rich get rich because the poor are poor. This elementary understanding accounts for the growth of Populist sentiment in the left wing.

However, the people must, and are beginning to pass through this stage of social consciousness into something infinitely higher, that is class consciousness. It is only from the launching pad of class consciousness that a revolution can develop. Therefore, it is very important that we study and understand the content as well as the form that the daily struggle takes. Only in this way can we constantly raise the political level of the struggle.

In the struggle against imperialist war, against increasing exploitation and oppression, the mass movement is steadily growing in militancy. The colonial world is striking blow after blow at the imperialists. The wars in Asia, Africa and Latin America are cutting deeply into the political stability and the economic reserves of the imperialists. They are and will attempt to take up the slack by tightening

the screws on the U.S. workers.

As the capitalists intensify the exploitation here at home, the workers are going to fight back. That fight back today, has to take the form of social consciousness - of a Populist sort of struggle. The reason for this is that the workers cannot develop class consciousness by themselves. They have to be taught this form of consciousness. This is the task and role of the communist parties.

In this country there is no communist party worthy of the name. There is no conscious vanguard of the workers in a period of militancy and rebellions. The only possible result is disorganized, unplanned, spontaneous struggles. The only road open to the masses is the road of heroic but unorganized mass uprisings and brave but individualistic armed resistance to the police and fascist gangs.

How are we to approach this situation where the capitalists are launching an offensive and the masses of the people are fighting back without an organized leadership, that is to say the masses are fighting **defensively**. In the Communist League, we believe that it is our duty to take all the necessary steps to change this spontaneous defensive fighting into organized offensive revolutionary struggles as soon as possible.

We note that there are two equally bad tendencies in the left today as regards the spontaneous struggles. On the one hand, there is the trend that stands completely aside from the fight. These so called radicals analyze the fight with the most profound terminology. They cheer the fighters onward and at the end of the struggle they again begin the "lets you and him fight" kind of agitation. On the other hand there are those who at the drop of the hat, rush into the street, get in the fight on the same political level as the masses and, at the end of the struggle strut around bragging about their role in fighting the cops, if they're not in jail or dead.

We reject both these tendencies. Basically they are both **reformist tendencies**—those who talked and refused to fight, as well as those who fought and refused to think. We want to put Lenin's teaching into living practice. The teaching that effects us the most today is the statement that the working class without its vanguard party, is like an army without its general staff.

(cont. on p. 10)

# Build A Class Party



V. I. LENIN

(cont. from p. 9)

However, no revolutionary organizations can become the vanguard of the proletariat, or become that necessary general staff simply by stating it. The role of conscious leaders has to be earned in the spontaneous struggle. We do not advocate either the right or the left tendency, but, we do see that the struggle as it exists in its spontaneous form is the only possible starting point. The imperialists understand better than we do that the struggle develops leaders and they go all out to co-opt these rising leaders and use them against the people. We believe that we have to struggle for these rising leaders and organize them into a political party that is based on the Marxist-Leninist science of revolution. The relationship between leaders and the masses is a very important one. There can be no leaders unless they are able to sum up and express the will of the masses, neither can there be a successful mass struggle unless there are trained and experienced leaders that have arisen from the masses themselves. Therefore, in our stage of growth, we have to take a most serious approach to the spontaneous mass movement.

The Communist League fully supports the mass uprisings against the attacks of the fascist police. Although these uprisings are defensive spontaneous fighting, they indicate the beginnings of real consciousness amongst the masses. But that consciousness cannot grow from itself. Revolutionaries have to be part of those fights--not just another soldier in the trench, but by using our limited numbers to convince the masses what they are fighting and how they must fight to win.

In the United States, this, in the beginning at least, is

going to be a slow process. This process is going to demand a real bolshevik patience and this unglamorous period is going to separate the solid revolutionaries from the petty-bourgeois adventurers. This slow detailed work will organize the individual resistance into mass struggles and will transform spontaneous struggle into revolution. We know that there can be no revolution unless the masses are conscious of the whats and whys of the struggle. That is why Marx said, "Theory becomes a material force once it is gripped by the masses."

In our approach to the spontaneous struggle, we have to start with present conditions. The fact that conditions all other facts is that the masses of the people in the United States are in the early stages of a massive revolution without a revolutionary Party--without a class conscious proletariat and, without a general staff.

The Communist Party of the USA is a revisionist rotten bunch that has become an adjunct of the State Department. The upper strata of the labor leaders are perfect examples of "labor lieutenants" of the capitalists. Actually, the conditions are such that the so called "leadership" of the working class is almost entirely counter-revolutionary.

The elements that are conscious are small, scattered and disunited. In varying degrees, almost all of them are caught up in the subjectivism that leads to anarcho-syndicalism. Anarcho-syndicalists don't see revolution as the act of an entire class overthrowing another class. They don't see the need for the class as a whole to strike out against the bourgeois state. They see revolution as an individualistic occurrence where "everyone does their own thing!" The workers will overthrow the bosses, the students will take care of the universities etc. And, most importantly, they deny the need for a strong workers state, a dictatorship of the working class. Being idealists they push the line of "no state".

Because of these conditions and subjectivity, the League feels that we must re-state the essentials of the Marxist-Leninist theory and experience on revolution.

Most basic and fundamental to the art of insurrection are these words of Lenin, "To be successful, insurrection must rely not upon a conspiracy and not upon a party, but upon the advanced class. That is the first point. Insurrection must rely upon a revolutionary upsurge of the people, that is the second point. Insurrection must rely upon such a crucial moment in the history of the growing revolution when the ac-

tivity of the advanced ranks of the people is at its height and when the vacillations in the ranks of the enemy and in the ranks of the weak, half-hearted and irresolute friends of the revolution are strongest. That is the third point. And these three conditions for raising the question of insurrection distinguish Marxism from Blanquism." (Marxism and Insurrection)

Let us take a second look at Lenin's words. First of all an insurrection is an aspect of a revolution. A revolution is a mass upheaval wherein one class overthrows another class. An insurrection is the act by a political group of seizing state power.

It appears that every grouping on the left has some sort of romantic notion that they can pull off an insurrection apart from the general revolutionary upsurge of the masses. But that general upsurge is dependent on the political understanding and organization of the masses. Herein lies the wisdom of Mao's teaching that the leaflet precedes the rifle. Only the middle-class do-gooders become weary in the struggle to politically educate the people. The misguided ones, the lazy and the adventurers look down on the backwardness and ignorance of the masses and finally say that the people cannot make revolution and therefore they decide to skip that essential phase, and attempt an insurrection. But, they don't have the power to do that either, so they satisfy themselves with dreams and planting dynamite, that has so far killed more workers than capitalists. We rely on the advanced class--the working class. If it takes the next five years to organize and educate that class, then we will take five years; if it takes the next fifty years, then we will remain Marxist-Leninists and struggle for the next fifty years. There is only one way, one path--the path of Lenin. We have had enough experience in the past fifty years to know that the petty bourgeois "short cuts" only add more years and more suffering to the struggle.

Making plans for an insurrection isn't enough, because an insurrection is the crowning, so to speak, of a revolution. It is not a palace coup where personalities are changed, it is part of a revolution where classes are changed. An insurrection has to ride the crest of a revolution.

Lenin speaks of developing that insurrection at the "crucial moment in the history of the growing revolution when the activity of the advanced ranks of the people is at its height, and when the vacillations in the ranks of the ene-

(cont. on p. 11)

## Class Party-

(cont. from p. 10)

my and in the ranks of the weak, halfhearted and irresolute friends of the revolution are strongest."

In no way does that mean that the revolutionaries should sit back and wait until somehow or other there appears a crack in the solidarity of the ruling class. It is stupid to speak today of revolution without speaking in terms of going **to the class with leaflets and building study circles and above all developing a press that is taken to the hearts of the working class.**

Revolutionaries must take part in the political life of the nation in an independent way, that is to say, independent of the bourgeoisie. The revolutionaries have to help develop that revolutionary situation. Lenin says: "The fundamental law of revolution, which has been confirmed by all revolutions, and particularly by all three Russian revolutions in the twentieth century, consists in the following: it is not enough for revolution that the exploited and oppressed masses should understand the impossibility of living in the old way and demand changes; for revolution it is necessary that the exploiters should not be able to live and rule in the old way. Only when the 'lower classes' do not want the old way, and when the 'upper classes' cannot carry on in the old way--only then can revolution triumph. This truth may be expressed in other words: Revolution is impossible without a nation-wide crisis (affecting both the exploited and the exploiters). It follows that for revolution it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the class conscious, thinking, politically active workers) should fully understand the necessity for revolution and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; secondly, that the ruling classes should be passing through a governmental crisis which would draw even the most backward masses into politics...weaken the government and make it possible

for the revolutionaries to overthrow it rapidly." (Foundations of Leninism, page 45)

A good part of the objective conditions for revolution are already present in the USA--the vast and deep uprisings of the black and Negro workers, the prolonged strike waves, and the deep social antagonisms developed from the war prove that this is true. What is missing in the USA is the indispensable ingredient of the subjective factor. No matter how severe the suffering of the masses, no matter how broad the uprisings or the protests--**revolution is impossible without the subjective factor being present.** That subjective factor is class consciousness. It is the ideological backwardness, the lack of independent activity on the part of the masses that is the drag on the revolution. It is here that the battle has to be fought today. Our principle weapons of the day are the leaflet, the soap box, the study circle and the press.

What the Marxist-Leninist left needs today is experience, to perfect and deeply understand the Marxist-Leninist theory and ideology that we have so agonizingly won from the revisionists. That means that in our practical work we should attempt only what is possible to complete. It means elevating our political, tactical and organizational know-how. The only path open to us in this difficult period and in the more difficult period ahead is the path of advance and retreat in order to advance again. The entire left must make a combat-type estimate of the relationship of forces. We must understand where we are, what we have to work with and then move forward. Engels said, "The time of surprise attacks, of revolutions carried through by small conscious minorities at the head of unconscious masses, is past. Where it is a question of a complete transformation of the social organization, the masses themselves must also be in it, must themselves already have grasped what is at stake, what they are going in for (body

and soul). The history of the last fifty years has taught us that. But in order that the masses may understand what is to be done, long persistent work is required, and it is just this work which we are now pursuing, and with a success which drives the enemy to despair." (Introduction to The Class Struggles in France.)

American history has placed the question very concretely to the revolutionaries. That question is, how do you take advantage of the objective situation to move the masses forward? The people are resisting the increasingly fascist policies of the government. The state is becoming more and more locked in struggle with the Anglo-American working class, the national minorities and the Negro and Puerto Rican nations. These oppressed classes and nations are very brave and very hard fighting, they are very militant. But the masses and the revolutionaries are hamstrung by the attitude of individualism that arises with and is an ideology of the capitalist class. If it were possible at this time to organize the individual acts of resistance that occur in one day in the USA you would have a real revolutionary upsurge. But capitalist propaganda, and the propaganda of its adjunct, the Communist Party USA, praises and urges on the attitude "You can't do that to me". We have to substitute the more scientific and sweeping concept "You can't do that to us."

The Communist League does not believe that individual acts against the system contribute to its downfall when these acts are out of relationship with and in contradiction to the general level of the struggle. However, we understand that the real weakness does not lie in individual spontaneous action. The real weakness lies in the fact that there is no Communist Party to systematize these actions. It is obvious that a thousand individual acts become a mass act once they are organized.

In the United States we are at the end of the period where spontaneous acts are going to contribute to the revolution. The crying historical need today is for a Communist Party that is based on Marxism-Leninism and has the proper ties with the masses.

(cont. on p. 12)



Fascist police attack demonstration. Workers angry over war. Waiting for food stamps in St. Louis.

"A good part of the objective conditions for revolution are already present in the USA--"

## Class Party

(cont. from p. 11)

The starting point is the masses. Mao's teaching, "from the masses, to the masses" must be our rule today. That implies however, that we get deep into the masses and start the process by learning from them. That does not mean from the individual toilers, but from the mass experience. Lenin teaches us: "Let us begin from the beginning. What are the fundamental demands which every Marxist should make of an examination of the question of the forms of struggle? In the first place, Marxism differs from all primitive forms of socialism by the fact that it does not bind the movement to any one particular form of struggle. It admits the most varied forms of struggle; and it does not "concoct" them, but only generalizes, organizes, gives conscious expression to those forms of struggle of the revolutionary classes which arise of themselves in the course of the movement. Absolutely hostile to all abstract formulas and to all doctrinaire recipes, Marxism demands an attentive attitude to the mass struggle in progress, which, as the movement develops, as the class consciousness of the masses grows, as economic and political crises become acute, continually gives rise to new and more varied methods of defence and offence. Marxism, therefore, positively does not reject any form of struggle. Under no circumstance does Marxism confine itself to the forms of struggle that are possible and that exist at the given moment only, recognizing as it does that new forms of struggle, unknown to the participants of the given period, inevitably arise as the given social situation changes. In this respect, Marxism learns, if we may so express it, from mass practice, and makes no claim whatever to teach the masses forms of struggle invented by "systematizers" in the seclusion of their studies." (from Partisan Warfare)

We are clearly approaching a period of extreme difficulties. The increasing oppression points to another "long hot summer". The people are going into another period of struggle without a General Staff that is capable of organizing all the protests into one onslaught. It is obvious that the state will welcome another Watts or Detroit under the existing conditions, because it will provide them with all the excuse necessary to expand or even complete the drive for fascism. While we call upon the comrades and the whole left to be aggressive and militant in the struggle, we have to warn against becoming subjective. What we can and cannot do depends on more than our subjective wishes; it also depends on the objective conditions. Lenin wrote, "We now have wide experience in revolution, and this experience has taught us that we must employ tactics of relentless assault when the objective conditions permit it, when experience of

## POLLUTION-

(cont. from p.8)

The only "advances" the U.S. imperialists have made in solving the pollution problem is to "create" fancy new gases that cost them cheaper to make but are sold at higher prices. The imperialists have jumped onto the ecology band wagon--only to trick the U.S. working class. They will never change or do anything that would take money out of their pockets. They try to trick us by blaming pollution on the people and overpopulation. This is a bunch of jive! Does the working class sell insecticides that poison crops? Does the working class poison the water and pollute the lakes and oceans with industrial wastes? No! The imperialists



compromise has shown that the masses are indignant and that an assault will be an expression of this change of mind. But we have to resort to waiting tactics, to a slow mustering of forces, when the objective conditions make it impossible to call for a general and ruthless counter-assault. (from Collected Works, XXIII)

Before our friends on the Left begin again to scream about revolution, let them study the teaching of Karl Marx and see if our capabilities add up to the demands. Marx wrote:

"Now, insurrection is an art quite as much as war or any other, and subject to certain rules of proceeding, which, when neglected, will produce the ruin of the party neglecting them. Those rules, logical deductions from the nature of the parties and the circumstances one has to deal with in such a case, are so plain and simple that the short experience of 1848 has made the Germans pretty well acquainted with them. Firstly, never play with insurrection, unless you are fully prepared to face the consequences of your play. Insurrection is a calculus with very indefinite magnitudes, the value of which may change every day; the forces opposed to you have all the advantage of organization, discipline and habitual authority; unless you bring strong odds against them you are defeated and ruined. Secondly, the insurrectionary career once entered upon, act with the greatest determination, and on the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed rising; it is lost before it measures itself with its enemies. Surprise your antagonists while

are just trying to shift the blame for pollution onto the workers so that the pollution problem does not become an anti-imperialist issue.

The imperialists will only come up with solutions that will make them more money while at the same time they will continue to dump their garbage throughout the world. This class of imperialists are filthy dirty slimes who will stop at nothing to make profits. And if they are not stopped they will destroy this whole planet! It is up to the working class to rid the earth of these monsters, to smash the profit system and take the power of the government into their own hands and make the world livable for the people of the world!

their forces are scattering, prepare new successes, however small, but daily; keep up the moral ascendant which the first successful rising has given to you; rally thus those vacillating elements to your side which always follow the strongest impulse and which always look out for the safer side; force your enemies to a retreat before they can collect their strength against you; in the words of Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known, Audacity, audacity, and again, audacity!" (from Germany: Revolution and Counter-Revolution)

Let us sum up. Our country sorely needs and is entering into a new revolutionary phase of its development. But that revolution cannot really move forward until tens of millions of people believe in and are committed to that cause. The winning over of these millions is the principle task of the revolutionaries today. In order to accomplish this task a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party is indispensable. It is from this point of view that we call on the radicals and revolutionaries throughout the country to labor against the subjectivity and individualism that prevents the formation of a national proletarian party. Each of us--individually and organizationally is going to have to answer to history why this task was or was not accomplished in time. We have the objective conditions in our favor. In the treasury of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, we have all the subjective weapons.

History has said, "You must." Let us reply, "We can."