

PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE



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

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VIETNAM CANNOT BE DEFEATED!!

The announcement of a cease fire agreement on the Vietnam War signed on January 26 marks a new development in the Vietnamese people's long struggle for liberation from the reigns of imperialism. As the chauvinist imperialist press implores the people of the USNA to think only of the emotional issue of the return of all their husbands and sons, it is of utmost importance to bring this latest development in the war into the historical perspective of the worldwide struggle against imperialist domination. Only in this way can we guard against the many sweeping statements either praising or condemning this confusing and difficult period and uphold our internationalist duty to give full support to the revolutionary aspirations of the Vietnamese people.

Union. But alongside of this threat was the rising storm of revolution in Asia, led by the heroic victories over the comprador Chiang Kai-shek gang in China, and the developing revolutionary wars of liberation in Korea and Vietnam. In the events that followed, marked by the temporary defeat of proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union, and the ensuing defeat of the People's Democracies, it soon became clear that the threat of revolution was shifting to Asia, that the center of revolution was shifting from Moscow to Peking, and that Moscow, in fact, replaced Belgrade as the center of world revisionism.

revolutionary victory was the clarion call to colonized nations all over the world to break the chains of imperialism. Revolutionary struggles arose not only in Asia, but in Africa and Latin America as well. At this same time, the Vietnamese people humiliated the French imperialists, and being in close proximity to the other Southeast Asian colonies, inspired greater anti-imperialist activity, not only in Laos, but in Cambodia, Thailand, Burma and Singapore. Sukarno withdrew Indonesia from the U.N. and was forced by the revolutionary situation to make militant anti-imperialist statements. The whole colonial system was in danger of collapsing. The revolutionary situation was excellent.

The Korean War was the first defeat of the imperialists at the hands of a colored colonial people. This great

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A brief look at the conditions that led to the USNA imperialist aggression in Vietnam and all of Southeast Asia is necessary if we are to understand why it is that the imperialists are now, at least temporarily, willing to admit their inability to conquer the Vietnamese people.

In the period following World War II, the USNA rulers were immediately concerned with stemming the tide of revolution in Eastern Europe, marked by the victories of the People's Democracies spurred on by the great strength of the Soviet

On Negro History Week and Martin Luther King, Jr.

Every year at this time coinciding with the birthday of Martin Luther King Jr. and the coming of Negro History Week (second week of February), the bourgeoisie begin to cry and moan and extol the "history and qualities" of the Negro people. During this act of countrywide hypocrisy, the bourgeoisie - including its most anti-Negro elements like Mayor Richard M. Daley of Chicago - appear publicly, grant holidays from work and lead parades and festivals.

taking the spontaneous outrage and struggle of the masses and channeling it into non-revolutionary reforms. However, within this struggle concessions are often granted to the masses. This process was clearly illustrated in the Negro People's Liberation Movement during the last two decades. The struggle of the Negro people for democratic rights, especially within the Negro Nation has been no small matter. In the process of winning certain concrete victories against "Jim Crow" laws and for democratic rights hundreds have died, thousands have lost jobs, homes and personal property. During this entire struggle the tactics of the bourgeoisie was to keep the leadership of this struggle in the hands of the non-violent, compromised petty-bourgeoisie.

These events raise serious questions for the revolutionary movement. First of all, why is the bourgeoisie acting in this manner and emphasizing these events? Secondly, what is the meaning of these events in relation to the Negro People's Liberation Movement, and finally, what is the position of the revolutionary proletariat as opposed to that of the liberal bourgeoisie and the opportunists?

However, it became evident by 1963 that there was a new internal contradiction developing within the movement itself. "That development was the fight of the Negro proletariat for

Within the political arena the bourgeoisie is continually

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Resolution of the ACWM (M-L)

Resolution in Support of the North American Conference of Marxist-Leninists

The December 25th Branch of the American Communist Workers Movement (Marxist-Leninist) hails the publication of the Call for a Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists and the developing solidarity amongst the Marxist-Leninists that is reflected in the Communist Party of Canada (M-L), Communist Party of Quebec (M-L), American Communist Workers Movement (M-L), Association of Communist Workers, Communist League, Red Collective, and Red Star Cadres coming together to begin organizing such an historic conference. The December 25th Branch of the ACWM(M-L) declares right at its formation that it is wholeheartedly throwing itself into the work of organizing for and participating in the North American Conference of Marxist-Leninists.

Over 90% of the members of our branch are communist workers. Right now tremendous struggles are developing amongst our class brothers and sisters and large numbers of workers are beginning to enter directly into the revolutionary struggle against monopoly capitalism and the question of utmost importance is: What political line is going to guide and lead the worker's struggles? The social-fascist (socialist in words, fascist in deeds) line of All Political Power to the Revisionists, Anti-Communists and Fascists, No Political Power to the Working Class or the Marxist-Leninist political line of struggling for the Seizure of State Power Away from the Monopoly Capitalists and Fascists and Establishing the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Today, as well as building fascist committees and unleashing fascist rules and regulations against the workers in the communities and in the places of work, the monopoly capitalist class is heavily financing and building up social-fascist committees headed by their revisionist and neo-revisionist henchmen. The starting point of the revisionists is to Use Every Difference Amongst the Workers in Order to Divide the Proletariat and Serve Monopoly Capitalism. The first principle of revisionism is Put the Narrow and Short-Range in Command of the Over-all, in other words Put Bourgeois Self-Interest and Reformism in Command of Revolution. Following these principles the revisionists long ago usurped political power in the Communist Party and for years have kept the working class split up and divided against ourselves, leading our struggles time and time again down the road of bourgeois reformism and social-fascism. In complete opposition to revisionism many

New Marxist-Leninist Centers have emerged during the 1960's and '70's which have Dared to Stand Up for the Revolutionary Aspirations of the Working Class and Dared to Unite the Working Class on the Basis of Marxism-Leninism. The spirit of these New Marxist-Leninist Centers is correctly summed up in the Call for a Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists: "We can only be united on the basis of the interests of the whole working class, that is on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, which is the whole working class, that is on the basis of Marxism Leninism, which is hostile to any struggle for personal interests and opinions." The profound experience of all our comrades has taught us the importance of Chairman Mao's statement: "It is only through the unity of the Communist Party that the unity of the whole class and the whole nation can be achieved." Today, by overthrowing the reactionary sectarianism and splittism promoted by the revisionists and by Daring to Unite with one Another, these New Marxist-Leninist Centers are making a tremendous contribution to building the party and to the cause of the entire working class.

Already in various circles revisionists are engaged in the dirty work of spreading gossips and slanders against the upcoming North American Conference of Marxist-Leninists. The December 25th Branch of the ACWM(M-L) resolutely denounces those people who are attempting to undermine the conference through spreading gossips and slanders. We strongly hold to the line of the Call that all organizations and individuals "Have Equal Right as well as Every Obligation to Present their Views Openly for Discussion". It is only in this way that the genuine unity of Marxist-Leninists can be built and differences aired in an open and above-board manner.

The comrades in our branch have had much experience with revisionists and neo-revisionists who talk about Unity in the Abstract, about the Working Class in the Abstract, and about Marxism-Leninism in the Abstract in order to divide and confuse the broad masses of the working and oppressed people. On the question of unity, while publicly breast-beating about the "need to unite the working class" and the Marxist-Leninist ranks, these revisionists spread gossips and slanders against the genuine Marxist-Leninists. Such people who refuse to be Open and Above-board are in fact seeking to split and not unite. The political line of this stripe of revisionists calls for "reaching the ordinary worker",

"workers take the lead", "building the Party on the basis of the economic struggles", etc. They attack the militant Marxist-Leninists with such epithets as "sectarian," "dogmatic", "irrelevant to the mass movement" while they themselves refuse to apply Marxism-Leninism to the concrete problems facing the working class and instead try to convert Marxism-Leninism into a plaything of the bourgeois intellectuals. Their over-all aim is to liquidate Party building and keep the working masses enslaved forever. Our branch fully supports the thorough-going revolutionary slogan The Working Class Must Exercise Leadership in Everything. For a revolutionary this can only mean that the Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought Must Exercise Leadership in Everything. Only by first seizing political power inside our own revolutionary party can the working class take the first steps on the road to seizing state power from the monopoly capitalists. We firmly believe that the upcoming North American Conference of Marxist-Leninists is an historic step towards the formation of Just Such a Party which is so much longed for and sought after by our class brothers and sisters.

LITERATURE

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October League (M-L) Attacks Communist League

The following is a reprint of an editorial published in The Call, Vol. I, No. 4, the political organ of the October League (Marxist-Leninist).

A sharp debate has developed recently among some of the important sectors of the U.S. communist movement, regarding the role of the small and medium-sized countries of the world in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Some have even argued that "there is no such thing as the third world" claiming that such concepts are revisionist and run counter to Marxist dialectics. In their own words they argue,

"From the standpoint of dialectical materialism, can there be a third force in any entity? Marxism denies this possibility." (From the People's Tribune, organ of the Communist League)

These purists argue that the concept of the "third world" or of "non-aligned" countries is reactionary because "there are only two

worlds," capitalist and socialist.

This purist logic has led them to dogmatically view the struggles of the small and medium-sized countries for independence and for an end to the bullying of the two superpowers with disdain and cynicism. At one point they go so far as to claim that the Allende government in Chile is "worse than fascist" because it "lulls the masses to sleep."

There are several features to the Marxist method of analysis which we call dialectics. One is stated above by the purists. That is, every phenomena is the product of a struggle between opposites. There is another feature, which if forgotten, leads to dogmatism. As Stalin wrote in his famous work, "Dialectical and Historical Materialism" (International Pub. p.7),

"Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics holds that nature is not a state of rest and immobility, stagnation and immutability, but a state of continuous movement and change, of

continuous renewal and development, where something is always arising and developing and something always disintegrating and dying away."

To view the developing nations in a static way and the fight between the two world systems in a purist way, ignoring development and that which is rising, leads one to view Marxism as a dogma rather than a science, to dogmatically pick over words and miss the essence of the struggle.

In this particular case, the whole history of the non-aligned nations fighting for the right to determine their own destiny is negated because it doesn't fit into their pattern of mechanical materialism.

From the famous Bandung Conference in 1955 right up to the more recent Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-aligned Countries in Georgetown, Guyana (see The Call No. 1, p.4), the oppressed countries of the third world have been uniting on a broader scale and moving

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C.L. Reply to Attack

From its inception, the Communist League has held closely to the conception that the future Communist Party of the USNA would be built from the unity of a number of the various Marxist-Leninist organizations.

To facilitate this unity we have always welcomed and encouraged polemics within the movement. We believe that it is only through frank and honest struggle that such unity can be achieved. From this point of view, we welcome the editorial published in The Call (the political paper of the October League (Marxist-Leninist), Vol. 1, No. 4).

In their 'criticism' of the Communist League they do not take a position of Marxism-Leninism or draw at all on the historical experience of the international Communist movement. None the less, they afford us the opportunity of further clarifying our views.

We do not like the lies that they are spreading that the CL is a Trotskyite organization. We do not like their tactic of traveling throughout the South spreading the lie that our Comrades and friends who are struggling in the Negro Nation are police agents. We fully understand the aim of this slander - to isolate these revolutionaries, and identify them to the Ku Klux Klan. The leadership of the October League should understand that we will hold

them fully responsible for any acts of violence against our friends and Comrades in the South that result from these slanders.

We have our style of fighting - to print what our adversary prints for the whole world to see, and then polemicize against it. The OL(ML) has chosen a style of fighting that includes slander, lies, and taking quotes out of context. We will, in the coming issues, document every one of these lies.

As regards this absurd charge of 'Trotskyism' - space does not allow us to deal with it in this issue. In the following issue we will concretely prove that in actual practice the OL(ML) has and does bloc with the Trotskyites and the CPUSA in their attempt to isolate the Communist League.

The charge of 'purist' hardly fits the Communist League. We proudly pioneered in the struggle to isolate the Trotskyites while our detractors were welcoming them as Left revisionists. We proudly were the first ones in 1968 to raise the slogan to build a Multi-National Marxist-Leninist Communist Party while our detractors were accusing us of anti-Negro practices in refusing to follow the Negro national minority militants who they had chauvinistically designated as "the vanguard of the revolution." We called for the unity of the working class

while our "New Left" adversaries were assisting the imperialists by peddling the line of a white working class and a black working class. It is indeed strange that the very groupings that accuse us of straying from Marxism on the concreteness of the Negro question should now raise the charge of 'purism.'

Proceeding from an examination of concrete reality, some eight months ago the Communist League indicated that the most active aspects of the imperialist contradictions were beginning to shift and the struggle between the imperialist countries was becoming more intense. This statement - accepted by all today - was met by a howl from the total of the "New Left!" It is true that the program of the Communist League has evolved in the struggle to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism. The OL(ML) fails to differentiate between the struggle for science and 'purism.' Lenin teaches that science and scientific truth are not dogmas but "the approximately true reflections of objective processes; reflections that are bound to be corrected and perfected by every new development of science." (1)

This scientific outlook necessarily entails the struggle against the subjectivists and the ideologists.

The Communist League, true to the teachings of Lenin was constructing a theoretically developed political organism,

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Vietnam

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The imperialists were quick to recognize the grave dangers that lay ahead. A National Security Council paper in 1954 stated: "U.S. prestige will inescapably be associated with subsequent developments in Southeast Asia." (1) In 1956, John Kennedy, busily learning his imperialist trade stated, "...the cornerstone of the free world is Southeast Asia, the keystone of the arch, the finger in the dike..." (2) Vietnam became the battlefield to save the colonial system.

While the USNA was never able to win great victories, and met only with humiliating defeats at the hands of the Vietnamese fighters, the position of Vietnam as the apex of the revolutionary struggles of the world forced the imperialists to intensify their efforts. But even the recent attempt at annihilation of the North Vietnamese by dropping the equivalent of nuclear bombs on civilian areas met only with defeat and the loss of over 50 B-52 supersonic bombers over the North alone.

So then, why a sudden change in imperialist tactics? Once again, a brief look at more recent events becomes necessary. What happened to the great wave of colonial revolutions that threatened the USNA imperialists? The revolutionary tide that was sweeping Africa has obviously ebbed; the storm in Latin America has been smothered temporarily by the consolidation of the neo-colonial regimes; the Indonesian revolutionaries were slaughtered by the hundreds of thousands; the vicious Lon Nol regime was installed by a coup in Cambodia, along with the consolidation of neo-colonial regimes in Thailand, Burma, etc. The recent victory of India over Pakistan has proved with the blood of the revolutionary leaders of the Naxilbari movement that the real intent was to wipe out the strong revolution growing in India and East Pakistan. While they are certainly not defeated, the growing Philippines revolution has been met with a most vicious counter-revolution. These temporary set-backs in the world wide revolutionary struggle against imperialism cannot be denied. The successful rollback of colonial revolution, in every instance aided and abetted by the Soviet revisionists, has strengthened the imperialists. It is a fact of history that the USNA entered the period of its aggressive war against the Vietnamese people with the purpose of rolling back communism. The basic goal of the counter-revolutionary imperialist bourgeoisie is the overthrow in a fundamental way of Soviet power. The temporary victory of the revisionists in the USSR thus facilitated the tactical victory of the

imperialists in many countries. But strategic victory anywhere is not possible without strategic victory in the USSR and by this we mean the investment of finance capital within the USSR. Hence the overwhelming need for all revolutionaries to concentrate their fire to isolate and facilitate the overthrow of Brezhnev, Kosygin and Co. While not able to defeat the Vietnamese, the worldwide tactical fulfillment of their counter-revolutionary objectives has enabled the USNA rulers to accept a partial defeat and a partial victory in order to free their hands and finances to deal with the growing threat of the "new" Common Market.

Along with these new conditions, several other factors have forced the imperialists to change their tactics. The Vietnam War has politically isolated the USNA at a time when it is striving to make new alliances. World wide opinion has condemned the imperialists for their ruthless assault on the Vietnamese people. This is obviously hampering the imperialists' relations with China, where the Chinese people have always given full support to the Vietnamese people. Also, the huge Soviet-USNA wheat deals have forced Kosygin and Brezhnev to plead with Nixon to end the war because of growing pressure from the Soviet people who have not forgotten their long and heroic history of proletarian internationalism.

Internally, the imperialists have also been under pressure. Nixon had to promise peace and the return of all POW's to win his recent election. Growing dissension within the imperialist armed forces has also become a serious problem for the Nixon gang. Recently, a much decorated B-52 pilot announced to the world that he refused to fly anymore death missions over Vietnam. In another incident, the air force heavily bombed its own Da Nang air base, the largest and oldest in Vietnam, by "mistake," resulting in the death and wounding of many USNA personell.

Just as certain conditions in the world forced the USNA to enter into its most predatory and unpopular war in its history, these new conditions have allowed the imperialists to temporarily accept a peace agreement, a definite acknowledgment of victory for the Vietnamese people, but only at a time when this victory no longer immediately threatens the loss of the entire neo-colonial system.

This victory of the Vietnamese must be regarded not in isolation, as the revisionists are attempting to present, but as part of a long battle against imperialism. Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, made a statement on January 31, 1973 concerning the peace treaty. In it he hailed the

agreement as a "great victory for the forces of peace, a victory of realism and sanity in international affairs," and further stated, "Another important conclusion is that the victory of Vietnam shows how the possibilities of imperialism have dwindled in our days. Imperialism now has no means to turn history back." He further spit in the face of the revolutionary peoples of the world by saying, "New possibilities are now open for easing tensions, for consolidating security and world peace moreover, this shows that it is possible to find a peaceful and just solution of other conflicts, to liquidate the seats of war danger that continue to exist, above all in the Middle East, since the situation in that area fraught with a great threat for the cause of peace!" (3)

What does this drivel have in common with the statement of V.I. Lenin concerning the era of imperialism? As Lenin states, "Colonial possession alone gives complete guarantee of success to the monopolies against all the risks of the struggle with competitors...The more capitalism develops, the more the need for raw materials arises, the more bitter competition becomes, and the more feverishly the hunt for raw materials proceeds all over the world, the more desperate becomes the struggle for the acquisition of colonies." (4) Lenin further states, "Imperialism is the epoch of finance capital and of monopolies, which introduce everywhere the striving for domination, not for freedom. The result is reaction all along the line, whatever the political system, and an extreme intensification of existing antagonisms in this domain also. Particularly acute becomes the yoke of national oppression and the striving for annexations, i.e., the violation of national independence (for annexation is nothing else than the violation of the right of nations to self-determination)." (5) The revisionists are trying to prepare the ground for the advance not of revolution, but of imperialism. Addressing himself to the revisionist line on the question of peace, Lenin wrote, "Instead of showing the vital connection between periods of imperialist peace and periods of imperialist war, Kautsky puts before the workers a lifeless abstraction solely in order to reconcile them to their lifeless leaders." (6) The needs of imperialism, independent of the "will" of a Nixon or the "policy" of the warmakers, will undoubtedly re-open the war to conquer the Vietnamese people with a greater ferocity.

The terms of the ceasefire do not guarantee, by any means, even a temporary peace with the imperialists. The terms of the agreement call for a "ceasefire in place in South Vietnam; withdrawal of U.S.

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Vietnam

forces and return of all war prisoners; continuing rule by the existing South Vietnamese government until a National Council of National Reconciliation and Concord (Saigon, the Viet Cong, and neutralists) agrees on details of an election in South Vietnam; and prohibition of introduction of troops and military equipment into South Vietnam except for one-for-one replacement of weapons under international supervision." (7) The contradictions of this agreement are immediately apparent. Instead of the immediate abolishment of the gangster Thieu government, and the establishment of a coalition government, peacemaker Nixon announced that "The United States will continue to recognize the Government of the Republic of Vietnam as the sole legitimate government of South Vietnam." (8)

The so-called National Council will be limited to setting up elections, leaving the Thieu Government to remain in control where they are able.

MLK

its independent role and the leadership of the masses. This emerging stage became more pronounced during the summer of 1964. In Harlem, Bedford Stuyvesant and Rochester the Negro national minority workers fully rejected the petty-bourgeois leaders. The history of the mass struggle of the Negro people was taking a new turn. In Watts on August 18, 1965 this new stage - this new qualitative development reached full maturity. Not simply rejecting, but shooting the mis-leaders, the Negro national minority workers were hurled face to face against the naked power of the state." (Negro National Colonial Question, p. 37)

It is within this historical context that the meaning of Martin Luther King Jr.'s birthday and Negro History Week must be viewed by both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. These events are objective facts and part of history, but each class has its own interpretation of them. While the bourgeois historians record and emphasize only those events which are in the interests of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat must know the true history of the Negro people. For instance, no sober person could deny the sacrifice Martin Luther King Jr. made in the struggle for the democratic rights of the Negro people, in his opposition to the USNA war of aggression against Vietnam, in his struggle to organize the unorganized proletarians, both Anglo-American and Negro, in his plea for the unity of the working class. Yet there is no doubt that his usage of non-violence as a strategic principle and his reliance upon the Negro petty-bourgeoisie and the Anglo-American bourgeoisie for the leadership of the Negro People's Movement cut the revolutionary guts from the Movement. A perfect example of

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On the question of prisoners of war, the USNA has forced through separate terms for their repatriation; while all USNA POW's will be released within 60 days, the serious question of the fate of the well over 100,000 Vietnamese detained in tiger cages and dungeons by the Thieu gang will be left to "future" negotiations. While all armies are ordered to stop fighting, the Thieu regime retains its summary execution law, which permits the gangster clique to "legally" murder anyone who does not go along with them.

While the agreement is full of controls on military buildup, the imperialists brazenly announced to the world that "More realistic deterrents to a resumption of the war appeared to be the continuing presence of a mighty U.S. air armada in Thailand and at sea..." (9) This air armada was not sitting idle but has been used since the signing to devastate huge areas of Laos and Cambodia.

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this is when he recommended sending the army into Watts on August 20, 1965.

The same is true of Negro History Week. What history does the bourgeoisie bring up: The history of the all Negro 9th Cavalry who were used to oppress the Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Indians, etc., and other peoples for USNA imperialism; the history of Negroes who "made it in the system" or Negro veterans from Vietnam who have "served their country" in an imperialist war. The vast majority of Negro history which is overwhelmingly in opposition to oppression and exploitation, is skimmed over and shunned by the bourgeoisie. They cleverly pose holidays in order to oppose their revolutionary connection and to extol what is acceptable to the bourgeois order.

But finally, how does the position of the revolutionary proletariat differ from that of the liberal bourgeoisie and the opportunists? Since the October Revolution of 1917, the bourgeoisie has been unable to successfully lead a revolutionary movement. Stalin points out (Marxism and National Colonial Question, Int. Pub. New York, p. 74):

"Thus the old bourgeois conception of the principle of self-determination with its slogan 'All power to the national bourgeoisie' was exposed and cast aside by the very course of the revolution. The socialist conception of self-determination, with its slogan 'All power to the toiling masses of the oppressed nationalities' entered into its own and obtained the opportunity of being applied in practice.

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The many contradictions of this agreement reflect both the weakness and strength of the imperialists. The coming period is bound to strengthen the USNA forces, especially the return of its valuable and highly trained pilots who have been shot down and captured in great numbers by the Vietnamese, and will give them the strength and the time to prepare for an invasion of North Vietnam, which our Mr. Thieu announced recently is the next step if the agreement bogs down.

The Vietnamese have shown that they are willing, at least temporarily, to hold up their end of the deal. Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, Foreign Minister of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, announced that they are "ready to observe the agreement strictly, but the statements of Mr. Nguyen Van Thieu do not disclose a similar intention." (10) Mde. Binh further stated that Nixon already violated the spirit of the agreement by saying that the United States will continue to recognize only the gangster Thieu regime.

While the brutal war that has outraged the overwhelming masses of the people of the world may, for a time, die down, the continual exposure of the imperialist system, with its striving to compete with the other imperialists to redivide the world, to push the colonial peoples into even further impoverishment, must be intensified. The imperialists and their revisionist partners are trying to lull us to sleep with the return of all the POW's and grand promises of "lasting peace" in the world. We must remember Lenin's words, "It is not he who repeats the general, meaningless, non-committal, goody-goody desires of pacifism who really works for a democratic peace but it is he who exposes the imperialist character of the present war and of the imperialist peace that is being prepared, he who calls upon the peoples to rise in revolt against the criminal governments." (11) If we allow ourselves to rest in this coming period, as the imperialists gather their strength for new assaults, it will not only be the colonial peoples of the world, but the working class of the USNA who will pay the price!

- 1) Chicago Sun Times, 1/26/73.
- 2) Ibid.
- 3) Daily World, 2/1/73.
- 4) Lenin, V.I., "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism", Selected Works, Int. Pub., N.Y., 1943, p. 75.
- 5) Ibid., p. 111.
- 6) Ibid., p. 110.
- 7) Chicago Tribune, 1/28/73, p. 28.
- 8) N.Y. Times, 1/25/73, p. 19.
- 9) Chicago Sun Times, 1/25/73, p. 20.
- 10) Ibid., p. 12.
- 11) Lenin, V.I., "Bourgeois Pacifism and Socialist Pacifism", Lenin on War and Peace, FLPP, 1966, pp. 85-86.

Call For A Conference Of North American Marxist-Leninists

We are again printing this CALL as an invitation to all revolutionary groups and individuals to attend the Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists which will be held this spring in Chicago. Since the CALL was last published, many groupings from all sections of the USNA have begun to express their support for and desire to attend this Conference.

In planning for the Conference, we must heed the words of Dimitroff: "...it (the prevention of the victory of fascism, ed.) depends on the existence of a strong revolutionary party, correctly leading the struggle of the toilers against fascism. A party which systematically calls on the workers to retreat in the face of fascism and permits the fascist bourgeoisie to strengthen its positions will inevitably lead the workers to defeat." (Dimitroff, Georgi, United Front Against Fascism, New Century Publishers, New York, 1950, p. 22.)

In order to spread the word of the conference to all honest revolutionary groupings, the North American News Service is now available for comrades to publish their positions on building a revolutionary Party of a New Type. The address is:

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CALL FOR A CONFERENCE OF NORTH AMERICAN MARXIST-LENINISTS - ISSUED BY THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE CONFERENCE, NOV. 19, 1972

Proletarian revolutions and wars of national liberation are raging, and the struggle for socialism is being waged all over the world. While revolution is the main trend in the world today, we see throughout the whole world that fascism is increasing its attacks

against the revolutionary class and the revolutionary movement in general. Internationally, we see this in the growing collusion of the U.S. imperialists and the U.S.S.R. social-imperialists in an attempt to crush the proletarian revolution and increase their aggression against the peoples of the world. Within the U.S. we recognize the seriousness of the situation that the imperialists are developing through their propaganda about the re-election of Nixon: the imperialists are carrying out a steady vicious advance toward an organized fascist drive against the working class of the U.S. In light of these conditions we view it as a very serious matter that the revolutionary movement in the U.S. is disunited and its forces are not monolithic but instead dispersed and scattered in the form of many different individuals, groups, organizations throughout the U.S.

In opposition to the growing forces of fascism and to the disunity of the revolutionary movement there is arising a struggle to develop unity among the revolutionary forces. **This is expressed concretely** in the writing of this call by several separate organizations in the U.S. as well as in Canada and Quebec. The organizations in the U.S. are working with the support of the comrades of the Communist Party of Canada, Marxist-Leninist, and the Communist Party of Quebec, Marxist-Leninist for the development of the revolutionary movement in the U.S.

On what basis have these organizations united? We can only be united on the basis of the interests of the whole working class, that is, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, which is hostile to any struggle for personal interests or opinions. Marxism-Leninism is the theory of scientific socialism, that is, it is based in objective reality as opposed to a subjective fight for individual ends.

It is out of this struggle for scientific socialism, for correct line, that the real un-

ity of the revolutionary movement will develop in its highest form, a single organization that fights for the whole working class to overthrow imperialism. Lenin pointed out and history has confirmed that the Party of a New Type can only be built on the basis of the struggle against revisionism and opportunism (incorrect line). We don't want to unite purely for the sake of uniting, but for the sake of struggling for the correct line for the working class in the struggle against the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

We are uniting on the basis of Marxism-Leninism to organize a conference to be held sometime in 1973, where all honest revolutionaries would be minimally united on the basis of wanting to struggle for Marxism-Leninism against revisionism, for a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class in the U.S.

The Preparatory Committee of the Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists calls on all those who agree in the main with the above points to attend this revolutionary Conference. Those who call themselves Marxist-Leninists must hold themselves accountable in front of the people. There are many differences on the crucial task of building the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of a New Type. But these differences can only be aired in this mass democratic conference. All organizations whatever their size and experience have equal right as well as every obligation to present their views openly for discussion. For amongst Marxist-Leninists, there is no jockeying for position and fame. Let all Marxist-Leninists unite for the cause of proletarian revolution and the proletarian party.

Communist Party of Canada, M-L
Communist Party of Quebec, M-L
American Communist Workers Movement, M-L
Association of Communist Workers
Louisville, Ky.
Red Collective, New Orleans, La.
Red Star, Tampa, Fla.
Communist League

Attack

(cont. from p. 3)

step-by-step out from under the heel of the super imperialists.

BANDUNG

April 1955, marked a very important step forward in the struggle of the people of the third world as 29 heads of state of various Afro-Asian countries gathered in Bandung, Indonesia, including Chou En-lai from the People's Republic of China. The Bandung Conference adopted principles which called for an end to interference in any nation's internal affairs and for relations based upon the princi-

ples of co-existence, mutual interest, "equality and mutual benefit." This was the first time in history that the representatives of Afro-Asian nations conferred on their mutual affairs without the presence of any foreign overlords.

Of course the imperialists had their own ideas for subverting such a move and tried to use their puppets who attended the conference to steer clear of any independent stand. Certainly all of these countries weren't free from imperialist domination. As Anna Louise Strong, the progressive American correspondent covering the conference wrote, in her "Letter from China" (6/15/64),

"This freedom was not absolute for many of these nations were still only partly independent and most were still penetrated by imperialist influences, while some African nations were represented by Europeans in their government administration. Romulo, from the Philippines, came primed to attack the socialist countries; he declared that 'communist imperialism was worse than capitalist imperialism!'"

However, through the struggle, with China playing a major role, the "Spirit of Bandung" a spirit of independence and anti-imperialist struggle

(Cont. on p. 7)

Attack

(cont. from p. 6)

was established and this was a direct slap in the face to imperialism and colonialism.

An important lesson for us here is that the imperialists, no matter how greedy and aggressive they may be, are no longer strong enough, like they were once to walk over the people of the world at will. Their own contradictions are sharpening as they compete with each other for "spheres of influence" and their grip on the countries and peoples in the third world is steadily slipping.

In the nine years following 1955, more than 30 new nations gained independence owing much to the "Spirit of Bandung." The imperialists hated this and did everything in their power to prevent a second Bandung.

MAKING USE OF CONTRADICTIONS

The reactionary government in India soon yielded to their pressure. Nehru sabotaged the calling of a second conference and then along with Tito called a "Non-aligned Conference" to have an organ without China that Nehru could dominate.

But despite their intentions, this conference passed more resolutions opposing imperialism and colonialism against their wishes. Gradually the demand for another Bandung Conference grew.

The Chinese Communist Party described the phenomena this way,

"To preserve their reactionary force and exploit and oppress the people, the imperialist countries and the various classes, strata, cliques and factions are bound to collude... but as determined by their class nature, they are bound to have many contradictions and contentions. That these are an objective reality means that they are independent of the subjective wishes of any reactionary." (Peking Review, No. 35, 8/27/71, p.12)

It is contradictions such as these as well as contradictions between many of the progressive petty bourgeois nationalists of the third world countries and imperialism which created the conditions for the Bandung phenomenon. The purists wish to overlook this and to overlook the possibilities of winning over some of these forces and of utilizing their contradictions with the two super-powers.

Comrade Mao Tsetung, in his writings on "Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism," pointed out the necessity of utilizing all of these battles between the reactionaries and the weaknesses which develop within their domain.

"...turn to good account all such fights, rifts and contradictions in the enemy camp and turn them against our pre-

sent enemy." (Mao Tsetung, SW, Vol.1)

To negate the role of the small and medium-sized countries at this time in history is to isolate the working class from its most valuable ally.

Today the third world countries are uniting on a greater scale and are playing an ever greater role in international affairs. Led by the heroic peoples of Vietnam and other Indochinese countries, the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America are dealing the imperialists some telling blows.

In the past period we have witnessed the attempts of the imperialists to keep People's China out of the United Nations smashed. Steps have been taken to end U.S. domination in Korea and for the re-unification of north and south Korea.

In the Middle East, the expansionism of Soviet Social-imperialism has been dealt a telling blow by the Egyptian government, which expelled thousands of Soviet military advisors from Egyptian soil. This was done in response to Soviet attempts to harness the Arab peoples' struggle against Zionism and for Palestinian liberation.

The people of Latin America have risen up in a sharp battle to end imperialist plunder of their fishing rights and to restore the 200-mile limit on their fishing sea rights. The Chilean people's movement against foreign domination has grown and made some significant advances, increasing the determination of the people to carry the struggle through to the end. There is no lull of this movement in sight.

The whole continent of Africa is shaking with revolutionary struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, and racial discrimination. In short, the third world countries are a scene of great turmoil and upheaval.

Today it has become the duty of the working class and the revolutionary forces within the U.S. to support every move, no matter how small it may be, on the part of the third world countries, to break away from imperialist domination. We must demonstrate proletarian internationalism and firm up the unity between the working class and the oppressed peoples and nations.

Those who refuse to combat the expansionist drives of their own government because the governments in these oppressed countries are not revolutionary enough or not socialist, will in the final analysis only be aiding those expansionist drives. The great teacher V.I. Lenin waged a furious struggle against this type of purism. Writing on the national question he said,

New Orleans

Spontaneous Upsurge And Police Terror

On January 7th and 8th in the city of New Orleans, most of the downtown business section was paralyzed as a sniper did battle with 600 New Orleans policemen. Seven persons were killed. Of those killed three were policemen. Several of the injured were also policemen.

Many of the Negro people in New Orleans and throughout the U.S.N.A. feel a deep sympathy for Mark Essex for they feel he returned to the police some of the violence that has been perpetrated against the Negro people. A look at recent events in Louisiana can explain this. Last November, two unarmed students at Southern University, Baton Rouge were cold bloodedly murdered by police. A year before that Baton Rouge police murdered two demonstrators who they have accused of murder. In 1970 the New Orleans police opened up an orgy of gun fire in the Desire project in New Orleans wounding many innocent people in their attack on a Panther Party office. In 1971 they again moved on the Desire community sending hundreds of police, armed to the teeth, to "evict" the NCCF (National Committee to Combat Fascism) from a building there. The strike back of Mark Essex is seen by many as a strike back at the vicious repression of the Negro people.

(cont. on p. 11)

"To imagine that social revolution is conceivable without revolts by the small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without revolutionary outbursts by a section of the petty bourgeoisie with all its prejudices, without a movement of the politically non-conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against oppression by the landowners, the church and the monarchy, against national oppression, etc...to imagine all this is to repudiate social revolution!...Whoever expects a 'pure' social revolution will never live to see it. Such a person pays lip service to revolution without understanding what revolution is." ("The Discussion of Self-determination Summed up" Selection from V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin on the National and Colonial Question, Calcutta Book House p.44)

The unity of the third world struggle for freedom and independence with the working class movement in the capitalist countries is growing stronger. The long reign of the imperialists and reactionaries the world over is drawing to an end. As Comrade Mao Tsetung said, "REVOLUTION IS THE MAIN TREND IN THE WORLD TODAY!"

MLK

(cont. from p. 5)

"Thus the October Revolution, having put an end to the old, bourgeois movement for national emancipation, inaugurated the era of a new, socialist movement of the workers and peasants of the oppressed nationalities, directed against all oppression, which also means national oppression, against the rule of the bourgeoisie, their 'own' and foreign, and against imperialism in general."

Though history has proven that the bourgeoisie can no longer lead the revolutionary movement, the revisionist CPUSA, spokesmen for the bourgeoisie, continues to push a line of "unity" among all classes to defeat the "will of racism". (See Negro Liberation A Goal For All Americans, by H.M. Winston, G. Hall, C. Lightfoot and W.L. Patterson, New Currents Publishers, 1964, p. 49) This analysis is the same line the late President Lyndon Johnson put forward in his "War on Poverty". We can see from the vast sums of money spent on this attempt to give the Negro people (mainly the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois elements) "a piece of the action" that the revolutionary upsurge of the Negro proletariat was temporarily cooled down. Herein lies one of the principle class struggles within the National Liberation Movement in particular and within the revolutionary working class movement as a whole: who will lead? It is clear that the bourgeoisie will not complete the revolutionary movement; they will cripple it and distort it in order to make it acceptable to the needs of imperialism.

As communists, we must oppose this opportunist, bourgeois position with the position put forward by Marx and Engels in the Communist Manifesto:

"The communists are distinguished from other working class parties by this only: 1. In the National struggles of the proletarians of different countries they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole." (Foreign Languages Pub. House, Peking, 1971, p. 47) It is the duty of revolutionaries and communists everywhere to clearly explain the basic issues and events of history to the masses in a dialectical way and thus give consciousness to the spontaneous upsurge of the working class.

In the National liberation struggle of the Negro people, the proletariat must and will lead the struggle through to the end; but can do so only if we build an independent Multi-

Detroit

Police "Search and Destroy"

As markets continue to shrink, the USNA imperialists must institute fascism on their own working class in order to further their wars of aggression abroad and continue bringing in super profits. The war industry is the most profitable industry for the imperialists as it requires almost every type of commodity. These commodities in turn are continually destroyed, thus, creating the need for new commodities.

The imperialists cause fascism to come to power as an attack against bourgeois democracy. Fascism will try to appeal to what is most "glorious" in the history of the USNA. But, as Georgi Dimitroff defined fascism, it is the "open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital" (1) on the working class. In the USNA it will strike first at the Negro national minority and other national minority sections of the Anglo-American working class. Fascism will begin to appear as an anti-Negro peoples movement reminiscent of the days of slavery and the conquering of the west when "the white people had it good" and fighting and shooting were the order of the day. It will say that Negroes are the cause of the oppression and exploitation of the Anglo-American working class.

The signs of this movement are already appearing. All over the country the police forces of various cities are attacking "crime in the streets" by forming special units to perpetrate more and more violence and terror to keep the working class in line.

On December 4, 1972 a shooting incident occurred involving a detachment of the Detroit Police Department called S.T.R.E.S.S. (Stop The Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets) and three Negro national minority men. The STRESS agents were wounded in the incident, but the three men, Mark Bethune, Hayward Brown and John Boyd, who are accused of shooting them, escaped. It was because of this escape that the working community in Detroit has been under a reign of terror at the hands of the fascist police. Reported acts of terrorism began to grow in number from the working com-

national Marxist Leninist communist party to link the struggle for the independence of the Negro Nation with the over-all struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism.

BUILD A MULTI-NATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY!

INDEPENDENCE FOR THE NEGRO NATION!

munities in general and the Negro national minority working communities in particular.

On December 26, another shooting occurred, again involving the STRESS unit and (supposedly) the same three Negro national minority men. For the police this was the straw that broke the camel's back. Since that time, the police in conjunction with the FBI have been involved in a nationwide search for the three, and are conducting one of the most vicious search and destroy crackdowns in the history of the city of Detroit.

The wrath of the masses in Detroit has been aroused over the rising development of these fascist assaults. In response the bourgeoisie has attempted to use social democracy to "cool" them off. The parliamentary procedures went into effect January 11, 1973 at the Detroit City Council Board Meeting. The purpose of this particular hearing was to "vent steam and ease tensions in the Black community where numerous and frequent acts of police terror had been allegedly executed." (quoted directly from council agenda) The council meeting had more than fifty victims of police atrocities scheduled to speak. A female worker whose home was invaded December 18 by a mob of policemen reported that "she was then forced to disrobe at gunpoint." (2) A group of young men and women testified that they were harassed by invading policemen into separate parts of the house, and the women occupants were made to go, one by one, into the bathroom where they too were forced to disrobe, and be searched. (3) The vivid accounts of beatings, whippings and harassments went on for nearly seven hours, and the family that perhaps suffered the deepest loss had no representative there. On December 8, a sixty year old Negro national minority worker had been shot down and killed by policemen who invaded his home on a "hunch" that one of the three men was there hiding.

These are just a few of the incidents that have occurred in this reign of terror, but they must not be looked at as just a few "isolated" assaults! These attacks are only fragmented reflections of the fascism that has been instituted in the colonies. The January 17, 1973 issue of the Detroit News reports, "Military sources said the full American air armada of nearly 1,000 B-52 bombers based in Guam and Thailand and jet fighter bombers based in Thailand and on carriers in the surrounding waters would be maintained at full strength for the foreseeable future." As of October

(cont. on p. 10)

Statement of CPP (Part II)

The Fabrication of the "State of National Emergency"

An actual state of martial law has long existed in many parts of the country, especially in Central Luzon, Northern Luzon, Southern Luzon and Mindanao, even before the formal declaration of martial law covering the entire country. The fascist minions of the U.S.-Marcos clique under the black banners of military task forces have long operated as the supreme wielders of political authority, abusing and black-mailing the people; robbing and extorting from them; rounding them up and incarcerating them indefinitely on false charges; barging into homes and even burning them; committing kidnappings, murder and massacres; and raping the women-folk with impunity.

These are the concrete manifestations, especially in the countryside, of the trend of militarization and fascism so well condemned by the people throughout the land. These are the bitter results of the more than fivefold increase of the official military budget from 1966 to 1972; the system of conspiracy between the commander-in-chief and his favorites in the reactionary armed forces; the rapid increase of troops and equipment; the fielding of so many "task forces" and "paramilitary units" (BSDUs and "Monkees"); the vicious employment of the Anti-Subversion Law; the intensification of fascist training in "home defense" centers; the militarist intrusion into civilian offices and functions either under the signboard of "civic action" or "accommodation of retirees from the military service"; the secret but widespread issuance of military rank to civilian officials; the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus; the unremitting "psy-war" campaigns for the acceptance of martial law; the adoption of "contingency plans"; committing crimes of bloody intrigue for the purpose of pitting one group against another; and so many others.

The real situation in certain parts of the country is now being turned into a nationwide situation through the formal declaration of martial law. The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is bent on committing all kinds of fascist crimes against the broad masses of the people in order to suppress their clamor for national freedom and democracy, province by province and island by island. The fascist dictatorship has the illusion that it can freely do so as long as it has the absolute power over the entire reactionary government and monopoly of the legal channels of communications such as those centered in the Manila Rizal region and other urban areas. Thus, aside from trying to

hunt down the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army, it has to terrorize the democratic mass organizations, the mass media, the Liberal Party, sections of the Nacionalista Party, sections of the constitutional convention and all patriotic and democratic personages. This is to serve notice to all who can disseminate information and opinions widely to keep silent about fascist crimes that are aimed at protecting the interests of U.S. imperialism and at the same time perpetuating the Marcos puppet gang in power. To achieve its vile scheme, the U.S.-Marcos clique has had to resort to a number of tricks resting mainly on the myth of "urban terrorism". A series of a few bombings is made in the urban areas, blamed on communists and all other democratic forces, turned into an argument for "contingency plans" and, presto, there is a "state of national emergency" which is used as a pretext for doing away with all channels of mass communications except those of the commander-in-chief and his dictatorship.

The dry run for the big trick that is the current "state of national emergency" was the Plaza Miranda massacre on August 21, 1971 and the subsequent suspension of the writ of habeas corpus until January of this year. In the massacre caused by two grenades, nine were killed and more than a hundred people were seriously wounded including almost all the top leaders of the Liberal Party. Within two hours after the incident, the U.S.-Marcos clique was already on radio blaming the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and democratic mass organizations for the dastardly crime. Then, less than three hours after the massacre, the U.S.-Marcos clique issued only to the reactionary armed forces and without public knowledge until August 23, the presidential proclamation suspending the writ of habeas corpus and ordering the mass arrest of prominent democratic personages and activists of democratic mass organizations. Immediately after the massacre, there also followed a series of nine petty bombings which had no other motive but to buttress the false public claims of the U.S.-Marcos clique and which could have been committed in certain well-guarded places, like the Manila City Hall and the residence of Rep. Cojuanges, only by a conspiracy in which Marcos himself was involved.

What gave away the bloody hands of the U.S.-Marcos clique with regard to the Plaza Miranda massacre was that Marcos and his lieutenant Enrile readily blamed so many people, including a college president and a prominent radio commentator, and entire mass organizations for a crime which was

essentially a conspiracy and, therefore, could have involved only a handful of persons in both planning and execution. The broad masses of the people and the survivors of the massacre themselves pointed the finger of blame on the U.S.-Marcos clique, which had been responsible for so many previous massacres. The false accusations of the U.S.-Marcos clique became even more ludicrous and incredible when the leaders of the Liberal Party were finally accused of trying to kill themselves in order to get public sympathy and win the 1971 elections. The suspension of the writ of habeas corpus was "lifted" only after the U.S.-Marcos clique appeared satisfied with something like the Supreme Court decision acclaiming the presidential privilege to suspend the writ, giving credence to a piece of fabrication like the "July-August Plan" and above all noting the existence of a state of rebellion and likewise of a declaration of war from the Communist Party of the Philippines. Then, in a complete turnabout from its previous propaganda of anti-communist lies, the U.S.-Marcos clique charged in court for the Plaza Miranda massacre not some communists but some living-out prisoners of the national penitentiary, which is run by a trusted agent of the U.S.-Marcos clique.

The fascist tricks of the U.S.-Marcos clique did not end with the Plaza Miranda massacre, however. The clique merely took a breather for a few months from its November, 1971 electoral defeat. Soon came another series of petty bombings in the Manila-Rizal region, a total of 16 minor detonations (from March 15 to September 18, 1972) most of which caused only some petty damage on some government and privately owned buildings and three of which were the most serious, causing one death and injuries to more than twenty people. In addition, there were "discoveries" of bombs at Congress and the Department of Foreign Affairs on July 18 and August 30, respectively; and two patently fake casualtyless ambushes, one supposedly on a Metrocom car on August 19, and another on Defense Secretary Enrile himself on September 21. Most of the bombings and other incidents were made during the months of August and September, 1972 immediately prior to Proclamation No. 1081.

It was during the months of August and September, when 13 of the above cited incidents were made, that the U.S.-Marcos clique took the posture of raving mad about "urban terrorism" and "urban guerrilla warfare". Within seconds after every incident, Marcos and his fascist minions would rail against the Communist Party of the Philippines, the New People's Army and democratic mass organizations and threaten to adopt some "contingency plans".

(cont. on p. 10)

Detroit

(cont. from p. 8)

7, 1972 the 1973 World Almanac reported 1,064,575 Vietnamese killed since January 1, 1961, with 82% of these casualties labeled "enemy deaths." These figures are probably lower than what has actually occurred, but they do reflect the brutality of the USNA imperialist fangs. In form these acts of aggression may appear different, but in content they are exactly like the attacks on the workers of Detroit.

But, "wherever there is oppression, there is resistance." Like the heroic peoples of Vietnam, the masses in Detroit have vowed not to tolerate any more assaults. Spontaneous as it is, the aroused social consciousness of the masses has moved nearly every type of liberal institution to support the "Stress Must Cease" campaign. The fervor of the people is at the boiling point.

As a result, the bourgeoisie has mustered every trick and has scraped the bottom of the social democracy barrel to desperately try to calm the people down. The state first said that the City Council Board hearing would 'clean up the situation'; now the lapdog community misleaders are screaming for an F.B.I. investigation! One of the members of the council is a minister who 'assured us of his firm support,' and in the community, the Negro national minority contingent of police have 'assured the masses their firm support, if the men would only surrender.' It is clear that if the pacification of parliamentary meetings does not work, next comes the "brother or the sister" to use neo-pacification and soothe the savage 'beasts'. If the good and pious minister does not work, next comes the "cop who can relate to the people!"

The imperialists are being assisted in this campaign by their chief lackies, the CPUSA, who tell the masses, "But of greatest significance is that the monopoly drive has placed the need for a coalition of the anti-monopoly forces at the top of the list of political priorities." (4) Disguised as city council women and drunken state representatives, they are in firm support of the "STRESS Must Cease" campaign. But is the united front alone going to halt the rise of developing fascism? Obviously not.

Comrades, the social democracy of the bourgeoisie is growing thin, as is his patience. Is fascism coming? Yes!! Is it inevitable? No!! Dimitroff warns us that, "Whoever does not fight the reactionary measures of the bourgeoisie and the growth of fascism at these preparatory stages is not in a position to prevent the victory of fascism, but, on the contrary facilitates that victory." (5) And most importantly, he clear-

ly points out that one of the factors in the victory over fascism "depends on the existence of a strong revolutionary party, correctly leading the struggle of the toilers..." (6)

We must build an independent multi-national Communist Party to lead a united front against fascism. We must unite the class around Marxism-Leninism and mold it into an army which will first theoretically, politically and ideologically destroy the CPUSA; and then strike the death blow at the heart of imperialist oppression and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat with the spirit and courage of the millions who died before us. "Thousands upon thousands of martyrs have heroically laid down their lives for the people; let us hold their banner high and march ahead along the path crimson with their blood!"

(7)

SMASH THE BOURGEOIS STATE
AND ITS FASCIST POLICE FORCE!

BUILD AN INDEPENDENT MULTI-
NATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY!

(1) Dimitroff, Georgi, United Front Against Fascism, New Century Publishers, New York, 1950, p. 7.

(2) Michigan Chronicle, Dec. 23, 1972, p. 1.

(3) ibid., p. 4.

(4) Hall, Gus, Capitalism on the Skids to Oblivion, New Outlook Publishers, New York, April, 1972, p. 45.

(5) Dimitroff, op. cit., p. 9.

(6) ibid., p. 22.

(7) Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, F.L.P., Peking, 1967, p. 182.

C.P.P.

(cont. from p. 9)

Everyday the front pages of the Manila newspapers would scream and the radio would blare with the quick allegations of the U.S.-Marcos clique. During this period, the Communist Party of the Philippines issued through Ang Bayan two statements refuting the false accusations of the fascist clique; some quotations from these statements found their way into Manila newspapers. As during the white terror that followed the Plaza Miranda massacre, the Party reaffirmed its adherence to the theory of people's war and the strategic line of encircling the cities from the countryside and strongly condemned terrorist acts where the most likely victims are the people and likewise the stupid "psy-war" campaign unleashed by the enemy to cause a mammoth-sized hysteria from a few petty incidents.

A few of the bombings before June, 1972 had been claimed by the Lava revisionist

renegades in their anti-communist publications as their own doing. And in three bombings, where there were casualties, evidence clearly pointed to the U.S.-Marcos clique as the mastermind and culprit. A P.C. sergeant belonging to the P.C. firearms and explosive unit was actually caught by the Manila Metropolitan Police and confessed to being on a "special mission" in connection with the most serious bombing, that at Joe's Department Store on September 5. Two A.F.P. plainclothesmen taking a ride in a jeep marked "for official use only" were seen by eyewitnesses in connection with the bombing at the Manila City Hall on September 8. Three P.C. men in uniform were also seen in the process of bomb emplacement and getaway in a P.C. truck by three delegates of the constitutional convention in connection with the bombing at the Quezon City Hall on September 18.

Despite all evidences and clues gathered, the U.S.-Marcos clique did not only continue to insist on its false evidence pointing to its own criminal responsibility. For instance, it took the aforementioned P.C. sergeant of the P.C. firearms and explosives unit into custody so as to spare him from thorough-going investigation by the Manila Metropolitan Police. The maneuvers of the clique were so crudely evident that eventually the leaders of the Liberal Party and journalists of the Manila newspapers stood up to raise questions of doubt and also to denounce certain actuations of the powers that be. Then came the public exposure of "Operation Sagittarius" which unmasked the plans of the U.S.-Marcos clique to declare martial law under the guise of taking "contingency plans" to follow-up the terrorist incidents made by the clique itself. This operational plan had been leaked out to a member of the Senate by a top-ranking military officer. It was at this point, covering a period of about two weeks prior to Proclamation No. 1081, that the U.S.-Marcos clique intensified its efforts to terrorize all its critics by telling them outright that they could be kidnapped or assassinated under the pretext that the kidnapers and assassins were the New People's Army.

As if it could deceive the people by a mere repetition of lies, Proclamation No. 1081 continues to treat the incidents, which were mostly bombings in urban areas, as the key factor in declaring a "state of national emergency". On the other hand, this proclamation has completely unmasked the U.S.-Marcos clique as a totally fascist criminal gang and a bunch of incorrigible liars. How many times did these scoundrels deny scheming to impose martial law? There is not only martial law now but also a full-blown fascist dictatorship to boot. The flimsy basis for what is now called a "state of national

(cont. on p. 11)

New Orleans

(cont. from p. 7)

During the incident there were many different stories coming out about the number of snipers involved, that it was part of a conspiracy of terroristic activity against cops, etc., all of which made big headlines. But it was only afterwards that we found out that Mark Essex lay dead for 17 hours while the police were shooting and killing themselves and others.

Mark Essex was said by his sister to have done it because he was a revolutionary, because he wanted a revolution. This incident, along with others speaks to the rising militancy and resistance of the Negro people in the Negro Nation in response to the upsurge in the fascist terror being waged against them. But at the same time we must see that the imperialists are using this incident, this individual and terroristic act of resistance, to further their enslavement of the Negro Nation, to push their fascist ideology of white chauvinism and increase their fascist terror against the Negro people.

We can see this in some of the immediate results of the New Orleans shootings. In the demand for the reinstatement of the death penalty, in the investigation of local revolutionary or nationalist organizations, such as the Black Panther Party, the Republic of New Africa, the Black Muslims, SDS and others and in the pushing of the 'theory' of a national black conspiracy. One reporter for the New Orleans Time Picayune in an article entitled "Violence: Conspiratorial Pattern" went so far as to link this incident with several local fires

some of which occurred as long as a year and a half ago.

This incident is in effect being used to divide, to polarize the different sections of the working class. In the Negro Nation where the white chauvinist ideology of the ruling class is already deeply entrenched, it is being used by the imperialists to push this white chauvinism even more, to unite "white people as white people" against "blacks." We saw that this was also true in the recent De Mau Mau case in Chicago. The imperialists are trying to stir up white chauvinist hatred and resentment all to the detriment of the unity of the working class.

As Marxist-Leninists, however, we do not condemn the use of terror or any form of struggle as a tactic, if necessary. Lenin explains, "In the first place, Marxism differs from all primitive forms of socialism by the fact that it does not bind the movement to any one particular form of struggle. It admits the most varied forms of struggle; and it does not "concoct" them, but only generalizes, organizes, gives conscious expression to those forms of the revolutionary classes which arise of themselves in the course of the movement." (1)

But the terroristic act of Mark Essex was an isolated movement of one individual against the oppression and exploitation of imperialism. As Stalin points out, "Clearly, movement assumes different forms. And so the dialectical method says that movement has two forms: the evolutionary and the revolutionary form. Movement is evolutionary when the progressive elements spontaneously continue their daily activities

and introduce minor, quantitative changes into the old order. Movement is revolutionary when the same elements combine, become imbued with a single idea, and sweep down upon the enemy camp with the object of uprooting the old order and of introducing qualitative changes in life, of establishing a new order. Evolution prepares for revolution and creates the ground for it; revolution consummates the process of evolution and facilitates its further activity." (2)

The revolutionary fervor of Mark Essex's armed resistance was denied as it was a single isolated act against the state. The many unorganized acts of resistance that occur everyday become almost futile as they only bring about small quantitative changes in the existing social order. They invite the counter attack of the ruling class and do not prepare the working class to defend itself. The imperialists are using acts such as that of Mark Essex to incite fear into the minds of the masses and further consolidate their fascist base.

As communists we must build an independent multi-national Communist Party to bring Marxism-Leninism to the masses and unite these separate heroic acts into a single force of resistance to oppression and tyranny. Evolution will become revolution, bringing in a new social order: the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat to build socialism and communism.

- 1) Lenin, Marx Engels Marxism, "Partisan Warfare," FLPH, Moscow, 1946, p. 194.
- 2) Stalin, Anarchism or Socialism?, FLPH, Moscow, p. 17.

C.P.P.

(cont. from p. 10)

emergency" or "an actual state of war" is a series of twenty relatively minor incidents which, as now confirmed by the very promulgation of Proclamation No. 1081, has all along been the calculated doing of the U.S.-Marcos clique to fabricate grounds for a fascist dictatorship all over the country.

The basis for the "state of national emergency" becomes even more flimsy and ludicrous when a textual examination is made of the "Regional Program of Action 1972", previously referred to variably as the "Tarinsing Papers", the "July-August Plan" or "September-October Plan" by the U.S.-Marcos clique. It is incorporated in Proclamation No. 1081; now it can be publicly checked and scrutinized. This "regional program of action" is completely a piece of deception, a fabrication pure and simple. It is supposed to be a regional program of action and yet its scope is national and the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philip-

pinis is spuriously tacked on it. It was supposed to have been captured by Task Force "Saranay" in Barrio Tarinsing, Cordon, Isabela on June 18, 1972 and it lists down a number of specific bombing targets for September and October 1972 in the Manila-Rizal region. Despite the supposed advantage of being forewarned by several months, the reactionary armed forces did not thwart the bombing of the listed targets or capture any bomber. Then, consider how the "regional plan" is conceived, put into outline and written according to outline. It is completely childish. To write an instruction like "Create regional chaos and disorder..." is utterly counterrevolutionary and outside of revolutionary thinking and style. This is Marcosian gibberish, a sloppy attempt at forgery.

Before Proclamation No. 1081, there could not have been any "actual state of war" in the Manila-Rizal region. On the very day that Marcos was supposed to have signed this proclamation in utmost secrecy, people's marches from several assembly points in the Manila-

Rizal region and a massive rally of several tens of thousands of people at Plaza Miranda were peacefully conducted under the auspices of the Movement of Concerned Citizens for Civil Liberties and with the participation of more than sixty democratic mass organizations. In the entire stretch of the day, the factories, offices, schools and business shops were in normal operation. Congress, the courts, various government offices, the constitutional convention, the restaurants, coffeeshops and nightclubs were also in normal operation. The "actual state of war" in the Manila-Rizal region was nothing more than the fantasy of the madman Marcos, otherwise, notoriously known as the mad bomber.

The wide-ranging "whereases" of Proclamation No. 1081 contradict each other and serve merely to show how much of a fumbling liar the dictator Marcos is. He makes one claim that the strength of the New People's Army has rapidly increased, but also makes the opposite claim that it has suffered a disastrously increasing

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number of casualties and therefore, an increasing loss of arms, from year to year. Besides he deflates the number of military actions launched against and the number of casualties inflicted on the reactionary armed forces by the New People's Army in the countryside. He makes one claim that the number of regular Red fighters has increased from 560 as of January 1, 1972 to 1,028 regular fighters as of July 31, 1972, but he also makes the opposite claim that the New People's Army got 3,500 M-14 rifles from the Karagatan during the month of July. Possession of 3,500 M-14 rifles should mean a great deal more of regular troop increase for the people's army. He makes one claim that some 3,000 high school and college students have dropped out to join fighting units of the New People's Army, but makes the opposite claim that the same people's army has only 1,028 regular fighters and 1,500 combat support. The truth is that at least ninety per cent of the regular mobile and guerrilla units of the people's army are peasants; this makes Marcos' claim regarding school dropouts an outright lie even as his own figures fail to tally with each other. Finally, it may be asked, why is it that Marcos is terrified by what he claims is a little over 1,000 Red fighters while at the same time he never fails to brag about the everbearing strength of his military personnel of 65,000? Has he not always been prating that he is "on top of the situation"?

Although in its very first "thereas" it makes the attempt to show that only the Communist Party is the "conspiracy" out to overthrow the present reactionary state, Proclamation No. 1081, together with its corresponding general orders and letters of instruction, ends up accusing a wide range of people of being in one and the same "conspiracy" that is supposed to be responsible for a "reign of terror" and "wanton acts of destruction on life and property" in both the rural and urban areas. The dictator Marcos arbitrarily changes the meaning of terms. Obviously, he has already extended his dictatorial power into the realm of the lexicon. Normally, conspiracy is defined as the act of a handful of persons secretly plotting to commit a crime according to a single plan. In the novel meaning now given by the dictator to the term, it is supposed to be the open and mass activity of the most diverse organizations and individuals acting "consciously" and "unconsciously" to oppose such a real conspiracy as that one which has brought about the present fascist dictatorship.

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship actually insists that the Communist Party of the Philippines is in "conspiracy" with the Lava revisionist renegades

and crime syndicates. This is a vicious slander on the Party. But the fascist dictatorship unwittingly exposes its hopeless isolation by linking in word and deed the Communist Party of the Philippines with the democratic mass organizations (of workers, peasants, youth and others), the mass media, the Liberal Party, certain sections of the Nacionalista Party, certain members of the constitutional convention, the poor settlers, the national minorities and the Mindanao Independence Movement. It is utterly silly, however, for the fascist dictatorship to accuse the Communist Party, together with these, of crimes against the people. If that were the case, there would be no more need for the "extraordinary measures" of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, for it would be us who would be isolated and not this despicable dictatorship.

Proclamation No. 1081 takes great stock in citing a decision of the Supreme Court (on the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus last year) stating that there has been a state of rebellion since several decades ago and that the program of the Communist Party of the Philippines amounts to a declaration of war. On the basis of this citation, the U.S.-Marcos clique claims to have the right to declare martial law under any condition and anytime it pleases. It further argues that it has already resorted to the use of military task forces and subsequently the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus but that it has failed each time to suppress the armed revolutionary movement which has always succeeded in becoming even stronger despite these measures. So, it concludes that it has to declare martial law. It further concludes that it is entirely up to the president in his capacity as commander-in-chief of the armed forces to make anything out of martial law since the term "martial law" is supposedly not qualified in Article VII, Section 10, Paragraph 2 of the reactionary constitution. Thus, the commander-in-chief has finally decided to install himself as a fascist dictator under the cover of an "unlimited form of martial law".

The term "martial law" appears in the context of a constitutional provision, which refers to certain other factors and elements and which even refers to degrees and alternatives. It is not true that the term is absolutely not qualified and that it can be interpreted by the president in any way he wants. The term "place under martial law" implies merely execution or implementation of a national policy determined and declared by Congress. The provision carrying the term appears in the context of the entire constitution which also carries Article VI, Section 26. In times of war or other national emergency, it is Congress that is vested with the authority

to decide the national policy and that authorizes by law the president, for a limited period of time and subject to such restrictions as it may prescribe, to promulgate rules and regulations to carry out a declared national policy.

Notwithstanding the existence of a state of rebellion, the formal declaration of martial law was never resorted to in the Philippines or any part thereof in the time prior to the present by Marcos' predecessors and Marcos himself. Yet the reasons given now by Marcos for the formal declaration of martial law have not only been in fact too blatantly contrived but have also been extremely questionable even among the reactionaries. The broad masses of the people easily see through the legal pretenses of the dictator Marcos. These are extremely flimsy embellishments on the few terrorist incidents plotted to bring about a "state of national emergency", the fabrication on which rests the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship.

To be continued.

Deportations On Rise

On Sunday evening, January 7, 1973, three young Mexican national minority workers were killed on California's Interstate 5 freeway between San Diego and Los Angeles. The "official" reports from the bourgeois press described the three as "illegal aliens" who were killed "when they jumped from cars being stopped at the San Onofre check station and ran into traffic." (1) Two of the three victims were young women (ages 15 and 18), the third was a 20 year old man. These "official" reports further state that on the same evening 428 "illegal aliens" were taken into custody at the San Onofre check station and on the near-by Marine Corps base. The reason given for the "unusually" large number of "illegal aliens" apprehended was that the "alien smugglers" expected to find the check station closed on Sunday evenings so they did not take their "usual precautions."

Now let us analyze what really happened. First of all we know that the check station is open sometimes and other times it is closed. Although the bourgeois press tries to cover up the reasons behind this phenomenon by saying, for example, that it "was due to holiday traffic," we know that the real reasons are economic. Whenever the United States of North America capitalist class needs Mexican workers to work in their factories the borders are opened for these workers to enter the country, but when they are no longer needed these same workers are deported or otherwise expelled, or else not allowed to enter the country.

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Deportations

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Let us now look in particular at the events of the evening of Jan. 7. Did these workers "jump" from the cars as the bourgeois press would have us believe or were they pushed out by the "alien smuggler"? Mexican workers on both sides of the "border" know the "alien smuggler" for the opportunist scum that he is. His role has been that of charging Mexican workers \$200 per person to bring them across the border. Due to the fact that the passengers have to remain hidden from sight of the USNA immigration officials and the border patrol, the "passengers" are locked in the trunks or hoods of cars, or in refrigerated trucks, etc. When the "alien smuggler" fears being caught, many times he will drive to a remote area off of the main road and leave the car or truck hidden from sight with the passengers locked up inside. Thus, he saves his own skin, but at the expense of the workers. It is easy to see that this scum works for the benefit of the bourgeoisie and himself and to the detriment of Mexican workers and all workers. To Mexican workers what happened Sunday night is nothing new. Mexican workers get killed every week while attempting to cross the border, but the bourgeois press never reports it. The workers know that the reports issued by the bourgeois press on the incident at San Onofre are lies to cover up the truth.

Further, the bourgeois press tries to cover up the reasons why sometimes the borders are open and sometimes they are closed. The following table illustrates that the migration of Mexican workers to the USNA is directly related to the ups and downs (the "booms" and "crises") of the USNA economy and, thus, to the desire of the USNA agriculturalists and industrialists to attract Mexican labor.

NUMBER OF MEXICAN IMMIGRANTS COMPARED WITH ALL IMMIGRANTS, FIVE YEAR PERIODS, 1900-1961

Period	Mexican	Total	Mexican as % of Total
1900-1904	2,259	3,274,120	.07
1905-1909	24,732	4,847,250	.44
1910-1914	82,356	5,174,701	1.60
1915-1919	91,745	1,172,670	7.77
1920-1924	249,213	2,740,000	9.09
1925-1929	253,527	1,520,000	16.68
1930-1934	19,200	420,000	4.57
1935-1939	67,737	272,412	24.86
1940-1944	10,743	204,000	5.26
1945-1949	97,712	333,000	29.34
1950-1954	79,723	1,212,000	6.58
1955-1959	214,743	1,192,000	18.02
1960-1961	217,707	1,192,000	18.26

Source: Annual Reports of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C., 1961, p. 100.

Little is recorded of the more than 100,000 "Spanish-surname" people who inhabited the area which is now California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and Texas in 1850 when the USNA bourgeois class stole it from Mexico. Our data, therefore, begins in the early 1900's. Beginning in 1915 due to the growing industrial and agricultural business in the USNA, large

numbers of Mexican workers began to immigrate to the USNA. These migrations were a result of the large-scale recruitment practices of these capitalists. The USNA capitalists took advantage of the revolutionary situation in Mexico (i.e., the Mexican Revolution of 1910) with the resultant wage differential (difference in the higher wages paid in the USNA as compared to Mexico) and unemployment. However, these capitalists were not interested in merely acquiring a sufficient supply of labor, they wanted an overabundance of labor. Traditionally, the capitalist class has used this "reserve labor force" or "army of unemployed" to break workers' strikes, force wages down, and force speed up conditions. The attainment of this large "labor pool" enabled the capitalists to expand their industries as their markets expanded. One of the ways in which the USNA capitalists expanded their markets was World War I. This war was actually a war between rival capitalists to re-distribute the wealth of the world (i.e., everybody wanted a bigger piece of the pie). In the USNA the expansion of the defense industry and the drafting of USNA citizens created a serious labor shortage - a labor shortage which was replenished by Mexican labor. "During World War I, at the request of U.S. industrialists, the provisions of the recently enacted immigration laws relating to the head tax, contract labor laws, and literacy requirements were waived for Mexican laborers by the Commissioner-General of Immigration with the approval of the Secretary of Labor and under the authority of Section 3 of the Ninth Proviso of the Immigration Act of 1917." (2)

Following World War I the USNA entered a period of "prosperity." This was a period in which industry was experiencing a phenomenal growth and in which the USNA agricultural industry was virtually "feeding the whole world." This period of prosperity, however, did not last for long. The "Great Depression of the 1930's" is an example of what Marx calls the "periodic crises of capitalism." Joseph Stalin gives a clear explanation of this phenomenon in Dialectical and Historical Materialism. "These irreconcilable contradictions between the character of the productive forces and the relations of production make themselves felt in periodical crises of overproduction, when the capitalists, finding no effective demand for their goods owing to the ruin of the mass of the population which they themselves have brought about, are compelled to burn products, destroy manufactured goods, suspend production, and destroy productive forces at a time when millions of people are forced to suffer unemployment and starvation, not because there are not enough goods, but because there is

an overproduction of goods." (3)

As is to be expected, since the USNA unemployment rate was tremendously high during the 1930's the capitalists had no need for Mexican labor and, thus, Mexican laborers were deported by the thousands. Here again we see a classic example of how the state under capitalism is a tool of the capitalists. When the capitalists needed "cheap labor" the state passed laws to allow Mexican workers to enter the country, when labor was no longer needed the state of the USNA passed the Deportation Act of March 4, 1929 and the May 4, 1929 law to deport these same workers.

World War II again brought "prosperity" to the USNA. The defense industry was expanded and, again, due to the drafting of USNA citizens Mexican labor was needed. Here we see the state of the USNA and the state of Mexico colluding for the benefit of the capitalists and to the detriment of the working class. The Bracero Agreement of 1942, which was agreed upon by these two governments, insured the influx of Mexican laborers into the USNA.

Following the end of World War II thousands of soldiers returned to the USNA. Faced with a growing unemployment crisis the USNA capitalists launched a terrorist campaign to deport or drive Mexican workers out of the country. One tactic used was to have police provocateurs start "riots" or "gang wars" in Mexican national minority communities so as to have an excuse to deport Mexicans (e.g., the Los Angeles "Zoot-suit race riots" of 1943). Again thousands of Mexicans were deported or otherwise sent back to Mexico.

The period between 1954 and the present is a period in which the capitalists again have needed Mexican "cheap" labor. It should be noted that although the Bracero Agreement was created as a war emergency measure, the capitalists consistently used it until 1964 (when it finally expired) to exploit Mexican labor. Armed with this agreement the capitalists could bring Mexican workers to the USNA when needed and send them back when not. The war provided a good excuse for the capitalists to further exploit Mexican workers. Today the USNA capitalist class is facing another crisis; growing unemployment, overproduction, returning veterans, liberation struggles in the colonies, etc. Thus, they are stepping up their fascist attacks on the working class. One of the methods which has proved to be an effective device for exploiting the working class is that of establishing USNA capitalist owned factories in Mexico. Recently, the USNA state and the Mexican state agreed to make the 12 mile zone immediately south of the USNA-MEXICO border a "free

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Deportations

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zone" for USNA capitalist expansion. In these factories the pay is 30¢ per hour. This pay rate is a lot more profitable for the capitalist than the usual minimum \$1.65 per hour (in California). (At the present there are approximately 400 of these factories in this area.) Thus, the capitalists want Mexican workers back in Mexico where they can get more super-profits out of them while at the same time alleviating the unemployment crisis somewhat. In addition, the USNA capitalist class uses these factories in Mexico as a threat against the Anglo-American working class as a whole (i.e., if the workers strike or complain about working conditions, etc., the capitalists threaten to move the entire factory to Mexico. So we see that the incident of Jan. 7, is an indication of the massive deportations which are taking place and will continue to take place.

And what has been the position of the revisionistic lapdogs of the USNA capitalists, the CPUSA? The CPUSA is for the deportation of "illegals." At a recent conference in Los Angeles the CPUSA came out in support of Cesar Chavez's pro-deportation line. Chavez (head of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee) "has come out with open calls for deportation of 'illegals' and support for the fascist Dixon Arnett Law, a law in California blaming unemployment on so-called 'illegals.'" (4) The UFWOC sees the "green card problem" as "the most important problem hampering the organization of American workers." (From the testimony of Jerry Cohen, legal counsel of UFWOC, in the 1968 Western Hemisphere Immigration Hearings). Using this excuse Chavez says that not only are the "green carders" hindering the organization of "American workers" in general, but most particularly, they are hindering the organization of farm workers. The facts, however, are that 90% of the Mexican national minority population lives in urban areas not in rural areas, and are in industry, not agriculture. The position of the CPUSA is an attempt to divide the working class by blaming one sector of the class (the Mexican national minority workers) for the problems created by capitalism (unemployment, low wages, etc.).

The role of Communists and workers in the USNA is to unite and fight the real enemy of the working class, the USNA imperialists and their running dogs, the CPUSA. We have seen that the bad condition which the Mexican national minority workers in the USNA are in is a direct result of the exploitation of Mexico by the USNA imperialists. Therefore, the question of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat must never

Indians Demand Justice

In Custer, South Dakota, a small town at the southern edge of the Black Hills National Forest, an Indian by the name of Wesley Bad Heart Bull was fatally stabbed to death. His murderer, Darld Schmitz, an Anglo-American, was given a token charge of second degree manslaughter and set free on \$5,000 bail. The Indian community rose up in a furor. During the first week of February over 200 Indians, led by the American Indian Movement demonstrated at the Custer County Courthouse demanding justice, demanding murder charges be filed against Schmitz.



Robert High Eagle, one of those protesting, witnessed the brutal stabbing murder of Wesley Bad Heart Bull and testified that the attack was deliberate. In court his testimony was thrown out because it did not "jibe" with that given by others, but in fact it was thrown out because Robert High Eagle is also an Indian.

The demonstrators were met head on by local police, highway patrolmen and sheriff's deputies, with a National Guard unit put on alert. This fascist police terror spread throughout the Indian Community and into other towns. As one sheriff said, "We're patrolling the streets right now to see what we've got left in the way of Indians." He said officers had been dispatched to nearby towns in an effort to find and arrest other protesters. Those who were arrested were charged with inciting a riot, obstructing justice, assaulting law officers and destroying government property. The injuring and rounding up of people off the streets and these fascist, white chauvinist attacks against the Indian community are the response to the demand for justice by the Indian People.

This policy of genocide and degradation towards the Indian people is part of the history of this country. These brutal acts of violence and others; the enslavement of the Negro people, the Mexican people and the Indian people, have all been "justified" and "proven" necessary in the history books of the capitalist class. In preparing for a fascist dictatorship, the capitalists must glorify these "good old days" in our history - the time of the "cowboys and Indians," the anti-bellum years, and all other brutal and white chauvinist aspects of the history of this country.

History will be re-written. The Indian question, the 400 year old struggle of the Indian people for "democratic" freedoms, can only be solved in the realm of the national question, the question of land, of territory. We in the CL do not at this time have a position paper on this important question and must start to gather the facts and begin the investigation and study to make our analysis on this aspect of the national question in the USNA. This, as a part of the resolution of the national question, is extremely important in the building of the unity and revolutionary potential of the Anglo-American working class.

FULL DEMOCRACY AND EQUALITY FOR THE INDIAN PEOPLES!

be separated from the question of the liberation of the colonies and the neo-colonies. "The victory of the proletariat cannot be a lasting one unless the non-sovereign nations and colonies are emancipated from the yoke of imperialism." (5)

STOP FASCIST ATTACKS ON MEXICAN WORKERS!!

REGIONAL AUTONOMY FOR THE SOUTHWEST!!

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD UNITE!!

- 1) San Diego Evening Tribune, January 9, 1973.
- 2) Samora, Julian, Los Mojados: The Wetback Story, Univ. of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, Indiana, 1971, p. 38.
- 3) Stalin, Joseph, Dialectical and Historical Materialism, Int. Pub., New York, 1969, pp. 37-38.
- 4) "CPUSA's Line Pro Deportation Laws," Peoples Tribune, Dec.-Jan. 1972-73, Vol. 4, No. 11, p. 15.
- 5) "Marxism and the National Colonial Question," Chapter 5 of Negro National Colonial Question, Communist League, 1972, p. 65.

REPLY

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uniting the revolutionaries of all nationalities, while our detractors were denying membership in their organizations to the Negro and Mexican national minority revolutionaries. (They were told to join La Raza Party or the Black Panthers.) But this ploy was old hat to us - the old chauvinist slogan of "Let's you and him fight." It was primarily due to the principled struggle of the Communist League that today the entire Left is compelled to speak in terms of a multi-national Party.

To be a member of the Communist League is to uphold the doctrine of Marx and Lenin. There is a difference between defending the doctrine and being a doctrinaire. Our adversaries are free to take their choice, for within Marxism there is no third alternative.

There have been such gross distortions concerning our position on the so called 'third world,' that we briefly restate our position.

What is the origin of the concept of the third world? Its origin lies exactly in the effort to separate the billions of slaves of imperialism from the path of socialist revolution. It is to that end that Sukarno, then President of Indonesia said,

"The British philosopher, Bertrand Russell, divides mankind at present into two groups, following two different philosophies. One group has faith in the Declaration of Independence of Thomas Jefferson, while the other group believes in the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx...

"I do not agree with Bertrand Russell when he said that humanity only consists of these two groups. There is a third group, which numbers more than a billion, maybe even more than one and a half billion people - namely, the people who live under the flags of nationalism in Asia and Africa." (2)

There is nothing new in 'third' alternatives. Each time the people are faced with two explicit choices, the dominant grouping attempts to maintain their domination by offering a 'third' choice that is nothing but the old oppression in a new veil. By the early 1960's the 'third world' concept had ceased to be a tendency associated with neo-colonialism, but had become an important trend. In his important book, "The Third World," Mario Rossi describes this Third World. "It is not a world waiting to choose which side to join because it has already chosen to be itself." (3) Further, Rossi is a bit more clear, "The Third World comprises peoples and countries in a stage of transition from dependence to an independence still short of accomplished fact." (4)

As early as 1965, C.L. Sulzberger, the influential foreign affairs expert for the New York Times, spelled out U.S. imperialist foreign policy as regards this "Third World." "The third world is the underdeveloped world, the poor world, the nonaligned neutralist world with its odd political forms such as guided democracy, Arab socialism, positive neutralism, active coexistence, scientific socialism." (5)

Towards the end of the book, Sulzberger sums up the position of the U.S., "Whether we like it or not, the fate of the Third World is a particular responsibility of the United States. The Third World was precipitated into existence as the consequence of historical trends encouraged by an American President in what I have called the Wilsonian Revolution, the Revolution of Self-Determination....Ours is a trading nation dependent on the stability of distant areas for needed raw materials and on the prosperity of distant areas as a market for our ever increasing production..." (6)

And if there are any lingering doubts as to the imperialist guises and needs of the 'third world,' Sulzberger goes on, "Ideologically, we cannot hope to feel secure against Communism's dynamic thrust unless we can keep it out of the Third World and prevent it from encompassing a majority of the earth's population. And, strategically, we will be cut off from our commercial inlets and outlets, expelled from emergency bases and driven back into the isolationism from which we recently emerged unless we can begin to help solve the problems of the underdeveloped nations." (7)

As early as 1940, Mao Tse-tung, recognizing the tendency that was developing amongst the bourgeoisie of the colonial and semi-colonial world wrote, "In the international situation of today, the 'heroes' in the colonies and semi-colonies must either stand on the side of the imperialist front and become part of the force of world counter-revolution or stand on the side of the anti-imperialist front and become part of the force of world revolution. They must stand either on this side or the other, for there is no third choice." (8)

Further, Enver Hoxha stated, "Traitors to Marxism-Leninism, agents of imperialism and intriguers like Josif Broz Tito, try in a thousand ways, by hatching up diabolic schemes like the creation of a third force, to mislead these people and the newly-set up states, to detach them from their natural allies, to hitch them up to U.S. imperialism. We should exert all our efforts to defeat the schemes of these lackeys of imperialism." (9)

A further and more comprehensive treatment of this question will have to wait

until later issues of the Peoples Tribune. However, we want to make it clear that there is abundant evidence as to the beginning of the concept of the 'third world' and its imperialist implications today.

There is, however, another subject that we have to address ourselves to. That subject is the question of the international front of struggle against USNA imperialism. Only an idiot would pretend that the international front of struggle against the main enemy of mankind is a political maneuver of this year or is anything but part of the treasury of Marxism. In 1937 Dimitroff stated, "The experience of many years has gone to prove that the fascist instigators of war are not to be held back by persuasion or arguments. There is only one effective means of curbing them, and that is the united and unbroken struggle of the masses of the people against fascism in the different countries and on an international scale. Only united action of the international proletariat rallying around itself all sections of the workers, all progressive and democratic elements, all genuine supporters of peace, can succeed in curbing the impudently brazen fascists and putting an end to their robber plans once and for all." (10) This Marxist-Leninist statement is fully applicable to the changing situation today.

Every single contradiction between the lesser capitalist states, the Socialist camp, the colonial and semi-colonial masses, and the world working class movement on the one hand and the imperialist aggressions of the USNA and the USSR must be exploited to the utmost. This is precisely the tactic that was used to isolate and overthrow the fascists in World War II. We, however, are experienced enough to know that if inside the general world united front against imperialism, there is not a sharp and constant struggle to defend the workers against these lesser capitalists, if we do not defend the colonial masses against all capitalist aggression and exploitation, if we do not carry out our world historic tasks as proletarian revolutionaries, then political action with alien elements is impossible. Further, we would be nothing more than the coach dogs in the struggle of the various imperialists to gain or maintain their markets.

It should be obvious to anyone that the international front against imperialism is bound to be based in these three elements: 1) The Socialist camp, 2) The international working class movement, 3) The national liberation movement. However, the "New Left" should understand that these three ele-

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ments are not independent forces. It is the hegemony of the working class in each element that ties it together into a reality. It is the leading role of the Communist Parties that makes that hegemony possible. The only goal is "the overthrow of the landlords and the bourgeoisie." (11) Take out the working class and you have nothing--take out the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties and groupings and you have nothing. This is one of the reasons for the Communist League's concentration on the central task of building a Communist Party.

We would like to point out that the difference between the possibilities and the realities of a United Front against imperialism is the existence of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party--especially in the USNA. All Marxist-Leninists agree on the decisive role of the Party and of building the Party.

Why, then, does the October League slander the Communist League stating that we oppose the United Front. The facts are that it is the October League that screams for unity in the abstract and opposes it concretely as they are doing by their rumor mongering, slanders and lies against the upcoming Conference of North American Marxists.

The Communist League is one of the forces that is organizing for the Conference. We are giving this Conference our full support because we believe that the time has come for Marxist-Leninists to concretely present their views to one another and to struggle in a principled way for unity. We believe that the fascist danger in the USNA is a grave one and the only possibility of defeating fascism lies in such unity. The October League, the Revolutionary Union and all groupings who claim the mantle of Marxism-Leninism have been and are urged to present their views at the Conference. Only through such an airing of views is it possible to save our class and our country from the danger of fascist reaction.

Let us address ourselves to this stone that the October League (M-L) has raised. The OL (M-L) claims that the Communist League says that the Allende government in Chile is "worse than Fascist" because it "lulls the masses to sleep." Lenin teaches that truth is concrete. There is but one spokesman for the Communist League and that is the People's Tribune, and that sort of formulation has never appeared in our press. Hitler taught that the big lie is easier to believe than the little one. We would suggest that since Marxism is a theoretical movement we should deal with theory and

the interpretation of experience rather than perform as school children--"You did so say it", "I didn't." What is the position of the Communist League as far as the Allende Government is concerned?

First of all, the total of the colonial world, including South and Central America, is undergoing a profoundly deep and broad revolution. Every country in South America is in the grip of this social struggle which is a basis of and a result of the deepening of the general crisis of world capitalism. Marxists do not look upon a revolution as a single act or even a phase. A revolution is an epochal motion. The anti-imperialist revolution in South and Central America has always and will continue to receive the unqualified support of the Communist League. We support the Cuban revolution, the Brazilian revolution, the Venezuelan revolution and the Chilean revolution, but we have reservations concerning the tactics of the National Communist Parties involved in these revolutions. And since we are an integral part of the world Marxist movement, we have every duty and right to voice and prove such criticisms.

It is interesting to note that the October League (ML) likes to talk about the Allende government as if it is anything but the organ of administration in Chile. They avoid the unpleasant subject of the state because it is here that history and the experience of the proletarian revolution is clear.

What does history teach us? The Indonesian government under Sukarno was somewhat like the Chilean government in as much as the national petty bourgeoisie had won political power from the hands of the Anglo-Dutch imperialists and Indonesia became a semi-colony. We refer to it as a semi-colony because it appears to stand half way between direct colonialism and freedom. However, it is in motion--either the revolution in permanence being crowned with the dictatorship of the proletariat, or backsliding into neo-colonialism. The idea that the Party of the working class should tie itself to such petty bourgeois regimes is anti-communism. The Kerensky government in Russia was the most democratic regime in the world. That did not prevent Lenin from attacking and overthrowing it the moment it showed a tendency to backslide. The gaining of national political power from the imperialists is the limits of the modern petty bourgeois democratic revolution. The petty bourgeoisie attempts to halt the revolution at that stage.

"Typical of this epoch is not only the two main groups of countries: those owning colonies, and colonies; but

also the diverse forms of dependent countries which, officially, are politically independent, but in fact are enmeshed in the net of financial and diplomatic dependence--the semi colony." (12) This status was also true for Ghana, and for a number of other countries where sharp struggle had resulted in the development of a petty bourgeois anti-imperialist government. The facts are obvious whether in Arbenz' Guatemala, Goulart's Brazil, Lumumba's Congo or Sukarno's Indonesia. These facts further prove Lenin's thesis that the goals of the democratic revolution can only be won through a workers and peasants government, i.e., a revolution led by the working class.

Without such a revolution, the real organs of state power, the army, the police, the prison system and the indispensable extra-legal groupings remain intact. Throughout the colonial and semi-colonial world it is precisely the Army and police forces that form the base for the overthrow of the petty bourgeois anti-imperialist governments. Our position is that it is the revisionists' distortion of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the state that led to the overthrow and slaughter of the progressives in Indonesia, Brazil, Cambodia etc. We have and we will continue to criticize the CPUSA, the CPSU and the Communist Party of Chile on this subject. What is the position of Lenin?

"But what is lost sight of or glossed over is this: if the state is the product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms, if it is a power standing above society and 'increasingly alienating itself from it,' then it is obvious that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class and which is the embodiment of this 'alienation.' As we shall see later, Marx very definitely drew this theoretically self-evident conclusion as a result of a concrete historical analysis of the tasks of the revolution." (13) What is the position of the Communist Party of Chile?

"At the illegal 10th Party Congress (1956) we carefully and self-critically studied the records of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and set ourselves as an immediate political perspective the task of establishing closer links with the masses and steadily carrying forward the revolution." "Our country", said Party General Secretary Galo Gonzalez, "gives examples suggesting the possibility of changing the present regime by peaceful, parliamentary means, through elections or in other ways.... A mass movement would impart a democratic con-

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tent to these methods and ways. The 10th Party Congress set the course for a Democratic Front of National Liberation. The program adopted by it stressed the role of the working class in the revolutionary process. It described the Chilean revolution as anti-oligarchic, anti-monopoly and anti-imperialist, formulated policy towards the Party's allies and inferred the possibility of a course which, based on widespread mass struggle, would obviate civil war in winning political power. Thus the Party evolved a political platform while carrying on an ideological struggle and ridding its ranks of splitters, of Right and "Left"-wing opportunists, and advancing with firm steps to its chosen goals." (14) (Just to be clear on who these "left"-wing opportunists are, Texier names them as the Trotskyites, Maoists, and anarchists.) (15)

It is clear that it is the hand of the traitor Khrushchev that charted the revisionist path of the Communist Party of Chile.

Since the question of state power is the fundamental question in any revolution, it seems that the contradiction is clear. Either dismantle the real organs of the state--the Army, the police, etc., or face being overthrown by them. We will abide by the historical experience of the proletarian revolution. There is not one single instance of this peaceful transition to socialism. Any look at a map will show why we do not support the Communist Party of Chile in this projection. Chile is surrounded by militant fascist enemies, powerful enemies who are waiting for the chance to strike the blow from the outside. Isn't the sad experience of Bolivia enough to convince anyone of this fact?

Internally matters are not good. The crisis in the countryside as a part of the counter revolutionary process has flooded Santiago with hungry peasants. The reactionary landlords are raising private armies should they lose the March elections. It is an accepted fact that the organizations of the small shopkeepers--which support the extreme right--are growing. Chile is heading into a political crisis. It is at this moment that Castro speaks of 'peaceful transition'. The USSR and the Communist Party of Chile are all co-operating in ideologically and politically disarming the population. These are just a few of the many dangerous facts of the situation in Chile. We are performing our internationalist duty by presenting these facts.

What game is the October League (ML) playing when ex-

perience in South America and throughout the semi-colonial world show that a revolutionary upsurge of the workers and peasants under the hegemony of the petty bourgeoisie is the formula for counter-revolution? Under these objective circumstances the only possible path for the semi-colonies--including Chile--is the most detailed preparation for a mass and violent transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. In opposition to the October League stands the tactical program theoretically stated by Marx and confirmed by every successful socialist revolution. These tactics were summed up in Marx's famous "Address to the Communist League".

"With a view to checking the power and the growth of big capital the democratic party demands a reform of the laws of inheritance and legacies, likewise the transfer of the public services and as many industrial undertakings as possible to the State and municipal authorities. As to the working man - well, they should remain wage workers; for whom, however, the democratic party would procure higher wages, better labour conditions, and a secure existence. The democrats hope to achieve that partly through State and municipal management and through welfare institutions. In short, they hope to bribe the working class into quiescence, and thus to weaken their revolutionary spirit by momentary concessions and comforts.

"The democratic demands can never satisfy the party of the proletariat. While the democratic petty bourgeoisie would like to bring the revolution to a close as soon as their demands are more or less complied with, it is our interest and our task to make the revolution permanent, to keep it going until all the ruling and possessing classes are deprived of power, the governmental machinery occupied by the proletariat, and the organization of the working classes of all lands is so far advanced that all rivalry and competition among themselves has ceased; until the more important forces of production are concentrated in the hands of the proletarians. With us it is not a matter of reforming private property, but of abolishing it; not of hushing up the class antagonism, but of abolishing the classes; not of ameliorating the existing society, but of establishing a new one. There is doubt that, with the further development of the revolution, the petty bourgeois democracy may for a time become the most influential party in Germany. The question is, therefore, what should be the attitude of the proletariat, and particularly of the League, towards it:

"1) During the continuation of the present conditions in which the petty bourgeois democracy is also oppressed?

"2) In the ensuing revolutionary struggles which would give them momentary ascendancy?

"3) After those struggles, during the time of their ascendancy over the defeated classes and the proletariat?

"1) At the present moment when the democratic petty bourgeoisie are everywhere oppressed, they lecture the proletariat, exhorting it to effect a unification and conciliation; they would like to join hands and form one great opposition party, embracing within its folds all shades of democracy. That is, they would like to entangle the proletariat in a party organization in which the general social democratic phrases predominate, behind which the particular proletarian demands should not, for the sake of peace and concord, be brought forward. Such a unification would be to the exclusive benefit of the petty bourgeois democracy and to the injury of the proletariat. The organized working class would lose its hard-won independence and would become again a mere appendage of the official bourgeois democracy. Such a unification must be resolutely opposed.

"Instead of allowing themselves to form the chorus of the bourgeois democracy, the working men, and particularly the League, must strive to establish next to the official democracy an independent, a secret as well as a legal organization of the working-class party, and to make each community the centre and nucleus of working-class societies in which the attitude and the interests of the proletariat should be discussed independently of bourgeois influences. How little the bourgeois democrats care for an alliance in which the proletarians should be regarded as co-partners with equal rights and equal standing is shown by the attitude of the Breslau democrats, who in their organ the Oder-Zeitung are attacking those working men who are independently organized, and whom they nick-name socialists, subjecting them to severe persecutions. The gist of the matter is this: In case of an attack on a common adversary no special union is necessary; in the fight with such an enemy the interests of both parties, the middle-class democrats and the working-class party, coincide for the moment, and both parties will carry it on by a temporary understanding. This was so in the past, and will be so in the future. It is a matter of course that in the future sanguinary conflicts, as in all previous ones, the working men by their courage, resolution, and self-sacrifice will form the main force in the attainment of victory. As hitherto, so in the coming struggle, the petty bourgeoisie as a whole will maintain an attitude of delay, irresolution, and inactivity as long as possible, in order that, as soon as victory is assured,

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they may arrogate it to themselves and call upon the workers to remain quiet, return to work, avoid so-called excesses, and thus to shut off the workers from the fruits of victory. It is not in the power of the workers to prevent the petty bourgeois democrats from doing that; but it is within their power to render their ascendancy over the armed proletariat difficult, and to dictate to them such terms as shall make the rule of the bourgeois democracy carry within itself from the beginning the germ of dissolution, and its ultimate substitution by the rule of the proletariat considerably facilitated.

"The workers above all during the conflict and immediately afterwards, must try as much as ever possible to counteract all bourgeois attempts at appeasement, and compel the democrats to carry out their present terrorist phrases. They must act in such a manner that the revolutionary excitement does not subside immediately after the victory. On the contrary, they must endeavour to maintain it as long as possible. Far from opposing so-called excesses and making examples of hated individuals or public buildings to which hateful memories are attached by sacrificing them to popular revenge, such deeds must not only be tolerated, but their direction must be taken in hand. During the fight and afterwards the workers must seize every opportunity to present their own demands beside those of the bourgeois democrats. They must demand guarantees for the workers as soon as the democrats propose to take over the reins of government. If necessary, these guarantees must be exacted, and generally to see to it that the new rulers should bind themselves to every possible concession and promise, which is the surest way to compromise them. The workers must not be swept off their feet by the general elation and enthusiasm for the new order of things which usually follow upon street battles; they must quench all ardour by a cool and dispassionate conception of the new conditions, and must manifest open distrust of the new Government. Beside the official Government they must set up a revolutionary workers' Government, either in the form of local executives and communal councils, or workers' clubs or workers' committees, so that the bourgeois democratic Governments not only immediately lose all backing among the workers, but from the commencement find themselves under the supervision and threats of authorities, behind whom stands the entire mass of the working class. In short, from the first moment of victory we must no longer direct our distrust against our former allies, against the party who are now

about to exploit the common victory for their own ends only.

"2) In order that this party, whose betrayal of the workers will begin with the first hour of victory, should be frustrated in its nefarious work, it is necessary to organize and arm the proletariat. The arming of the whole proletariat with rifles, guns, and ammunition must be carried out at once; we must prevent the revival of the old bourgeois militia, which has always been directed against the workers. Where the latter measure cannot be carried out, the workers must try to organize themselves into an independent guard, with their own chiefs and general staff, to put themselves under the order, not of the Government, but of the revolutionary authorities set up by the workers. Where workers are employed in State service they must arm and organize in special corps, with chiefs chosen by themselves, or form part of the proletarian guard. Under no pretext must they give up their arms and equipment, and any attempt at disarmament must be forcibly resisted. Destruction of the influence of bourgeois democracy over the workers, immediate independent and armed organization of the workers, and the exaction of the most irksome and compromising terms from the bourgeois democracy, whose triumph is for the moment unavoidable - these are the main points which the proletariat, and therefore also the League, has to keep in eye during and after the coming upheaval.

"3) As soon as the new Government is established they will commence to fight the workers. In order to be able effectively to oppose the petty bourgeois democracy, it is in the first place necessary that the workers should be independently organized in clubs, which should soon be centralized. The central authority, after the overthrow of the existing Governments, will at their earliest opportunity transfer its headquarters..., immediately call together a congress, and make the necessary proposals for the centralization of the workers' clubs under an Executive Committee, who will have their headquarters in the centre of the movement. The rapid organization, or at least the establishment of a provincial union of the workers' clubs, is one of the most important points in our considerations for invigorating and developing the Workers' Party. The next result of the overthrow of the existing Government will be the election of a national representation. The proletariat must see to it first that no worker shall be deprived of his suffrage by the trickery of the local authorities or Government commissioners; secondly, that beside the bourgeois democratic candidates there shall be put up everywhere working-class candidates, who, as far

as possible, shall be members of the League, and for whose success all must work with every possible means. Even in constituencies where there is no prospect of our candidate being elected, the workers must nevertheless put up candidates in order to maintain their independence, to steel their forces, and to bring their revolutionary attitude and party views before the public. They must not allow themselves to be diverted from this work by the stock argument that to split the vote of the democrats means assisting the reactionary parties. All such talk is but calculated to cheat the proletariat. The advance which the Proletarian Party will make through its independent political attitude is infinitely more important than the disadvantage of having a few more reactionaries in the national representation. The victorious party could, if they liked, even prevent the reactionary party having any success at all, if they only used their newly won power with sufficient energy." (16)

This reply to the attack on the Communist League by the October League (Marxist-Leninist) will be continued in the next issue.

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- 6) Ibid., p. 6.
- 7) Ibid., p. 274.
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- 13) Lenin, State and Revolution, FLPP, p. 9.
- 14) Texier, Jorge, "Petty Bourgeois Revolutionism in Chile," Political Affairs, Oct. 1972, p. 55. Reprinted from World Marxist Review, Feb. 1972.
- 15) Ibid., p. 49.
- 16) Marx, Selected Works, Vol. I., "Address to the Communist League," Int. Pub., New York, 1946, pp. 63-69.

