

PEOPLE'S



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. 4, No. 5

Lenin

Donation 5¢

June 1972

Wallace Tastes the Violence He Preaches

The attempted assassination of Governor George Wallace of Alabama contains some very important lessons for the revolutionary movement in the USNA.

First of all, from the side of the ruling class: The financial, political overseers are not missing this opportunity to intensify the drive toward fascism in this country. The first and obvious manouver is to link Wallace with some other important victims of assassination - the Kennedy brothers and the Rev. Martin Luther King. In this manouver, the

ruling class intends to make an abstract discussion of the whys and wherefores of the assassination attempt.

Is the ruling class so stupid as to suppose that the violence they call for and carry out won't spill over on themselves? Wallace's campaign in 1968 was summed up by him as, "Segregation today, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever." Can any one deny that segregation is murder of the Negro people. Can any one deny that Wallace built a political and fi-

(cont. on p. 2)

U.S. & U.S.S.R. COLLUDE: ATTEMPT TO HALT VIETNAM REVOLUTION

Within the last 5 weeks the U.S. government and the Saigon puppets have suffered tremendous military defeats at the hands of the South Vietnam People's Liberation Armed Forces. The puppet troops suffered over 10,000 casualties in their defeat at Quang Tri. The puppet army's 3rd Infantry Division was wiped out, including its armored regiments and Ranger Multi-Battalion Units. They shot down 150 aircraft and destroyed 1,000 military vehicles and 200 artillery pieces. The province of Quang Tri and Thua Thieu have been liberated in the North. At present the reactionary elements only hold Kontum in the Central Highlands. In Saigon itself there is much fear shown by the puppet government who knows its end is near. These smashing military victories clearly show the bankruptcy of Nixon's Vietnamization and Pacification programs. Further, these victories show the steadfastness of the Vietnamese to surmount every difficulty in liberating and unifying Vietnam.

The U.S. imperialists reeling from the blows of the people of Vietnam, have now turned to the U.S.S.R., their "super power" partners, in an attempt to crush the Vietnamese people. The Soviet Union in a series of secret talks with U.S. officials, mainly Henry Kissin-

(cont. on p. 2)

Negro Nation Day

June 19th represents the revolutionary working class holiday Negro Nation Day. The purpose of this holiday is to show our solidarity with the Negro Nation, raise the slogan Independence for the Negro Nation, and to consolidate the fight for National Liberation of the Negro People. This holiday falls on June 19, as a traditional day of celebration of the Negro people. It was on June 19, 1862 that President Lincoln under strong abolitionist pressure passed a law abolishing slavery in all the territories of the U.S.. This celebration also provides an opportunity for the Anglo-American working class to show deepest solidarity with all anti-imperialist National Liberation struggles particularly the just struggle of the Puerto Rican people against national oppression and the just struggles of the Mexican national minority and Indian peoples against the brutal and anti-democratic oppression of the U.S. monopoly capitalist government.

To unite the working class; to link the hard conditions, the oppression and exploitation here in the Anglo-American nation to that of the oppression of the Negro Nation and Puerto Rico; and to show all workers here that they will never be

free until the Negro Nation and Puerto Rico are free and independent. That is what Negro Nation day is about!

Last year hundreds of workers and their families gathered in Chicago for a day of revolutionary speeches, music, and food. They rallied around the slogans, Free Vincent Terry, (a Negro national minority youth being railroaded by the police), Free the Negro Nation, and Free Puerto Rico. This year similar festivities will held on Saturday, June 17th.

Negro Nation Day is a day to strengthen the unity and solidarity between the Anglo-American and Negro nations. It provides an excellent chance for the entire Anglo-American working class to gather in the spirit of proletarian internationalism voicing their support for the anti-imperialist and socialist struggles around the world. It is a day to bring us one step closer towards the victory of the working class and the death of U.S. imperialism.

The C.L. invites all communists and revolutionary workers to rally in support of and participate in Negro Nation Day!

What's Inside:

- May Day Speech.....p. 3
- Chinese Hospital.....p. 4
- Anti-war March in L.A...p. 5
- Forest Hills, N.Y.....p. 6
- Chinatown, S.F.....p. 5
- South Africa.....p. 7
- Air Hi-jacking.....p. 8
- Ireland, Part II.....p. 9
- Definitions.....p. 15

VIETNAM

(cont. from p. 1)

ger's visit to Moscow from April 20-24, have agreed 1) to pressure the Vietnamese to halt the armed struggle, 2) to continue relationships and planning with the U.S. how to crush the revolutionary anti-imperialist struggles being waged around the world and 3) the Soviet Union agreed to stand by and do nothing while the U.S. government brazenly bombed the dikes in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, mined Haiphong and other major harbors, threatened the use of nuclear weapons and continued the most vicious bombing known in history. We ask how come the Soviet Union sat by while at least 2 of its ships were attacked by U.S. air power?

The U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists have formed the most savage, reactionary alliance in history. Brezhnev and Nixon make Hitler and Tojo look like children. While the U.S. stabs the people of the world in the stomach, the Soviet Union stabs them in the back. In the Congo, it was Krushchev and the Kennedy's behind the murder of Lumumba. And what about the Cuban missile crisis? Again, in tight knit unity the Soviet Union and the U.S. produced a sham battle. The real loser was the Cuban people. More recently we see the U.S., U.S.S.R., Israel and the reactionary Hashemite regime in Jordan all uniting to attempt to crush the Palestine People's Liberation Movement. Thus, the dialectic of the situation is that when the revolutionary movement is on the rise the thieves band together, but when it ebbs they fall out. The revolutionary movement is definitely on the rise. The role of the CPUSA (Communist Party of the U.S.A.) although not as significant internationally, certainly exposes itself on this question. They attempt to rally the masses behind the leadership of the Soviet Union. This particular treacherous role of the revisionists is nothing but getting the proletariat to fight not its enemies, but the enemies of its enemies.

Concerning the events in Vietnam, there has developed in the "left" movement both a right and left deviation. The left deviation condemns the leadership of the Vietnam Workers Party and the Communist Party of China for "selling

out the revolution". This petty bourgeois and Trotskyite motion pushes the defeatist line that there is "no hope" for the Vietnamese revolution because of its leadership. The practical result is no support for the valiant struggle. The right deviation is much more widespread, and is expressed in two ways: The first endorses the CPUSA's and especially the CPSU's efforts to make a deal favoring the imperialists, in other words, it advocates an unprincipled peace that would continue the imperialists' foothold in Vietnam. The other expression of the right deviation is the line that pays lip service to giving active support. It is expressed in the idea that since the Vietnamese have been successful in defeating the imperialists for so long, there is no need to worry about "setbacks" or reversals and therefore, no need to heighten our active support of the Vietnamese people's struggle. While we know that the strategic victory of the national liberation struggle is inevitable, the denial of the possibility of tactical losses is in reality an aid to the U.S. imperialists and undermines proletarian internationalism.

Comrades and friends, the Vietnamese revolution has been attacked by the most vicious alliance of the world's two most industrially powerful capitalist states. The steadfastness of the Vietnam Workers Party and Vietnamese people and the reliable reserve of the Chinese Communist Party and people present solid revolutionary steadfastness in the face of this counter-revolutionary collusion. It is the duty of revolutionaries to give full and fierce support to the Vietnamese revolution and condemn the U.S. and Soviet social-imperialists for their aggression. Hold back not one bit; mobilize the masses; spread the conscious internationalist support of the Vietnamese revolution! The Vietnamese revolution represents the apex of the struggles of oppressed nations against imperialism. The set back of the Vietnamese revolution will mean world-wide set backs, especially for the Puerto Rican, Negro and Mexican national minority peoples.

LONG LIVE THE HEROIC VIETNAMESE PEOPLE!
U.S. AND U.S.S.R. OUT OF VIETNAM!

Wallace

(cont. from p. 1)

nancial empire out of the advocacy and carrying out of violence and murder against the toilers of the South and especially of the Negro Nation? What makes Mr. Wallace more holy and inviolate than the Vietnamese people whose extermination he calls for. With Wallace, the sword was a way of life - it is the way of life of all political stooges of the imperialists. It never has been and never will be otherwise.

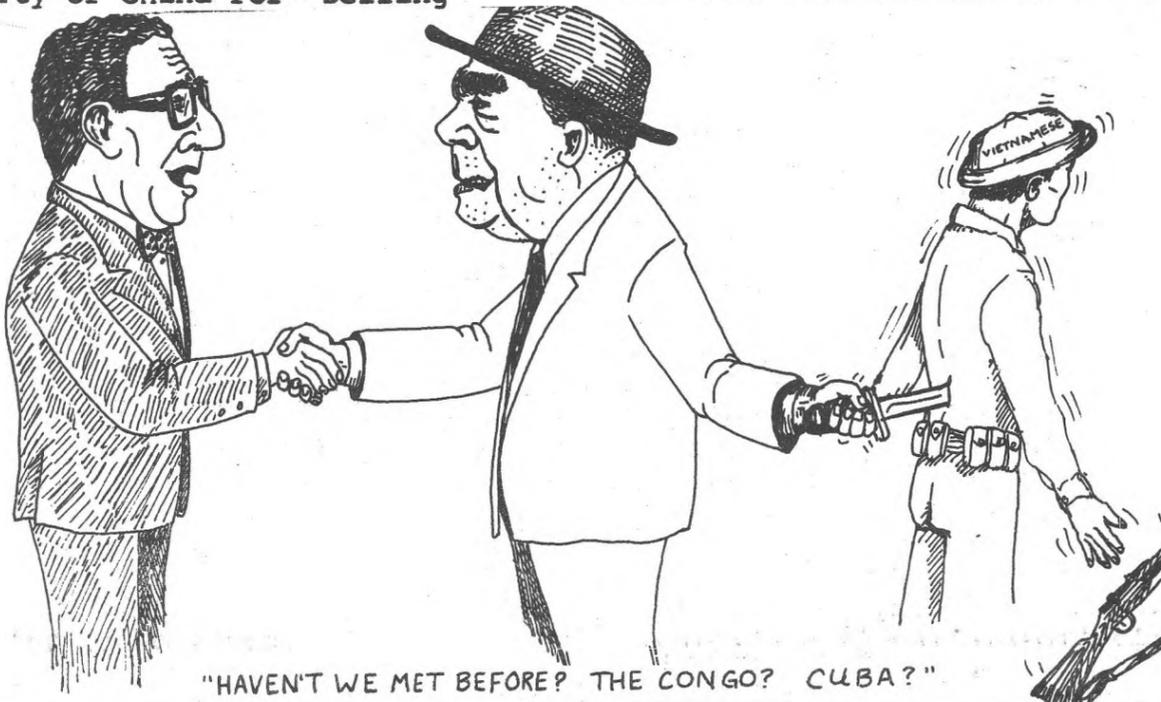
However, faced with the situation that life has presented, the soothsayers of capital are building up and are continuing to build up this false image of Wallace as a rebel, and this is the main link with the so called rebelliousness of Kennedy and King. The political role of Wallace was to be the escape valve for the frustrations and mounting revolutionary energy of the masses. He rounded up the militancy of the toilers with his demogogy against big government, the intellectuals, the courts, etc.

The imperialists tactic now is to use this assassination attempt to formalize a right bloc, rallying their forces against the shooting. They are dramatizing Wallace's cries for law and order, which really mean fascist oppression of the working class. The stands taken by imperialist dogs from Shirley Chisolm to Geo. McGovern to Humphrey to Nixon, expose them all as imperialist agents, coming to the aid of the right. Talking about "this savage act" the liberal McGovern said "If we've gotten to the point in this country where a public figure can't express his views on the issues of the day, can't seek the Presidency of this country without getting shot, then I tremble for the future of our nation." (L.A. Times, May 16, 1972, p. 11) State Senator Mervyn Dymally, the leading Negro politician in California, declared that the shooting was a result of the same "sickness" in America that caused the assassination of the Kennedy's and of King.

What are these liberals doing, who are so outraged at "violent threats to democracy", but opening the door to excuse the fascist KKK's murders? These liberals are moving to the right to help the consolidation of the right and thus prevent the break out of the working class.

Nixon said of the attempted assassination, "Our nation has suffered more than enough already from the intrusion of violence into its political processes." Yes, Mr. Nixon, the Negro masses, the people of Puerto Rico, the Mexican national minority all agree. In agreement are the Vietnamese, and the masses of the whole of the colonial world. It is Nixon who agrees with wholesale slaughter and extermination of peoples who refuse to submit to slavery. We doubt Nixon's

(cont. on p. 4)



"HAVEN'T WE MET BEFORE? THE CONGO? CUBA?"

May Day 1972: Four Years Of Growth and Struggle

(The following is the text of a speech given in Los Angeles, California on May Day of this year. It was prepared and given by a leading member of the Communist League. The editorial board of the People's Tribune, after reading the speech felt that its significance, information and lessons were of great value and should be shared with all our readers. Ed.)

Dear Comrades and Friends;

This May Day - 1972 has a real special significance for the revolutionary movement and especially for the Communist League. Today we are celebrating our 4th May Day, and it has been the culmination of four solid years of growth and struggle. May Day is always a day of summing up experiences and pointing out the path of future development.

What is the international situation on this May Day of 1972. First of all, we absolutely endorse the statement of the Chinese Communist Party that we are living in the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to world wide victory. This is the motion of history. It is the principle aspect of the social struggle today. However, understanding the principle aspect alone gives us a onesided view of the process of motion. We need to examine the other aspects and find out how the one influences the other.

The pattern of international struggle that has been developed over the past twenty years still holds, although there are some obvious shifts in the center of political gravity. The wars raging throughout the colonial world between the peoples of the oppressed nations and the invading piratical imperialists form a frame of reference for the whole of the struggle. These wars are becoming sharper and more fierce, and consequently the resistance of the imperialists is becoming more frantic.

Heroic Asia is the storm center of the world revolution. The peoples of Vietnam hold the front lines in the struggle against imperialism. The savage attack by the Nixon gang against Haiphong and the burning of Hanoi is an indication of the weakness of U.S. imperialism - not of their strength. The recent attacks on the whole on Indo-China only confirms the fact that the so-called Vietnamization of the war is a farce. The U.S. imperialists have been whipped, are being whipped and will continue to be whipped as long as they keep up their attempts to invade and conquer these brave and fighting people.

The revolutionary movement is on the upsurge again in

Africa. The liberation wars in Angola and Mozambique are arousing and agitating all of the African peoples. The days of the fascist regimes of Portugal and the union of South Africa are numbered. Not that these Hitler like gangs can be pushed aside at will (they cannot) but because the full military power of the imperialists of the U.S., France, and Great Britain stand behind these gangs. However, it is evident that the present trend in Africa is irreversible and the developing struggle cannot end but with the liberation of the African masses.

United States imperialism is the most powerful and aggressive imperialism in world history. It has gathered around it, subservient to it and dependent upon it every type of old and new imperialism in the world. Every feudalist butcher in the world survives today only by the grace of the U.S. imperialists. It is clear that every liberation struggle in the colonial world of Africa, Asia and Latin America is directed first and foremost at the U.S. imperialists.

We have to estimate our struggles against U.S. imperialism as a part of the international struggle, and hence our position is one of strength, not the weakness that is reflected by our numbers, but the strength of our position and connections with the international movement. That movement today represents the greatest coming together of revolutionary strength in the history of the world. In the historical sense we have nothing to fear from the imperialists. However, there is a new tactic by international revisionism that is being injected into the political thinking of the movement. That tactic is the old "lulling to sleep" game. Today the CPUSA (Communist Part of the U.S.A.) is pushing the line that the "HOUSE OF IMPERIALISM IS CRUMBLING". This line is the opposite side of the line they have been pushing for the past twenty years - a line that said U.S. imperialism was so strong that it is senseless to struggle with it. Khrushchev summed up the position of international revisionism when he said, "The U.S. paper tiger has atomic teeth." Such collaboration and grovelling at the feet of the imperialists naturally gave them an appearance of strength that they did not and do not possess.

Comrade Enver Hoxha the Bolshevik leader of the Albanian Party of Labor was quite correct when he stated: "Even now, when it sees its approaching doom, when it has strong and determined opponents such as the socialist camp and its great alliance with all the peoples of the world, U.S. led world imperialism is mustering,

organizing, and arming its assault forces. It is preparing for war. He who fails to see this, is blind. He who sees it but covers it up is a traitor in the service of imperialism.

"But we think that exaggerated, unrealistic optimism is not only bad but also harmful. He who denies, belittles, who has no faith in our great economic, political, military and moral strength is a defeatist and does not deserve to be called a communist. On the other hand, he who, intoxicated by our potential, disregards the strength of the opponents, thinking that the enemy has lost all hope, has become harmless, and is entirely at our mercy, he is not a realist. He bluffs, lulls mankind to sleep before all these complicated and very dangerous situations which demand very great vigilance from us all, which demand the heightening of the revolutionary drive of the masses, not its slackening, its disintegration, decomposition and relaxation." (1)

This comprehensive statement of Comrade Hoxha clearly describes the double edged sword that the revisionists are using - one edge to panic the masses and the other to lull them to sleep and slacken the struggle. Let us point out a few things - a few instances of the strength of the U.S. imperialists and imperialism and then we will be able to deal with its weaknesses in an objective way.

At the risk of boring you with statistics we would like to point out a few facts, and then we can analyse these facts. First of all let's examine the question of poverty among the peoples of the USNA (United States of North America) to give us some indication of the direction within the country. In 1959, 22.4% of the people of this country lived below the level of poverty. That rounded out to some 40 million persons - 29 million were "white" and eleven million were Negro and "others". Or percentage wise it means that 18% of the "whites" and 56% of the Negroes lived below the level of poverty. However, in 1969 that figure had been reduced from 40 million to 24 million. Breaking it down it meant 16 million "whites" reduced from 29 million or from 18% to 10%. For the Negro people the number was reduced from 11 million to 7 million or from 56% to 32%. (2) Now, how do we account for these statistics? These figures are an indication of the looting of the colonial world. Like in old Rome - the taxation and looting of the provinces, provided the wherewithal to feed the idle sector of the urban population who in turn provided the soldiers and the slave drivers for the empire. The truth of the matter is obvious! United States imperialism has considerably strengthened its position, while at the same time French,

(cont. on p. 11)

East China Provincial People's Hospital Saves Woman

by Hsueh Yi

Lin Mei-ying, a worker at an electrical machinery plant in Foochow, was struck by high voltage on December 8, 1971 while testing a machine. She went into convulsions and then her breathing and heartbeat stopped.

As soon as she was brought to the Fukien Provincial People's Hospital, an emergency medical group under the leadership of the hospital Party committee and revolutionary committee started to revive her.

More than ten minutes had passed since the electric shock. The pupils of the eyes were dilated and fixed and the skin blue. Clinically, she appeared dead. The medical workers did external cardiac massage, artificial respiration and oxygen therapy. But the heartbeat was not restored.

The surgeons opened the chest for direct cardiac massage and gave an injection directly into the heart to start the heartbeat. After three minutes, the patient's heart went into ventricular fibrillation, showing a turn for the better. But this irregular beating presented difficulties and the rhythm had to be altered. An electric defibrillator was not available.

The medical workers pooled their efforts to solve the problem. They decided to inject adrenaline into the heart while continuing heart massage. Some medical literature warns against administering this drug to a patient in electric shock. They analyzed the matter from the dialectical viewpoint that one divides into two. Adrenaline could increase the heart contractions and raise the blood pressure, this was the favourable aspect. On the other hand, it might accelerate or magnify the fibrillation, this was the unfavourable aspect. They thought it possible to make use of the favourable factor and overcome the unfavourable factor. They decided to give an intracardiac injection of a mixture of adrenaline and another drug which would eliminate the negative factor. One minute after the injection, Lin Mei-ying's heart, which had not beaten normally for 37 minutes, began to throb feebly. Five minutes later

the patient started to regain natural respiration. Then the heartbeat became somewhat stronger and a feeble pulse could be counted.

However, the patient was still in critical condition and required auxiliary artificial respiration since her heartbeat remained very feeble and blood pressure was not stable. Lin Mei-ying was put in a hyperbaric oxygen chamber for emergency treatment. The atmospheric pressure in the chamber is high and people are not allowed to work there beyond five hours. But the intensive care team should not be changed. They kept working more than nine hours despite the strain.

Lin Mei-ying regained consciousness on the seventh day after 54 hours in the hyperbaric oxygen chamber and treatment by western and Chinese traditional methods. She overcame serious cerebral edema and cerebral contusion.

However, because she had virtually no resistance to infection, bacterial infection and generalized diffuse fungal infection occurred. She was in mortal danger. The hospital Party committee promptly encouraged the medical workers to combine western and Chinese traditional medicine to save the patient. The medical personnel took an X-ray machine,

against the working class slip by. And it comes at a time when they need to take steps against the class because of the working class' disgust with the war in Vietnam and motion against it. Nazi Mayor of L.A., Sam Yorty, stated about the shooting, "I think that everybody is shocked and disgusted with this kind of violence. It is a sad situation when people cannot be heard over the tumult of peace and anti-war groups." (L.A. Times, May 16, p. 11) The week of Nixon's announcement on Vietnam policy, this fascist Yorty, had labeled the anti-war demonstrations as communist infiltrated. Yorty used red-baiting tactics that haven't been used to such an extent in over 20 years to attack the anti-war movement in a real way.

It is plain that the first result of the assassination attempt has been the conscious shifting to the right of every presidential candidate. Not one has dared to speak the obvious truth that Wallace is the victim of his own projects. The candidates are silent on this issue because basically they are in the same fascist boat with Wallace. It is obvious that the threat to democracy does not flow from the isolated, impotent people who attempt assassination, but from the rulers of a system whose life blood is the system of mass murder. These scattered, unsystematic murders have for their pedestal the concentrated, sys-

an electro-cardiograph and a super-sonic diagnostic set to the patient to make all necessary check-ups promptly. Meanwhile, acupuncture treatment was given. All the medicine required for the case was provided by the dispensaries. Almost the whole staff was involved in saving the patient.

The hospital received assistance from doctors in Peking, Shanghai and other municipalities who made suggestions by telephone based on their clinical experience. Hospitals in Foochow sent doctors to take part in consultations.

The patient's workmates showed constant concern about her. They donated blood when they learned a blood transfusion was required.

The help from many quarters made the treatment successful.

Lin Mei-ying tided over one danger after another thanks to the careful treatment and nursing by the hospital's staff. Now, she can move around by herself. Seeing this, her father, a veteran worker, said: "Only in New China under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao could my daughter be saved from the grip of death." The patient said: "It is Chairman Mao who has given me a new lease of life. I'll study Chairman Mao's works hard and serve the people wholeheartedly."

tematic slaughter of the struggling colonial peoples both within the U.S. and without.

Finally, we should again state our position on the question of political assassination.

Revolutionary history clearly shows that no social or economic system has ever been overthrown by assassination. Individual political assassination is the ultimate expression of impotency and lack of theoretical understanding of the nature of society. Have the reactionaries no reserves? Haven't they proven themselves capable of replacing every anti-popular figure with a worse one? What we are fighting is a social system. It is a system that was constructed by people and it can be torn down by people. In no way do we underestimate the role of individuals or masses in the struggle. What we are saying is that systems are abolished by classes in struggle and apart from this collective and class struggle individual violence can have no meaning other than strengthening the hand of the enemy. While Communists do not reject any form of struggle, we endorse the various forms only by examining the political situation in which they occur. There can be no serious effort to stop the onslaught of fascism in this country without the sustained effort to build a genuine Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. To accomplish this task, the mass struggle, the class struggle is our Alpha and our Omega.

Wallace

sincerity. Perhaps the true spirit of fascism in the USNA is better summed up by a storekeeper of Montgomery, Alabama, who said about the assassination attempt, "It's awful and we wish we could blow the whole state of Maryland up." (L.A. Times, May 16, 1972, p. 7)

It is clear from all this that the imperialists cannot let this opportunity to move

Los Angeles Anti-War March

It is very clear that the people of the USNA (United States of North America) do not want the bloody imperialist war being waged in Vietnam. On April 22, 1972, in response to the vicious bombing and escalation of the war in Vietnam by the U.S. imperialists, thousands and thousands of people across the country turned out into the streets to shout, "End the war!"

Eighteen thousand people in Los Angeles alone, turned out for a march which was held on Wilshire Blvd., a petty-bourgeois business district. While the march must be seen as a highly significant event, we must also examine its negative side under the leadership of the revisionist Communist Party, USA. The feelings of the crowd were definitely aimed at ending the war in Vietnam but in the organization and slogans put forth by the CPUSA, anti-imperialism and proletarian internationalism were in most cases nowhere to be found.

The march in Los Angeles was clearly marked by the counter-revolutionary opportunism and syndicalism of the CPUSA. With large sections of the Anglo-American working class seething with anger over the U.S. imperialists' murderous actions, what did the CPUSA do? First of all, by holding the march in the heart of the petty-bourgeois business district, they carefully sidestepped the working class communities, greatly limiting working class participation, and guaranteed petty-bourgeois leadership of the march. Then, to further stifle any united anti-imperialist feelings, the CPUSA carefully separated the march into various "contingents". There was the "Chicano contingent", the

"black contingent", the "women's contingent", "Jewish contingent", "Armenian contingent", a "handicapped contingent", and even a "gay men's" and a "gay women's contingent"! Instead of uniting all forms of protest under a common banner of anti-imperialism, this rotten syndicalist trick was aimed at isolating and dividing the widespread anti-imperialist feelings into weak and powerless "contingents". The syndicalist ideology prevents unity and covers up a class outlook, substituting the outlook that says the worker will overthrow the boss, blacks will overthrow whites, women will overthrow men, etc.

This ideology must be viewed as a most dangerous counter-revolutionary ideology of the imperialists themselves! The bourgeoisie could ask for nothing more than a weak, divided working class and the CPUSA is seeing to it that their wishes are carried out!

Here's another example of the reactionary role played by the CPUSA. As Mao Tse Tung says in On The Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People:

"The legal existence of the Communist Party is tolerated in some capitalist countries, but only to the extent that it does not endanger the fundamental interests of the bourgeoisie; it is not tolerated beyond that." (emphasis added: Four Essays on Philosophy, Peking 1966, p.85)

The CPUSA was not only "tolerated" but was given a police escort for the march! What a difference between this peaceful march and the spontaneous 1965 Watts uprising which was crushed with ruthless

violence by the state, or the "Chicano" Moratorium of August, 1970 when the police terrorized the Mexican national minority community of East L.A.!!

The People's Tribune Vol.3, No. 10 states on page 2;

"Capitalism is a system of oppression and exploitation. As with all class systems, a state apparatus is constructed to guarantee and perpetuate that system. Where modern syndicalism sees a future in which every grouping is doing 'its own thing', Marxism sees that capitalism must be replaced with socialism, which is also a system, only a system under the control of the working class. This system must also have a state, a state that protects the majority against the minority. The syndicalists, by attacking everything except the system and the state that protects it makes a mockery of the concept of revolution."

The history of the USNA is filled with example after example of the counter-revolutionary treachery of the CPUSA. In order to really wage a battle for an end to the war in Indochina, and all imperialist wars, in order to really free the whole working class we must first build an honest working class communist party, one which will make the bourgeoisie tremble! A communist party built in the Bolshevik tradition could organize and give revolutionary leadership to the widespread but spontaneous struggles in the USNA. Only such a party can build an anti-imperialist united front led by the proletariat. But first of all, we must clear the way by smashing the revisionism of the CPUSA once and for all!

San Francisco:

Struggle Develops in Chinatown

On April 2nd, 1972, six busboys walked off their jobs in Chinatown in San Francisco to protest the conditions of work meted out by the restaurant employers. Joined by supporters from the community, one of the busboys led a picket-boycott against the restaurant. This picket line exposed to the public the "fixed" low wages the workers were being paid for their labour (95¢ per hour) and clearly demonstrated the contradiction between labour and capital.

Of the several newspapers in the Chinese community, the Chinese Voice, which is a daily newspaper and the only Chinese language daily in North America that prints news from the People's Republic of China, was the only supporter of the workers in Chinatown from the very

beginning. The newspaper printed daily reports on the progress of the strike and some of the members of the Chinese Voice Workers Committee joined the picket line to express their firm solidarity.

Workers in the Chinese community were watching the strike very closely and the striking workers had the support of the community. The restaurant employers tried many devious ways to intimidate the workers. They hired armed guards to stand in front of the restaurant and they threatened not to negotiate with the workers if they had anything to do with the Chinese Voice newspaper (realizing the paper would voice a class analysis of the situation and permeates the isolation allowing the community at large to lend more support

to the workers. The righteousness of the workers finally won out after eleven days and their demands were met.

This was not the first strike against an employer in Chinatown but it was one of the most significant. Historically, Chinatown has been an oppressed community, systematically intimidated and harassed by the reactionary Kuo Min Tang agents and their puppets, the Chinatown Consolidated Benevolent Association (C.B.A.) also known as the "Six Companies". They have kept Chinatown workers as a profitable source of cheap labor thereby constantly increasing the financial status of the C.B.A.. The recent moves on the part of the Chinese workers to strike for decent wages and working conditions demonstrated a decisive move to break the Kuo Min Tang-Six Companies' stronghold on the Chinese workers.

(cont. on p. 15)

Forest Hills, N.Y.

White Chauvinists Attack National Minorities

In the last couple of months the newspapers have been running articles on the federal funded low-income public housing under construction at Forest Hills, New York. We read about how hundreds of indignant, "respectable", "middle-class" Anglo-American people marched to the proposed construction site, and violently took to destroying what they could and stopping traffic. The whole thing appeared to be, on the surface, a last ditch effort of desperate Anglo-American people trying to save their community from an onslaught of those "welfare degenerates - those lazy Negro and Puerto Rican national minorities".

However, we must look closely for there is much more to these moves than can be seen at a glance. We believe that the plan to move low-cost public housing into "upper middle-class" areas (actually highly bribed workers) has two purposes: Firstly, it is an attempt to break up the huge concentrations of Negro and other national minorities which are more and more turning into "powder kegs of revolution" in the centers of the big cities. Secondly, it is to create a situation where Negro and Puerto Rican national minority workers are pitted against Anglo-American workers. It is an attempt to bring on friction between the different nationalities and rally the Anglo-American workers around the fascists in order to attack the national minorities and prevent the revolutionary unity of the class. In this way the imperialists hope to kill two birds with one stone.

The imperialists are attempting in every way they can to divert the working class struggles away from focusing on the main enemy, the imperialist system. They are trying to create antagonisms among the nationalities. This is precisely why the imperialists have created the busing issue (the busing of minority children into Anglo-American neighborhoods as a way of supposedly giving these children better education. It is really made to create friction and deepen the imperialist ideology of ~~white~~ white chauvinism in the Anglo-American workers against the national minorities). And it is precisely so with the public housing issue at Forest Hills.

The question arises: Why do the capitalists attack the national minorities first?

The reason lies in the fact that "it's the U.S. imperialists in the Anglo-American Nation that oppress and enslave other nations like the Negro Nation in the South, the Puerto Rican nation and the Southwest region of the U.S." (People's Tribune Vol. 3, #10, p. 8) The

oppression and enslavement of these nations serves to justify the oppression and inequalities suffered by the national minorities here in the Anglo-American nation, the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican national minorities. The imperialists justify it all by using their fascist ideology of white chauvinism. White chauvinism says that the Anglo-American nation is superior to other nations, and is the excuse used for the brutal exploitation of the colored masses of the world by the U.S. imperialist nation. It is used to rally the Anglo-American workers around the imperialists and against the national minorities and around imperialist class interests. White chauvinism is the only hope of the U.S. imperialists to stay alive, to stave off revolution and bring about fascism. Fascism does not come in all at once, but it is a social movement. And like any social movement it needs a social base. The social base is provided by dividing the Anglo-American working class. The imperialists hope to get this social movement by creating "racial" or national friction.

We must see that the housing at Forest Hills is really a trick to divide and enslave the whole working class. The imperialists hope to be able to enslave first the national minorities, then the majority of the Anglo-American workers. They are working to further divide the working class because it is the only way they can start the process of enslaving the whole working class with fascism. For example, the way the bourgeoisie has answered the killing of George Jackson, etc, is to say, "if we don't get them, they will get us." And it is precisely this kind of slaughter on a wide scale that the imperialists are preparing for.

The moving of national minorities into "middle-class" neighborhoods must be seen as a tool to further divide the working class, to rally the Anglo-American workers around the fascist white chauvinist ideology and therefore in favor of the exploitation and oppression of the national minorities. When the people of Forest Hills said they didn't want welfare people in their neighborhood they really meant that Negroes and Puerto Ricans can rot at the bottom of the system as far as they were concerned. The imperialists have therefore succeeded in winning over sections of the working class around the fascist idea that it is the national minorities "who are our enemies".

And what does the reformist, revisionist Communist Party USA think of the imperialist trap that is being prepared and pushed on the working class? It just so happens that it is the same as their so-called

enemy the Trotskyites - mainly that the Negro and Puerto Rican people are being opposed by Anglo-American working class people. And that this is fascism. Well, that which is taking place is fascism. But is the enemy the Anglo-American working class or the imperialist system? What the imperialists want is a confrontation and violence between the nationalities and this is precisely what the CPUSA and the Trotskyites are helping them to do. How does Mayor Lindsay's views that the minorities' needs are being held back by the "racism" of the Forest Hills residents differ from that of the CPUSA or the Trotskyites? They don't. They all view the moving of national minorities into middle class neighborhoods as being good and the answer to the problems of the national minorities. As we can see, they actually do help the imperialists in their drive to bring on fascism.

We must see that as long as this imperialist system exists there will never be equality in housing or anything else (for unequals cannot be integrated). Does that mean we should not fight for good housing? No, it does not. It means we should fight for what unites the working class against this imperialist system first and foremost. It means we must be able to see through this and other tricks of the imperialists to divide the working class.

What we need is a revolutionary Communist Party of the working class! A multi-national Communist Party made of Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Indian, Chinese, Anglo-Americans and all the other elements that make up the working class in the U.S. A militant, fighting Communist Party that will oppose and expose all tricks by the imperialists and their agents, the revisionist CPUSA, to create antagonisms and friction among the different nationalities of our working class. A Communist Party that will unite every drop of revolutionary energy of the working class and direct it toward the main enemy, the imperialist ruling class. Without such a Communist Party we will be disunited, without direction, used against each other, and therefore unable to withstand the onslaught of fascism that is being prepared for us. With such a Communist Party we can defeat the fascists and build a new socialist society based on true equality within the working class, and real political independence for the nations oppressed by U.S. imperialism. Fascism doesn't come in all at once, but it is a social movement. And like any social movement it needs a social base. The social base is provided by dividing the Anglo-

(cont. on p. 8)

South Africans Labor Under Colonialist Rule

A flash-fire in early February 1972 exploded deep in the world's richest gold mine--the West Driefontein in South Africa--and killed at least 16 African miners, injuring scores more. In 1968 caverns of underground water had flooded this same mine with an unknown loss of life, but the mine owners--merely intensified exploitation. From the labor of the 20,000 miners in this mine alone, the imperialist owners steal over 80 million dollars worth of gold a year. How can they get away with this brutal theft? Because South Africa is in the grip of a fascist dictatorship that enforces the terroristic rule of U.S. and British imperialism.

The South African puppet government is hated throughout the world for the vile and disgusting brand of fascism--apartheid (an extreme, vicious form of white chauvinism)--that it uses to keep this gold rolling in to guarantee that the riches of South Africa pass into the hands of the colonialist ruling class and their imperialist bosses in the U.S. and Britain. The 80% of the country who are African and the overwhelming majority of the working class, are kept in the most brutal of modern wage-slavery, as they mine the gold, diamonds, copper, platinum, uranium, lead, and zinc of South Africa for the imperialists.

Under the South African fascist regime, the African people are not allowed to vote and have no right to live where they choose. They have been forced into rural concentration camps and only if they have a job contract can they move near (but not into) the cities. A husband and wife who work in separate towns must live separately, and only once a year is the wife permitted to visit her husband with a 72-hour pass under the "Right of Impregnation" laws.

Every person over 16 years of age must carry at all times a "pass-book", complete with Polaroid photo, which tells where and how he must live and which must contain documentary proof of where he spent every month of every year of his life. If a child's book has an incorrect entry, he may be taken from his parents and sent to the rural areas, even though he has never been there.

All public facilities are segregated, and it is illegal to give equal pay to Africans and Europeans for equal work. African trade unions, strikes, and political organizations are illegal. The penalty for an African possessing a firearm is death. In fact half the world's executions are carried out in South Africa, and this figure does not count the scores of people thrown

from the top floor of police stations or tortured to death in cells.

The fascist rulers of South Africa were open supporters of Hitler and the Nazis during World War II. They came to power only with the military might of the imperialists behind them. They made phoney, demagogic, populist appeals to the European workers about fighting the power of the big corporation and openly pushed white-chauvinism. They have deepened the split in the working class to the extent that European miners, who in 1949 got 10 times the wages of African miners, now get 21 times as much.

But the industrialization, the vicious exploitation, the fascist oppression of the South African peoples has given rise to a powerful and growing movement for national liberation. The South African proletariat will bury their oppressors. As Marx and Engels say in The Communist Manifesto, "What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces above all are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable." (Selected Works, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970, p. 46) Strikes and massive demonstrations in South Africa have grown into an armed struggle. Guerrilla armies in the north of the country have the fascists frantic with fear. It is only a matter of time before the colonialist ruling class and their imperialist masters are swept to their doom. It is only a matter of time before the masses of South African workers themselves control the vast riches of their country.

South Africa is brutally plundered by the imperialists. For example, the gold that is extracted from the earth by the sweat of African labor is put on a boat for England every Wednesday. Who owns this gold? The U.S. and British ruling classes. The Kennedy family, for example, makes millions of dollars off the modern slave-labor in South African gold mines. Similarly, the Rockefeller family here uses its companies, Chase Manhattan Bank and Standard Oil, to prop up the fascist regime in So. Africa.

The U.S. government secretly supports So. African fascism. It was the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture that calculated the cheapest diet that African gold-miners could be fed and still work a 54-hour week. (The miners are forced into 16-to-a-room barracks and are fed the cheapest possible food as part of their 10¢-an-hour wage.) The U.S. government also carries out studies on new mining techniques to intensify exploitation in the So. African mines.

Through Britain it sells arms to the fascist regime, and it protects the investments of General Motors, Chrysler, and more than 250 other U.S. owned companies with U.S. nuclear submarines hidden off the coast. The fascist So. African government is no more than a front for U.S. imperialism.

As we have seen, the terrible plunder of So. Africa has lined the pockets of U.S. imperialism. What then, is the connection between this colonial piracy and the Anglo-American working class? First, as has been the case with all imperialist countries in the past the superprofits from the severe exploitation of the colonies has provided the wherewithall to bribe the Anglo-American working class. This bribery has provided, especially among certain sections, a base of support for the imperialists. This tactic of the imperialists was seen as early as 1858 when Engels wrote to Marx, about the conditions in England, "The English proletariat is becoming more and more bourgeois so that



this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy, and a bourgeois proletariat as well as a bourgeoisie. For a nation which exploits the whole world this is, of course, to a certain extent justifiable." (Karl Marx, and Fredrick Engels, Selected Correspondence, German Ed., Berlin, 1953, pp. 131-132) But as mighty and wealthy as the imperialists may be, worldwide opposition to imperialism is growing stronger every day, with the success of the many anti-imperialist national liberation struggles (witness Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia) spurring on the revolt of the colonial peoples of the world. Internally, this is bringing about increased attacks on the national minorities by the imperialists combined with this is the fact that in spite of increasing bribery, the actual standard of living for the majority of workers here is steadily dropping. These factors

(cont. on p.8)

LOS ANGELES: Air Hi-Jacking Exposes National Question

Ricardo Chavez Ortiz of Los Angeles, hijacked an airplane that landed at the Los Angeles International Airport and demanded press coverage of his explanation for his actions. When the newsmen came, he told his story.

Chavez Ortiz said that he had been out of work for some time and his family was on welfare. He went to New Mexico to find a job to support his family, but his luck was no better there, so he decided to come back.

"I never intended to hurt anyone", said Chavez Ortiz. He asked the people on the plane to forgive him, "For the time I've made you lose and for frightening you." He just had "to make clear", not only his situation, but that "of Mexicans in general." He wanted the high authorities to know that the Mexican national minority in the southwest demand an end to injustice and inequality. They demand equal opportunities in education and work, and impartial justice.

"In this land that used to be ours", said Chavez Ortiz, referring to the Southwest of the U.S., "our children are maltreated and denied the opportunity of a good education." He went on to say that the Mexican national minority has no future unless they struggle for their rights.

The story of the life of Ricardo Chavez Ortiz is not uncommon to many workers in the Southwest part of the country. Ever since this land was stolen from Mexico, the workers of Mexican descent living here, have been forced into the most unsteady, lowest paying jobs. The Mexican national minority workers built this part of the country with their sweat and blood. Yet, whenever it's in the capitalists interests, they call them "illegals" and send them away to Mexico. The capitalists try to get us to support these deportation by telling us they're doing it to cut down on unemployment.

Their line (the line of the enemy) tells us that the Anglo-American workers should support the inequalities and attacks waged against our own class brothers, the Mexican national minority workers. They say that white chauvinism and class divisions are in our interests. We know better! We know who is and who isn't the enemy. We need a united working class, a working class where all nationalities stand side by side united in battle against our common enemy - the imperialist system. Lenin pointed out and it is our duty to fight for proletarian internationalism. "In the internationalist education of the workers of the oppressor countries, em-

phasis must necessarily be laid on their advocating freedom for the oppressed countries to secede and their fighting for it. Without this there can be no internationalism. It is our right and duty to treat every Social-Democrat of an oppressor nation who fails to conduct such propaganda as a scoundrel and an imperialist. This is an absolute demand, even where the chance of secession being possible and "practicable" before the introduction of socialism is only one in a thousand." (Selections from V.I. Lenin, and J.V. Stalin on National Colonial Question, Calcutta Book House, 1970, p.46)

The oppression of the Mexican national minority won't end until there is regional autonomy for the Southwest. When the Mexican national minority runs the Southwest-the courts, schools, police, etc., they will be able to eliminate unemployment, unequal education and education that is only in English. They will be able to decide on the basis of what is best for the whole Southwest and not for the pockets of the imperialists!

But it is clear that regional autonomy will not come about because of isolated acts of resistance like hijacking or with T.V. interviews. The struggle of the Mexican national minority must be tied to, and become a part of the general revolutionary motion of the whole Anglo-American working class. The key to this unity is the revolutionary leadership of a communist party. Only such a party can unite the whole working class around our common goals.

REGIONAL AUTONOMY FOR THE SOUTHWEST

BUILD A COMMUNIST PARTY

All quotes taken from "La Opinion" 4/14/72

Forest Hills

(cont. from p. 6)

American working class. The imperialists hope to get this social movement by creating "racial" or national friction. When the Negro and Puerto Rican nations are free, and this imperialist system smashed, then good housing and equality in all respects can become a reality - because then we'll have the power to bring it about - the power of our class, the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

DOWN WITH FASCIST TRICKS-FIGHT FOR TRUE EQUALITY IN THE WORKING CLASS!

FREE THE NEGRO NATION AND PUERTO RICO, REGIONAL AUTONOMY FOR THE SOUTHWEST!

SOUTH AFRICA

(cont. from p. 7)

show the weakness of imperialism, and prove that bribery is a tactic of imperialism, and not in the interests of the proletariat.

How then can we unite the budding struggle of the Anglo-American workers with the world-wide anti-imperialist movements.

As Joseph Stalin clearly pointed out:

"(g) The formation of a common revolutionary front is impossible unless the proletariat of the oppressor nations renders direct and determined support to the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples against the imperialism of its own country', for 'no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations'. (Marx)

(h) This support implies the advocacy, defence and carrying out of the slogan of the right of nations to succession, to independent existence as states.

(i) Unless this slogan is carried out, the union and collaboration of nations within a single world economic system which is the material basis for the victory of socialism, cannot be brought about.

(j) This union can only be voluntary, and can arise only on the basis of mutual confidence and fraternal relations among nations." (J. Stalin, The Foundations of Leninism, International Publishers, N.Y., 1939, p. 83)

The fight for freedom for the Negro Nation and Puerto Rico and autonomy for the Southwest, and the fight for democratic equality for the national minority workers---this is the concrete way to support the So. African national liberation struggle; this is the road to proletarian revolution in the Anglo-American nation. This is what Marx and Engels mean in The Communist Manifesto when they urge: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE." (Selected Works, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970, p. 63)

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ABOUT THE COMMUNIST LEAGUE OR PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE, WRITE:

P.O. BOX 3774
MERCHANDISE MART
CHICAGO, ILL. 60654

P.O. BOX 72306
WATTS STATION
LOS ANGELES, CAL.

P.O. BOX 170
TIMES PLAZA STATION
BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11217

P.O. BOX 06783
LINWOOD STATION
DETROIT, MICH. 48206

P.O. BOX 24241
BAYVIEW STATION
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

National Struggle In Ireland

This is part two of an article entitled "History of the National Struggle in Ireland" which appeared in Vol.4 No.4 of the People's Tribune. The first part covered the historical development of the Irish national question through 1920.

In 1921, the Republic of Ireland, now finally controlled by the Irish bourgeoisie, agreed to a truce, the Truce of 1921, which sanctioned partition. There was large scale resistance to the partition and to the Truce of 1921. From this resistance to the agreement between Irish and English bourgeoisie grew the Irish Republican Army (IRA). Partition, however was completed in 1925.

The Government of Ireland Act of 1920, clearly set up two governments in Ireland, the government of the six northern counties, North Ireland (Ulster) was established as an outright colony of England. The English ran the government through the Unionist Party. The English government reserved the right to interfere with any policy it did not agree with. Northern Ireland provides 33% of English pork, mainly bacon, and 20% of all linen products. North Ireland (until March of 1972) was ruled by a sham parliament and the English army. The Special Power Act allows that the English to prohibit meetings and arrest and imprison without explanation, warrant and or trial and provides such sentences as two years imprisonment for the selling of Easter Lilly flowers (the sign of the Easter rising of 1916).

The government of the southern counties, the Irish Free State, was ruled by England through the Irish bourgeoisie. The economic control of the Republic of Ireland starts with the Bank of England which controls most of the major Irish banks and includes trade monopolies, etc. Today, the Republic of Ireland is a neo-colony of Britain, with its economy completely tied to Britain (an example of this is the fact that 75% of its exports go to Britain, and it in turn is one of the three biggest importers of British goods). Thus it is clear that "independence" was then, and still is today a move by Britain to block the revolutionary movement in Ireland and further strengthen their control over the Irish people.

But the resistance of the Irish people to the oppression of the English imperialists continued. Since that time, the Irish people have waged a continuous (and in general united between Protestants and Catholics, as in the unemployment struggles of the 1930's) battle against this oppression. However this struggle has been con-

sistently misled and sold out by its bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leadership. The Irish national liberation movement has been primarily dominated by the urban bourgeoisie and the agrarian petty-bourgeoisie. This was not only true before 1917, when these elements were moderately successful, but also after 1917, when these elements thoroughly proved themselves unable to lead a victorious revolution against imperialism. The strength of social motion in Ireland has been the bravery and courage of the proletarian and poor peasant masses, while its weakness has been precisely that these elements were not then, and are not today in a position of leadership. The urban bourgeoisie's split produced the compradors like Lynch on the one hand, and the national bourgeoisie like the People's Democracy group on the other, who only wish to get reforms or concessions on the existing form of rule. The response to this reformism of the bourgeois leaders has led to the radical terrorism of the petty bourgeoisie. This situation exposes the bankruptcy of the leadership in the liberation movement and is a clear example of one of the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism, that the only class capable of leading a successful revolutionary struggle is the working class.

The current struggle in Ireland began as a civil rights struggle of the oppressed minority of Catholics in Northern Ireland in 1967. This struggle grew so intense that the British sent large troop invasions beginning in 1969. This repression by Britain has raised the level of struggle of all Irish, both Catholic and Protestant, for independence from Britain. This struggle has also exposed the comprador rule of the Lynch government of southern Ireland as an indirect agent of British imperialism. It is no accident that the struggle for Ireland's independence from Britain has come at a stage in history when the communist movement is recovering and moving strongly against the attack launched by international revisionism upon the peoples struggles and at a time when the world is aflame with national liberation struggles.

The current role of religion and the religious question is that it is being used to divide the Irish workers (mostly Catholic, but some Protestant) and to divide the workers in Ireland from those in England. Traditionally the Protestant bourgeoisie rallied the English workers around the "anti-papist" banner. The toilers of England looked upon the bourgeois revolution and Protestant reformation as exactly what it was, a deliverance from serfdom and feudal reaction. To the Irish, over four-fifths Catholic, the

bourgeois revolution meant little more than a more highly developed system of exploiters. The national oppression took the form of social oppression and religious repression. This forced the Catholic church in Ireland, the largest social organization to split into a revolutionary (democratic) character and a reactionary character. For the last 150 years, this reactionary character has dominated not only the Catholic church, but also the Protestant church; both serve the same class. Their progressive or democratic role was linked to the bourgeoisie, and so as the bourgeoisie changed into its opposite so did its social institutions. Today it is the bourgeoisie who use these institutions to attempt to rally the workers around these five hundred year old slogans. To rally the Protestants to the banner of the once progressive bourgeois revolution; to rally the Catholic workers and peasants around the once democratic aspects of the Catholic church. Looking upon the past five hundred years of history, we see that religion was very important to certain social motion, the social motion of the bourgeoisie, but today it is the proletarian movements toward socialism and the national liberation movements against imperialism which provide the base of progressive social motion, within these movements religion's role is reactionary. The attempt of the bourgeoisie, through stooges and religious fanatics like Ian Paisley to conceal the national liberation struggle under the guise of a religious struggle is similar to the Anglo-American bourgeoisie's tricks of emphasizing the "racial" issue. The Irish nation is struggling for independence from England, but the bourgeoisie try to mask this by filling their television, radio and newspapers with news of the "religious strife". A current example of the reactionary role of the Catholic Church was exposed in the Chicago Sun Times of April 3, 1972. "The spiritual leader of Ireland's Roman Catholics called on the IRA to call off its guerrilla war against British rule."

Finally, and of great importance to the workers in the Anglo-American nation is the question of the relationship of the workers in the oppressor country to their class brothers in the oppressed country or the relationship between socialist revolution in the imperialist countries to the national liberation movements in the oppressed countries. Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels fought long and hard for the Independence of Ireland and the freedom of the Irish revolutionaries. They laid the theoretical basis for the answers to these questions. In a letter to Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt dated April 9, 1870, Marx said:

(cont. on p. 10)

Ireland Part II

(cont. from p. 9)

"I shall give you here only quite briefly the decisive points. Ireland is the bulwark of the English landed aristocracy. The exploitation of that country is not only one of the main sources of this aristocracy's material welfare; it is its greatest moral strength. It, in fact, represents the domination of England over Ireland. Ireland is therefore the great means by which the English aristocracy maintains its domination in England herself.

If, on the other hand, the English army and police were to withdraw from Ireland tomorrow, you would at once have an agrarian revolution there. But the overthrow of the English aristocracy in Ireland involves as a necessary consequence its overthrow in England. And this would fulfill the preliminary condition for the proletarian revolution in England. The destruction of the English landed aristocracy in Ireland is an infinitely easier operation than in England herself, because in Ireland the land question has hitherto been the exclusive form of the social question, because it is a question of existence, of life and death, for the immense majority of the Irish people, and because it is at the same time inseparable from the national question. This quite apart from the Irish being more passionate and revolutionary in character than the English.

As for the English bourgeoisie, it has in the first place a common interest with the English aristocracy in turning Ireland into mere pasture land which provides the English market with meat and wool at the cheapest possible prices. It is equally interested in reducing, by eviction and forcible emigration, the Irish population to such a small number that English capital (capital invested in land leased for farming) can function there with 'security'. It has the same interest in clearing the estate of Ireland as it had in the clearing of the agricultural districts of England and Scotland. The 6,000-10,000 lbs. absentee-landlord and other Irish revenues which at present flow annually to London have also to be taken into account.

But the English bourgeoisie has, besides, much more important interests in Ireland's present-day economy. Owing to the constantly increasing concentration of tenant farming, Ireland steadily supplies her own surplus to the English labour-market, and thus forces down wages and lower the moral and material condition of the English working class.

And most important of all! Every industrial and commercial centre in England now possesses a working class divided into two hostile camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker

as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he feels himself a member of the ruling nation and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists of his country against Ireland, thus strengthening their domination over himself. He cherishes religious social and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude toward him is much the same as that of the 'poor whites' to the 'niggers' in the former slave states of the U.S.A.. The Irishman pays him back with interest in his own money. He sees in the English worker at once the accomplice and the stupid tool of the English rule in Ireland.

This antagonism is artificially kept alive and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short by all the means at the disposal of the ruling classes. This antagonism is the secret of the impotence of the English working class, despite its organization. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power. And that class is fully aware of it.

...And it is the special task of the Central Council in London to awaken a consciousness in the English workers that for them the national emancipation of Ireland is no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment, but the first condition of their own social emancipation." (12)

Thus the national oppression of Ireland is a yoke around the necks of the English working class, such is exactly the case of the Anglo-American workers. The revolutionary movement within the Anglo-American working class cannot take one step forward without settling the question of the reserves of U.S. imperialism, the Negro Nation and Puerto Rico, not to mention the colonial and neo-colonial possessions of the U.S.N.A., especially in Latin America and Asia. The demand for independence of the oppressed nations is not a demand of abstract justice, but the first condition of our own emancipation.

The C.L. takes this opportunity to ask the opportunists and social chauvinists of the CPUSA wherein lies the "racism" of the English workers. Do not the Irish living in England find themselves confronted with the worst jobs, slum housing and cultural oppression. Are they not in a very similar position to the Negro and Puerto Rican national minorities in the Anglo-American nation? Where is the racism of the English workers? Or is it their Protestant zeal? Only fools try to explain national oppression as the battle for ideas - "fight racism", "fight Protestantism". The oppression of the 1/3 Catholic minority in Ulster and the Irish workers in England thus

becomes not a question of land, of national development and subjugation, but one of wrong ideas. This is the reasoning of traitors. The oppression of the Irish in England is a result of national oppression of Ireland by England-not of Catholics by Protestants. It is the English national chauvinism which represents a powerful bulwark of reaction within the English proletariat; and so it is in this country today.

From a study of this particular "classic" national question, we can draw these important lessons. 1) That the successful proletarian revolution is directly linked to the successful struggle of the oppressed nations for national liberation. 2) That the proletariat of the oppressor nation must fight with all strength available for the independence of the oppressed nations to support their struggles in order to turn them from reserves of imperialism into reserves of proletarian revolution. 3) Today revolution is impossible without an understanding of the Marxist-Leninist position on the national question, and 4) One of the main areas which the revisionists and social chauvinists attack Marxism is in this critical area of the national question, it is here that Marxism must be defended.

The Communist League has based itself on the defense of the Marxist-Leninist position on the national question. We view this question as essential to building the revolutionary party needed to lead the struggle for socialism. We invite all sincere elements interested in proletarian revolution to both actively study the national question with us and actively enter into the practice of fighting for the liberation of all the oppressed nations.

- 1) see Engels, Marx, Ireland and the Irish Question, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1971, p.83
- 2) see Stalin, J. V., Foundations of Leninism, in Ten Classics of Marxism, International Publishers, New York, 1940 pp. 77-80
- 3) Engels, Marx, Op. Cit. p. 184.
- 4) Engels, Marx, op. cit. p. 174.
- 5) Jackson, T.A., Ireland Her Own Int. Pub., N.Y., 1970, p. 198.
- 6) Engels, Marx, op. cit. p. 133
- 7) Engels, Marx, op. cit. p. 130
- 8) Engels, Marx, op. cit. p. 132
- 9) Jackson, op. cit. p. 245
- 10) Lenin, Stalin, Selections From V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin on National Colonial Question, Calcutta Bookhouse, Calcutta 1970, p. 25-27.
- 11) Lenin, Lenin On Britain, PLEN Moscow 1960, p. 301-304.
- 12) Engels, Marx, op. cit. p. 292

MAY DAY SPEECH

(cont. from p. 3)

German, British, Japanese and Soviet imperialism have also strengthened their position relative to the US and also absolutely. Another indication of this fact is that in 1950, the Federal and state governments paid out a total of 2 billion 456 million dollars in welfare while in 1970 this figure was increased to 14 billion 467 million. (3) Not a bad amount of hush-mouth money for a system that is going bankrupt.

Not only is this gigantic increase in income and welfare an indication of the ability of the U.S. imperialists to loot the colonies and even other imperialists, it is an indication of the level of bribery of the working class within the U.S. It would seem as if imperialism and imperialist bribery is a good thing if it steadily increases the living standards. Actually the standard of living has declined in this country since 1964. Furthermore, the temporary unity of the imperialists and certain sections of the working class cannot be in the interests of the class. It is in the George Meany's interests to go for the bribe. It hardly helps the unemployed in the industrial cities. Bribery is a tactic of the imperialists and therefore not in the interests of the workers. Look around you. Look at the moral, intellectual, and social shamble that we call our homeland. This crime ridden, drug infested, socially depraved society is the result of bribery of the class. Can anyone say that bribery is good for the class? The CPUSA says so and even fights for some more of the bribe, never raising the slogans of internationalism.

We do not want to take a one sided view of the capabilities of U.S. imperialism. There is another, fatally weak side that we must examine, and construct our policies on.

We are living in a period that is politically very similar to the period when Great Britain had established a colonial monopoly and was bribing the working class into acquiescing to the policies of the imperialist rulers. The British Communist Party at that time collapsed as a revolutionary organization. Like us, the revolutionaries of that time were attempting to reconstruct a revolutionary Communist Party. Then they sought out Frederick Engels for his advice, he gave them some political advice that we must pay strict attention to today. First of all, Engels warned, that revolutionaries must not try to reconstruct the old Party. It was too compromised, too tied to imperialism. They had to build a new party that could take up the new tasks of the period. Secondly, they must not try to use the old social base as the base on which to build the new Party. They had to go deeper into the masses and there build the party.

We have and are taking that advice. We are discovering, however, that there are different levels of understanding that advice, and from time to time it is necessary for us to re-state our understanding.

First of all we want to re-state the Leninist understanding that the Party must be based on a particular section of the working class - the proletariat. And, we might say it must be based in that section of the proletariat that has the least ties to capitalism and therefore is in the social and economic position to make the fight without compromising from social or economic pressures. That conception has been the guiding star of the League in our process of building a Party. We have never bent to the conceptions that we have to work amongst the Negro people as such or amongst the welfare recipients as such. We are struggling to base the League and the future party in the proletarian sections which are most actively engaged in the struggle against capitalism and are in such a position that they cannot disengage themselves. It is from this point of view that we want to examine our social projections.

There are many confusions about what the proletariat is and who and where is the most oppressed and most exploited element. Some of the Left assume that the most oppressed and the most exploited elements are automatically the Negro people, the Puerto Rican peoples, the Mexican, Indian and other national minorities. On the surface this appears to be true. But because such an analysis leaves out the concepts of classes existing amongst the Negro people or the Mexican minority, such a shallow line inevitably leads to a veering toward the national bourgeoisie of these oppressed peoples. Furthermore, such an analysis gives only formal recognition to the fact that there are sharp classes and class struggle amongst the Anglo-Americans. Again, it is the dry statistics that provide the water of life to the revolutionary program.

What do the facts tell us. Firstly that 8% of the Anglo-Americans and 20% of the Negroes earned less than \$3,000 last year. And further, that 10% of the Anglo-Americans and 20% of the Negroes earned less than \$5,000. (4) In a rough sense, this is the base for the revolution in the United States. In rough figures this would mean that about 32 million Anglo-Americans and 4 1/2 million Negroes fall into the under \$5,000 category. At first glance at these figures, our conceptions are beginning to broaden. Let us go on - 1,500,000 Negroes and 35,000,000 Anglo-Americans made over \$15,000 per year. We can absolutely leave them out of our picture. Further, we see that the medium income for the Negro people in 1970, \$6,191 is lower than the medium income of Anglo-Ameri-

cans 15 years ago which was \$6,332. Even from this rough picture we are beginning to see that there is a class oppression that is the leading factor in this country. The vast majority of the poor and oppressed people are Anglo-Americans. However, the most oppressed and the most exploited groups are the national minorities, the Mexican, Puerto Rican, Negro and other national minorities. It is obvious that we are going to have to walk on two legs. The urgent task of revolutionaries today is to unite the most oppressed and exploited section of the Anglo-American workers with the

most oppressed and exploited section of the national minority workers and the whole with the revolutionary national liberation movements of the Negro, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Indian and other oppressed peoples. In short - to steer away from the shallow revisionism of the CP USA where they say, "Unite the working class - (i.e. Anglo-American) - with the Negro liberation movement." This chauvinist nonsense doesn't begin to see that the first point is to unite the working class - in all its national aspects. Then, you will have automatically begun the second task. This is true because the historical evolution of the Negro workers is such that the class demands and the national demands cannot be separated.

To the CPUSA the working class is Anglo-American and organized and the Negro, Mexican, Puerto Rican national minority workers and workers of the other minorities are members of the national liberation movement. They wonder - those of them who still wonder - how it is that they cannot move beyond the bourgeois concepts of racism.

We should point out that this week we received from the printers our comprehensive statement, The Negro National Colonial Question. This document is the most thorough, rounded and developed statement that has ever appeared in this country on this question, as far as we know. This is a statement of the C.L. - not of some big head, literally scores of comrades contributed to writing it and the entire League has contributed to financing and distributing it. Now that it is out, the battle is just beginning. We have to master that statement, it is the weapon with which to demolish the last bastion of the CPUSA, their fortress called racism. This statement is sure to be a cornerstone of the political structure we are building.

On this May Day - the Communist League and all honest revolutionaries face the most critical tasks that have been faced by the revolutionary movement inside the U.S. in the past 100 years. That task is to overcome the stifling resistance of revisionism and to build a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the United States

(cont. on p. 12)

MAY DAY SPEECH

(cont. from p. 11)

of North America. In order to build such a Party, in order to struggle against the revisionism that is stifling and destroying the revolutionary movement, we have to know what it is that we are fighting and how it arises. Lenin teaches that revisionism is a system of liberal bourgeois theories within Marxism. It is an anti-Marxist trend within Marxism. Revisionism is imported into the working class and revolutionary movements. Its source is the liberal intellectuals who infest the movement, and the declassed petty-bourgeoisie who are being ruined in the struggle against monopolies. The concept that the bribed section of the working class is the well spring of revisionism is incorrect. This concept arises because a large proportion of the CPUSA workers who embrace revisionism are in this strata of the class. Furthermore, the highly skilled sector of the class is fertile soil for implanting revisionist ideas. But, if we are going to understand and carry out the struggle against revisionism it is imperative to understand its source. This period of crisis within Marxism and in the whole of the revolutionary movement is not the first crisis, nor shall it be the last. History teaches us that the struggle against revisionism is an integral part of the struggle for the revolution. One cannot proceed without the other, It is from this point of view that Lenin wrote;

"The questions raised by the crisis within Marxism cannot be brushed aside. Nothing can be more pernicious or unprincipled than attempts to dismiss them by phrasemongering. Nothing is more important than to rally all Marxists who have realized the profundity of the crisis and the necessity of combating it, for defence of the theoretical foundations of Marxism and its basic propositions, which are being distorted from diametrically opposite sides by the spread of bourgeois influence to the various fellow travellers of Marxism.

"The first three years awakened to the conscious participation in social life wide sections which, in many cases are now for the first time beginning to acquire a real acquaintance with Marxism. The bourgeois press is creating far more fallacious ideas on this score than ever before, and is disseminating them more widely. Disintegration in the Marxist ranks is particularly dangerous in this situation. Therefore, to understand the reasons for the inevitability of this disintegration at the present time and to close their ranks for consistent struggle against this disintegration is, in the most direct and precise meaning of the term, the task of the era for Marxists." (5)

This is timely and wise advice and is the basis for the

political projections of the League.

The Communist League is in the process of maturing, and that maturing is throwing us into collision with the revisionists in a different way, in a way that calls for mass exposure and repudiation. It is becoming very clear to us that the struggle against the revisionists is not some moral duty of Marxists-Leninists, but it is the life and death issue of the revolution, of the building of a Party. It has been stated since the late 1940's that actually, Socialism is stronger than capitalism. However, the socialist camp has not been able to fully halt the international rampage of US imperialism despite this superior strength, because international revisionism constantly saps that strength and constantly scatters and misdirects that strength. Coming to grips with imperialism is a political impossibility so long as revisionism remains in a strong international position.

We are reaching that point of our development where we have to lay plans and work out programs that lead to a confrontation with imperialism. History shows clearly that to resist confronting imperialism is to renounce revolutionary practice and to open the door to class collaboration and to revisionism. And what we are talking about is not the idealist revisionist conception of the few heroes liberating the masses, but a political organization that wins the position of Vanguard of the working class by its series of confrontation on behalf of the masses and finally side by side with the masses.

The first arena for this confrontation and struggle is to more firmly get into the international struggle of revolutionaries. By this time the majority of the left is aware of the role of the international revisionists. What seems to be lacking is the firm understanding that the international revisionists are the servants of imperialism and there is nothing that they can do that is progressive.

It is absolutely necessary to continue the great campaign of exposure that reached its high point during the Cultural Revolution in China. We have to show over and over again that the role of the USSR as the emerging international peacemaker is the imperialist adjunct of the USNA's role as war maker. Lenin points out how imperialist peace is the adjunct of imperialist war and the necessity of struggling against them both. In the international arena this role of the revisionists is becoming clear. For example, the so-called "Peace of Tashkent" which ended the first Indian invasion of Pakistan, but also prepared the international situation for the final dismemberment of that country. An identical role is being played by the U.S.S.R. in the aggression of Israel against the Arab countries. But, far more dangerous are the indications that the Soviet Union is bulldozing its way into a position to attempt to play the same role in the long and bloody battle for the liberation of Vietnam.

The United States has made it clear that it takes the right to bomb the population of North Vietnam. When the international protests against this barbaric, fascist practice were isolating the U.S., Nixon broke off the Peace talks. The uprisings and the military offensive of the Vietnamese have further this isolation. Panic stricken, Ambassador Kissinger rushed to Moscow for consultations. His return was marked by the announcement that the U.S. would resume talks in Paris with the first point on the agenda being the halting of the so-called "invasion" of Vietnam by the Vietnamese. It was under this slander that Eisenhower first ordered the U.S. imperialist troops into Vietnam. However, it is clear that the collusion aspects of the relations between the U.S. and the USSR are proceeding at the expense of the heroic people of Vietnam and the colonial masses throughout the world.

It is clear that on this May Day, the overwhelming task of revolutionaries is the re-

(cont. on p. 13)



May Day Speech

(cont. from p. 12)

affirmation of Marxism by repudiating Soviet revisionism and intensifying the struggle against it. A major aspect of this re-affirmation is the militant defense and popularization of heroic Albania as well as the history molding role of the People's Republic of China.

There is and has been for some time an immature and childish concept that it is possible in this stage of history to have a Communist Party that is a "pure" party. It is from this undialectical projection that certain groups label fighting Parties as revisionist or non-revisionist. We recognize the fact that every Communist Party in the world is locked in the internal struggle between revisionism and Marxism-Leninism, and while it is obvious that the revisionists by virtue of their wealth and connections with imperialism have made some inroads on the fighting capabilities of certain parties, in no way will the Communist League fail to support every revolutionary and fighting projection and action of communists throughout the world.

We must begin with our international commitments to the revolution, but these international commitments are expressed concretely in the struggle against the lead dog and pathfinder of international revisionism - the CPUSA. Historically speaking, it has been the policies of Jay Lovestone, former General Secretary of the CPUSA and later the policies of Earl Browder, another former General Secretary of the CPUSA, that laid the ideological basis for modern revisionism.

If anyone has doubts as to what revisionism is and how it disorients and emasculates the revolutionary movement just take a look at the present work of the CPUSA.

Henry Winston, Chairman of the Communist Party USA is publishing a book. A preview is printed in the January issue of Political Affairs. I think that a little peek (and that's all you will be able to stand) at this document will serve to show why we have to launch a practical and theoretical attack against the revisionists. Winston's book entitled, From the Anti-Slavery to the Anti-Monopoly Strategy starts out:

"Because of the perpetuation of racism and the resulting division between the triply oppressed Black workers and the exploited white workers it took more than 60 years of struggle against the bosses government supported violence to win the right to organize. Labors fate, as in the past, is inseparably bound with that of the Black Liberation Movement." (6)

Now this is not a laughing matter no matter how funny it sounds. There are some serious

and rotten chauvinist conceptions behind this kind of talk. First of all, Winston is furthering the fascist line that the Negro workers are not producers nor are they the source of profit - they are the "lumpenproletariat". This is the same old line of the Bourbon South; that Negroes are oppressed but whites are exploited. Winston further compounds this with the statement that there is a labor movement that is white and a national movement that is black. It is small wonder that they continue to scream about racism so much. They indeed are not simply chauvinists, they actually think in racist terms. In fact, they are the leaders of the pack and all the more dangerous because they nestle within the mass movement and within the political left.

Having hung the mantel of bourgeois liberalism on the teachings and person of Karl Marx, Winston goes on to give him a religious trapping by associating him with the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King. Our opinion is that as a cleric, and hampered with the ideology of the clergy, Dr. King played a very important role in the history of the Negro people. Any of us who were in the movement before or at the beginning of the Montgomery Boycott fully well understand that the real hero, the real fighter of Montgomery, Reverend Shuttlesworth, was carefully pushed out of the picture. He was beaten, jailed, isolated by the liberals and finally driven to oblivion. It was Dr. King's conception - or rather the conception of the bourgeoisie that they gave to King - the concept of non-violence that allowed for the inevitable upsurge of the Negro masses and at the same time rendered it harmless. This outlook coincided with the needs of the ruling class. Thus, while it appeared that King was leading a revolution, it was in the sense of history a very profitable way of allowing the militancy of the Negro masses to be exhausted without in any way interfering with the rights of property. Part of the unreal picture of militancy on the part of Dr. King was his open alliance with the CPUSA. As for me and for the thousands who lived through the bloody struggle for Watts in 1965, we will never forget how the Government flew King into the thick of the fight and after taking one look, King said publicly, "The police and Army must use all possible force to crush this rebellion quickly." However, the Negro middle class and the misleaders of the masses held King as their spokesman - therefore, the CPUSA wasted no time in linking themselves with King and maintaining that link to this very day. Winston goes on to say;

"Though not a Marxist, King was steadily moving toward a state that tended to coincide with the Marxist-Leninist concept of an anti-monopoly poli-

cy." (7) I rather think that we should examine who is leading who in this sort of situation. There is no doubt that King was one of the strongest threads between the CPUSA and the Kennedy gang of butchers. The CPUSA was the real loser when King was murdered. However, not content with making the CP a follower of King, Winston goes on to make Karl Marx a follower of Frederick Douglass. Winston writes;

"In 1846, two years before writing the Communist Manifesto, the young Karl Marx had already revealed his deep understanding of the struggle against slavery in the US. His thinking closely paralleled the direction Frederick Douglass was taking, and this remarkable parallelism in the liberation strategy of these two giants of world history continued throughout every phase of the anti-slavery struggle." (8)

So, there you have it - straight from the horses mouth. Karl Marx learned from and followed Frederick Douglass. We of course have to admit that the one who thinks is always in arrears of the one who does. But this is only an indication of the shamelessness of the revisionists. Shields Green, Frederick Douglass's servant who went on to die with John Brown was 100 times the revolutionary that Douglass was. Douglass was the anti-labor, original petty-bourgeois nationalist who betrayed John Brown and then grabbed his wife and fled to England for safety after he learned of the plan to attack Harpers Ferry. I often wondered why it was that the powers that be made sure that I learned of such men as Booker T. Washington and Frederick Douglass. I was in my 30's before I began to learn the truth about the greatest hero of American History, John Brown, and the Negro and Anglo-American revolutionaries who fought and died with him. Why doesn't Winston point to Theodore Weiner, the communist military genius of the Austrian revolution who instructed Brown in modern military tactics. Or, Charles Kaiser, the German communist who died on the prairies of Kansas fighting the U.S. army in defense of escaping Negro slaves. No, Mr. Winston, that would be too much like a fighting alliance between Negro and Anglo-American. It is better to keep it in resolution and in newspapers rather than in the bloody process of the revolution.

Still fighting to make Marx become the liberal tail of the petty-bourgeoisie Winston writes;

"Marx's polemic against Kriege has profound significance to the struggle against white chauvinism; it demonstrated his irreconcilable opposition to every form of accommodation to the influence of racism." (9)

(cont. on p. 14)

MAY DAY 1972

(cont. from p. 13)

If you can make sense out of that statement, I wish you would help me. The paragraph starts off with white chauvinism, which in that period was an incorrect concept and ends with racism which in this period is an incorrect concept. It isn't that the CP leaders are a little screwy, they are purposely and with a great amount of skill seeping confusion and anti-communism into the Marxist movement.

Beneath all the rubbish in this document, Winston slips in a few things that we have to watch. First of all is his assertion that what we are dealing with is State monopoly capitalism. This formulation appears on nearly every page of the book. If this is state monopoly capitalism, then things aren't so bad after all. Under the conditions of the political struggle of the working class in the United States, State monopoly capitalism can only mean a naked fascist dictatorship. The state is firmly in the hands of the imperialists and the taking over of the major industries by the state is an inevitable political process. Engels pointed out in Socialism Utopian and Scientific that "With trusts or without, the official representative of capitalist society - the state - will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production." (10) This has happened in the Post office and is happening in the railroads, but this does not mean that the state holds a monopoly in other fields. Winston is trying to feed us the old revisionist bull of creeping socialism. Winston would have us think that the path to socialism is the growth of capitalism until the quantitative aspects bring about a qualitative change. The train of this absurdity is that free enterprise changes into monopoly. The state is compelled to take over the monopolies and the democratic control of the people over the state more and more gives the productive process the character of socialism until the process is completed.

It is obvious that this trash could only be peddled in a situation where the working class is unorganized and politically backward and where the revolutionaries are unskilled politically, theoretically backward, and ideologically weak.

It is with the objective understanding of the situation that we turn for a few moments to the League itself, its growth and the orientation toward the future struggles. First of all, it should be obvious that as we enter into a period when the masses are beginning to stir and when the reactionaries are making their move, the League is going to have to drive harder and harder toward the concept of building a Party to guide the class.

The result of our policy of concentrating on the construction of a Party instead of a leaderless and disconnected mass struggle is going to gain us many enemies and few friends. We have to learn to rely on ourselves and firmly tell our sunshine friends that we fully understand their demand to criticize the League for its insistence on maintaining a fixed azimuth on the policy of Party building. From all sides, and occasionally within the League we hear the cries, "The League won't go to the masses", "The League is sectarian", "The League doesn't care about anyone but the Negroes", Lenin also had to fight this battle. Lenin said;

"We are marching in a compact group along a percipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and are under their almost constant fire. We have combined voluntarily, especially for the purpose of fighting the enemy and not to retreat into the adjacent marsh, the inhabitants of which, right from the very outset, have reproached us with having separated ourselves into an exclusive group, and with having chosen the path of struggle instead of the path of conciliation. And now several in our crowd begin to cry out: Let us go into this marsh! And when we begin to shame them, they retort: How conservative you are! Are you not ashamed to deny us the right to invite you to take a better road! Oh yes, gentlemen! You are free not only to invite us, but to go yourselves wherever you will, even into the marsh. In fact, we think that the marsh is your proper place, and we are prepared to render you every assistance to get there. Only, let go of our hands, don't clutch at us, and don't besmirch the grand word, "freedom"; for we too are "free" to go where we please, free, not only to fight against the marsh, but also those who are turning towards the marsh." (11)

The League was born in the mass struggle. The defeats suffered by the masses in the great world wide upsurges of the oppressed in the years of 1955 to 1969 proved to us that the crying need today is that the working class be led by a Marxist-Leninist Party. Without such a party victory in the struggle of the masses is impossible. While we are struggling to gain influence in the mass movement, this struggle is connected to the concept of building a Party - not to the concept of building a mass struggle alone.

The past four years have seen a series of developments within the C.L.. In the beginning our small and infantile forces were faced with a life and death decision: "Get out into the movement and like a falling star gain the applause of the left for your brilliance and splendor and then fall back into this undefinable

grouping of radicals and become submerged in the intermovement struggles", or we could risk the chance of isolation by insulating ourselves from the movement, make the elementary connections with our class and in the course of struggles in our plants and communities develop an independent Marxist-Leninist line on the revolution in the United States. That was our first battle and the issue was decided in favor of the Communist League.

Secondly, we had to make the fundamental decision: What is the leading factor in our work of Party building, the factor of quality or the factor of quantity? After a series of struggles this issue was settled in favor of the Communist League, in favor of quality. However, this struggle continues today, and it is at the center of the struggle to consolidate a Marxist-Leninist core at the very heart of the League. We are determined to fight for the highest possible quality of the organization, even at the expense of certain quantitative aspects of our development. And why are we so firm in this decision? Simply because the principle aspect of the struggle today is theory guiding activity - not as it once was, the struggle to abstract theory from the class struggle. Our task remains to build a Communist League wherein our cadre can merge into the working class struggles and emerge as leaders of that struggle. To do this we have to continue the fight to develop theoretically stable, ideologically firm comrades whose life style and general outlook will allow them to swim freely in the sea of humanity. Our basic task remains to play our part in the international defeat of world wide revisionism. We have an extremely difficult job to do because the material base of revisionism is stronger here than in any other country. Therefore the role of the theoretical struggle becomes decisive.

As good communists - we turn our faces to the future. We see the storm clouds gathering. We know the history of the ferociousness of dying classes. The death cells in Brazil, in the Philippines, in South Korea, in South Vietnam - indeed wherever the forces of the happy future confront the slavers they are met with the final weapon of reaction - the weapon of terror. We are the sons and daughters of brave peoples. Our heritage is the heritage of the ragged revolutionaries who were the first to raise the banners against colonialism and defeat it. Our forebearers were the conductors of the underground railroad who outsmarted and outfought the slave power. In our blood flows the blood of the Seminole, the Choctaw, the Lakota, the Blackfoot - the passion blood of the Indian peoples who gave the breath of life to the high flown phrases of liberty or death. Our history was cradled in the

(cont. on p. 15)

CHINA TOWN

(cont. from p. 5)

This type of motion on the part of the striking workers was unheard of prior to the last couple of years. The emergence of the civil rights and social justice movements of the 1960's, the banishing of Taiwan from its seat in the U.N. last fall and the admittance of the People's Republic of China, and the recent Nixon-Chou joint communique announce-

MAY DAY 1972

(cont. from p. 14)

breast of the African slaves who have bloodied the centuries with dauntless heroism - who with unparalleled determination has unswervingly trudged through the blood of the martyrs ever onward against the oppressors. This heritage and history is our shield and our Excalibur. In our ranks there is no place for fear or for cowards. We are the ideological heirs of Marx and Engels who with the pen and gun have taught us. In our Communist League beats the great heart of Lenin. The iron will of Stalin is our ideological base. The bravery of Enver Hoxha, the great liberating thought of Mao Tsetung is our courage. We face the future with confidence. Under the banners of Lenin, we are marching to the staging areas where the great invincible armies of communism are preparing the final assault against the ramparts of capitalist slavery. The enemy finds and shall find our class and peoples unafraid - eager to answer the call of history. We spit with contempt upon their fascist terror - upon their prisons and their thugs. They can do nothing to us that they have not done to our forebearers and are not doing to our comrades. We know that across the mountains and beyond the storms lies the bright, happy, peaceful future of humanity. We are the shock troops responsible to guide mankind along that journey.

At this great happy day of the working class - on this eighty-sixth May Day, we turn our faces to our embattled comrades around the world shouting our historic slogans:

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES
OF THE WORLD UNITE!
LONG LIVE THE WORKING CLASS!
LONG LIVE ITS COMMUNIST LEAGUE!

- 1) Speech Delivered At the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow, Nov. 16, 1960.
- 2) U.S. Dept. of Commerce Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1971, Bureau of the Census, p. 291.
- 3) *ibid.*
- 4) *ibid.*, p. 316
- 5) "Certain Features of the Historical Development of Marxism", V.I. Lenin, from *Against Revisionism*, FLPH, Moscow 1959, p.138
- 6) *Political Affairs*, June 1972, p. 2
- 7) *ibid.*, p. 6
- 8) *ibid.*, p. 7
- 9) *ibid.*, p. 8
- 10) *Socialism, Utopian and Scientific*, F. Engels, Int. Pub., N.Y. p. 66.
- 11) *What Is To Be Done?*, VI Lenin Progress Pub., Moscow 1967, p. 11

ing the eventual withdrawal of U.S. imperialist military forces from Taiwan has served as a basis for workers to oppose the exploitation and oppression of the reactionaries of Chinatown. The victories of the Vietnamese, in particular, and the victories of the National Liberation struggles around the world in general is also a principal reason for national minority workers, such as the Chinatown busboys, to assert themselves; thus raising the class consciousness of the workers.

In examining the present-day working class movement, we find that the destructive "leftist" ideology of "syndicalism" has chopped-up our struggle merely to serve the interests of the capitalist class. This reactionary theory, backed and pushed by the CPUSA, forces workers and the national minority workers in particular, to fight as "individual groupings", "What is the perceptual knowledge of the new breed of syndicalist? They see men oppressing women, white oppressing blacks, bosses oppressing workers, and it is from these observations that the entire political program of syndicalism is constructed. And what is that program? Women will overthrow men, Blacks will overthrow whites, workers will overthrow bosses, students will overthrow the administrations and so forth." (People's Tribune Vol. 3, No. 10, Syndicalism Disarms the Proletariat) This is utter nonsense. It is like saying the Chinatown workers will overthrow their bosses and create socialism for everyone. The opposite of this backward theory of

syndicalism and the only way we can destroy it is with Proletarian Internationalism. Proletarian internationalism stands for a united struggle of all the oppressed elements in the world society. With this type of working class solidarity we serve the interest of our class as a whole and lay the basis for workers of the world uniting. The way to achieve this in the USNA is thru building a Communist Party which is multi-national in character.

It is important to understand that workers cannot gain their fundamental class needs through economic struggles, (strikes etc.). Lenin pointed out in *What is to be Done?* that the working class must be given political education and training and that the politicization of the class cannot come about thru economic, trade union struggles.

"The workers can acquire class political consciousness only from without, that is, only outside of the economic struggle, outside of the sphere of relations between workers and employers." (Lenin, *The Iskra Period*, Book II, International Publishers, N.Y., 1929, p. 158)

In the U.S. the working class needs an independent political party guided by Marxist-Leninist Theory, that will not only lend a "planned character" to our everyday struggles, such as the Chinatown strike, but it will strike at the heart of such exploitation: the capitalist system, and create the conditions for a dictatorship of the proletariat and Socialism.

Definitions

Negro- The word Negro is used in different contexts and means different concepts depending on history and place. Shortly after the discovery of the Americas, the Portuguese and Spanish probing down the coast of Africa, became involved in the already developed slave trade in Africa. At that time the word Negro meant only "black" which is the literal translation from the Spanish. Centuries later, as slavery became a major industry in the U.S.N.A., the word Negro began to have a different meaning in fact. The slaves in the U.S.N.A. had been drawn from a variety of peoples in Africa, injected into and amongst the African slaves were a number of Indian peoples and of course, tens of thousands of slaves of partial African and partial Anglo-European descent. However the slavers lash soon did away with any distinction between the descendant of the Congo and the light skinned illegitimate son of the driver man. Based on the specific conditions of slavery in the U.S.N.A., there arose the Negro people - A historically evolved people, socially and culturally developed from the framework of slavery.

By the end of the 19th century, the word Negro again began to change its meaning in fact. Owing to the specifics of the rise of U.S.N.A. imperialism and the history of the Black Belt of the South, there arose a nation, oppressed by U.S.N.A. imperialism, whose social root and base was the aforementioned Negro people. The term Negro developed to include a national meaning. The confusion around the term arises, because nations are not extensions of tribes and are not based on color etc., but on history. So now, on the one hand, when referring to the nation we use the term Negro and mean national and not color. In the same manner when one speaks of the French, we do not differentiate between the members of the French nation who are Basque, Lombard, or Gothic - or the basic root of the nation - the Frankish peoples. We can only ask the reader to be a dialectician and differentiate when we write Negro as a historically evolved people who were slaves, or on the other hand, when we say Negro meaning national - there we refer to all the people residing in the historically evolved community of territory that we call the Negro Nation. In the sense of national, the Negroes are the Anglo-American minority as well as the Negro peoples majority.

Negro Nation- The Negro Nation is that historically evolved stable community of Negro people, along with the historically developed Anglo-American minority who live in

the Black Belt and the economically dependent area of the Southern U.S.N.A.. This nation which evolved from the specifics of slavery is a historically evolved stable community of people formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture.

The nation is referred to as the Negro Nation because the base of that nation is the Negro people who evolved as a people prior to the evolution of the Negro Nation.

U.S.N.A.

The state of the United States of North America is the basic organ of violence and repression in the hands of the Anglo-American imperialist bourgeoisie. This state arose from and was based on the consolidation of the original separate 13 states. Today, this State is a powerful omnipotent multi-national state that exercises hegemony over the Anglo-American nation, the colonial Negro Nation and the colonial nation of Puerto Rico. In addition this State exercises its dictatorship over a number of peoples, including the Mexican national minority, the Indian peoples, the Alaskan Eskimos, the Aleut and Hawaiian peoples. It is properly referred to as the U.S.N.A. to differentiate it from the United States of Mexico or United States of Brazil etc..

Anglo-American-

The primary basis of culture in the Anglo-American nation is English. In the development of the history of the nation, successive waves of non-English, European peoples populated the U.S.N.A.. On a primary level these non-English peoples were compelled to adopt the Anglo culture. In this process, the melting pot concept emerged. The various European peoples injected certain aspects of their national culture in the process of assimilating the Anglo. Thus specific aspects of the Anglo-American culture evolved, chemically as well as mechanically, mixing the aspects of the European, African and the Indian cultures.

The other aspect of the development of Anglo-America was the concrete specific conditions that faced the English and Europeans upon their arrival in the U.S.N.A.. Whereas they came from relatively developed nations especially the English, they were met in North America with a relatively low level of the productive forces and vast open land. In the struggle of conquest against the Indian peoples and the harshness and isolation of frontier life a specific national culture was developed

on the Anglo-European base - thus it became not merely Anglo-European, but Anglo-American.

The territorial frontiers of the Anglo-American nation are generally the Canadian frontier to the north to the Atlantic sea coast on the East; proceeding from the Canadian frontier south to the beginnings of the area associated with the plantation belt in Delaware. The border then proceeds west along the northern edge of the area associated with the plantation system. This line proceeds generally west and south in an inverted arc into Texas and south into the Gulf of Mexico. The western frontier proceeds south from the Canadian border along the Pacific Coast to the area generally associated with the struggles of the Mexican national minority. The border then proceeds in a north-easterly direction to the north of Denver, connecting to the Gulf of Mexico to the east of San Antonio, Texas. Within this national territory there are numerous autonomous areas that belong to the Indian people whose economic, territorial and political rights have yet to be restored.

The exact delineation of the frontier must be set by economic and population factors that cannot be known today.

Basically, the Americas can be divided into the general categories of Anglo and Hispanic America. These general areas represent a base of Anglo or Hispanic cultures for the emergence of national cultures that were conditioned by the evolution of history in each specific country.

Although the total of the Western Hemisphere is referred to as the Americas, the United States of North America is the only country that defines itself as America in reference to nationality. Other nations refer to themselves first by national definition such as Argentinian, Brazilian, Canadian, Dominican, etc. and only in the most general sense as American.

To a great degree such concepts arose because of the overwhelming presence and determining power of U.S.N.A. imperialism. The peoples of the Americas correctly see the chauvinism in referring to the U.S.N.A. as "America".

The situation is further complicated by the obvious fact that the Canadians are just as much Anglo-American as the peoples of the U.S.N.A.. The only difference in definition being that the Canadians designate themselves as Canadians whereas the peoples of the U.S.N.A. use the national designation of American. Thus the term is used in two senses - Hemispheric and national.