

# PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE



Vol. 6 No. 8  
August, 1974

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

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## ON TO THE CONGRESS!

Comrades and Friends,

We are fast approaching an historic period in the history of the Communist and working class movement in the USNA. At the end of August the Communist League along with other Marxist-Leninists and honest revolutionaries will participate in a Congress to form a multi-national Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of a New Type. This Congress is being held against the background of rising fascism and, at the same time, of a renewed upsurge of the working class movement. The working class of the USNA has had a glorious and militant history of struggle against capital, but has been without the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. Built on the foundation of the struggle against revisionism, the Congress will lay the base for a real leadership of the working class that will build a united front against fascism and will guide the working class onto the victorious overthrow of the fetters of capitalism.

In this Special Issue of the People's Tribune, we look at what we were able to accomplish as a Communist League and what our monumental and challenging tasks will be as members of a Communist Party. In fighting the ideological battle for an anti-revisionist Party and in training a core of Marxist-Leninists, the Communist League has served its purpose and served it well. We must now entrench ourselves deeply in the working class and emerge as its leadership by winning the vanguard of the proletariat to the cause of communism and uniting the whole class with the ideas of scientific socialism. As Lenin said, "The eman-

icipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves.' In every country there has been a period in which the working class movement existed apart from socialism, each going its own way and in every country this isolation has weakened both socialism and the working class movement. Only the fusion of socialism with the working class movement has in all countries created a durable basis for both." (Lenin, "Urgent Tasks of Our Movement," Party Work in the Masses, Progress Publishers, 1969, p. 7).

At this Congress, we join

with other Marxist-Leninists and honest revolutionaries in the spirit of unity. This is an historic juncture for the workers and oppressed peoples in the USNA and around the world. We are at the gateways of smashing USNA imperialism and establishing a society free from the chains of exploitation and oppression. We join with the other organizations of the Continuations Committee in raising the slogans of:

**BUILD A MULTI-NATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY!**

**WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, UNITE!**

## FIGHT FOR NEW ELECTIONS

The resignation of Nixon and the rapid emergence of Gerald Ford as President and the most rapacious of imperialists, Nelson Rockefeller, as Vice President of the new "unity" government has been pronounced a great victory for "democracy and the American way" by both Nixon's supporters and his so-called critics. But the "agony" of Watergate is not behind us! Even the pretense of an election was ignored. The working class cannot sit back and allow the wheels of fascism to crush one democratic right after another. The demand for the immediate removal from office of these fascists and for new elections can and must be the rallying point in the shops, in the neighborhoods and in the mass organizations. The working class cannot wait for the heels of fascism to stir us to action; the battle for new elections - that is our immediate call!

Gerald Ford, the hand picked replacement of the corrupted, exposed, and politically isolated Nixon regime has now assumed office. Nixon's past record of appointments can at least match Hitler's worst rogue's gallery. Ford, in his own words, is "beholden to none". But no matter how much Ford plays the role of the "honest man", his actions in less than one month in office

show that we now have a President with a free hand to step up the fascist offensive. The new president has a "mandate" from the USNA imperialists to break the back of the angry spontaneous movement of the working class in order to prepare for imperialist war.

Nixon's "critics" find no fault with Ford's avowed conservatism. He has a 25 year congressional record of anti-working class votes. He helped engineer the Nixon ploy to stack the Supreme Court with avowed fascists, including the abortive attempts to install as Chief Justice those fascist paragons, Carswell and Hainsworth. The leaders of the impeachment movement find no cause for alarm in Ford's record of opposing integration. They find no fault with Ford's decision to retain many of Nixon's closest aides who have direct ties with not only the military, but direct ties with the imperialists themselves.

Judging from the flurry of activity in the White House these days, it is becoming increasingly clear that our new "Mr. Clean" is quickly trying to clean up the

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## CPUSA Attacks Marxist-Leninists

# Oppose Revisionist Offensive

On the eve of the formation of a real Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the USNA, we find the CPUSA leadership, the chief revisionist lapdogs in the USNA, abandoning their position of ignoring the USNA Marxist-Leninists and launching a vicious attack against us on all levels. In particular, we are referring to the address made by the #1 USNA revisionist, Gus Hall, to the Central Committee of the CPUSA which was published in the July 20, 1974, edition of the Daily World. He states:

"While we have not talked much about it there are still some problems in our trade union work that come from the activities of the ultra-left or 'crazies' as they are called by many workers. It is our problem because unfortunately workers very often identify them with us. The fact is that they do great harm to our Party. They are few in number, but in many unions and locals they are still an extremely disruptive force. We must take a firmer stand on these questions. We must do more in exposing their antics. We must do more in exposing our differences with them. We must not be silent partners to antics that basically help the right wing elements in the trade union movement. The simple fact is that we cannot win honest workers in large numbers to our side as long as they think the 'crazies' are somehow or other related to us. We must put an end to practices of closing our eyes - hoping that they will go away."<sup>1</sup>

What is the meaning of this statement? What is its historical significance?

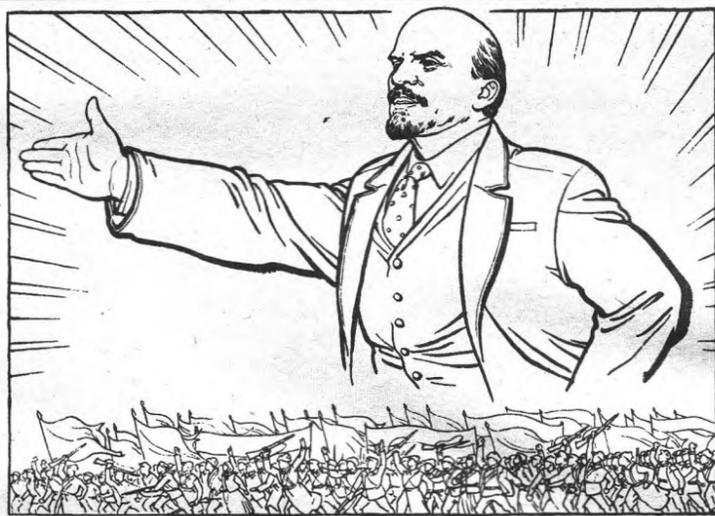
It is clear that by "crazies" the CPUSA leadership is not referring to the October League nor the Revolutionary Union for these latter hold discussions and work together with the rotten CPUSA leadership in order to sabotage the working class movement from within. No, this statement can only refer to the Continuations Committee to organize for the Congress and all honest Marxist-Leninists in general, and to the Communist League, in particular. The new unity which is the Marxist-Leninist Communist Party which will be founded at the upcoming Congress concretizes the polarity between Marxism-Leninism and Revisionism.

Further, we have seen lately that the CPUSA has more and more begun to use Marxist-Leninist terminology in its paper, the Daily World. The above quoted paragraph on the "crazies" is part of the address entitled: "It's Time to Boot Out Labor's Class Collaborators". Here Gus Hall attacks the labor lieutenants, Meany, Abel, and Fitzsimmons. The question arises as to why

the CPUSA leadership is attacking these "class collaborators" at this time? Is it because they see these collaborators as traitors within the working class movement? Of course not! It is clear that the rank and file members of these unions are beginning to make certain demands on these labor lieutenants to defend the interests of the workers. The CPUSA leadership, at least in form, has got to try to appear to be representing the interests of the rank and filers. But what is the real "content" of the CPUSA's program? Hall states that "this mob (Meany-Abel-Fitzsimmons) is the most active anti-detente force." Aha!! The truth emerges! The CPUSA leadership will take sides with anyone who is for detente - Brezhnev, Kosygin, Nixon, Kissinger, Ford, and the rest of the imperialist gang. Clearly this is a deliberate attempt on the part of the CPUSA leadership at making an appearance of moving to the "left". History has shown that every time there has been an upsurge in the class struggle, the CPUSA leadership has taken a step to the "left" in "form", but in "content" has remained the handmaidens of the USNA imperialists.

The CPUSA was born a factional party. In 1929, at the beginning of what was to develop into a great upsurge of the working class, Comrade Stalin blasted the two principal factional groups (Lovestone/Pepper and Foster/Bittelman) for their opportunism and factionalism. Soon after, as a result of the CI criticism, a sharp struggle developed in the Party which resulted in the expulsion of Lovestone and Pepper and later of the Trotskyites. With this, the remaining factional leaders in the Party could claim to have "cleansed" the Party and to have moved to the "left"; however, the factions remained. Due to the fact that the factionalists could not agree as to who among them was to be the new leader of the Party, they came up with Earl Browder as the new leader. While honest rank and filers fought courageously and diligently, the revisionists held a firm hand. The fact that the Party had not purged itself of opportunist elements at all was thoroughly exposed in the early 1940's when Browder called communism "20th Century Americanism". He even went as far as to dissolve the Party in May of 1944. This was certainly a move to hand the working class over to the bourgeoisie on a silver platter at a time when it was becoming more and more restless and needed the leadership and guidance of a Communist Party. The Party's move to purge Browder signaled another appearance of moving to the left. However, it

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# FIGHT TO MAKE Every Factory Our Fortress

The year 1974 has seen a tremendous upsurge in the spontaneous movement of the working class as exemplified by the growing strike wave. What is the significance of this huge strike wave that began in July of this year? Over 650 strikes in the basic and supportive industries involving one quarter of a million workers were reported to have taken place in one week. Corporations hit by strikes included U.S. Steel, Kennecott Copper, Dow Chemical, United Auto Workers, National Airlines, Los Angeles Department of Water and Power, A.C. Transit Bus Workers, Northern California Carpenters, Alcoa, the Telephone Company, State workers in Ohio and Maryland and many more. This is the largest wave of strikes to hit the USNA since the years of post World War II when nearly three and one half million workers went out on strike for wage increases.

Men and women workers in the basic and supportive industries have gone on strike protesting cuts in real wages due to the high inflationary prices that they have to pay for the necessities of life. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) reports that increases in consumer prices averaged about 13% in the industrial countries from June 1973 to June 1974. The workers in Japan are suffering under an inflation rate of 21.9%, Canada 11.4%, USNA 11.2%, Britain 16% and West Germany 6.9%. (1)

At first glance, the wave of inflation in the USNA seems to be caused by the huge amounts of government spending. Last year, military spending hit a high of \$81 billion dollars, more than the greatest yearly expenditure of World War II and up \$5 billion from the year before. It is the working class that paid for, not only this war budget,

but the huge proposed national budget for 1975 of \$305 billion. Profits are soaring to a new high for Texaco, whose profits increased 72% over 1973, Mobil Oil 99%, Exxon 66%, Standard Oil of Indiana 130%, U.S. Steel 88%, Arco Steel 57%, Alcoa 66%, Kennecott Copper 58%. (Incidentally many of these companies who are being hit by strikes are the very same companies who made the highest profits last year.) These industries are really reaping their enormous profits from the backs of the world's working class. It is this striving for maximum profits that directly leads to over-production which has as one of its immediate effects, inflation. In reality, it is the working class' unpaid labor time that is being used by the capitalist class to pay the banks some of the highest interest rates in the history of the USNA - 9% to 10%.

Inflation adds to the misery of the working class, particularly the most exploited and oppressed. But in order for us to get a proper political perspective of the economic situation today, we must see what are the causes and what the effects.

Marx pointed out long ago that "...the very development of modern industry must progressively turn the scale in favour of the capitalist against the working man, and that consequently the general tendency of capitalist production is not to raise, but to sink the average standard of wages, or to push the value of labour more or less to its minimum limit. Such being the tendency of things in this system, is this saying that the working class ought to renounce their resistance against the encroachments of capital, and abandon their attempts at

making the best of the occasional chances for their temporary improvement? If they did, they would be degraded to one level mass of broken wretches past salvation....the struggles for the standard of wages are incidents inseparable from the whole wages system....the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of these every day struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects, that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction, that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady...They ought to understand that, with all the miseries it imposes upon them, the present system, simultaneously engenders the material conditions and the social forms necessary for an economic reconstruction of society. Instead of the conservative motto 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work', they ought to inscribe on the banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wages system'....(trade unions) fail generally from limiting themselves to a guerilla war against the effects of the existing system, instead of simultaneously trying to change it, instead of using their organized forces as a lever for the final emancipation of the working class, that is to say the ultimate abolition of the wages system." (3) The cause of the problems of the working class is the private appropriation of socialized labour. The effects of this contradiction are inflation, war, national oppression and the relative and absolute impoverishment of the working class.

Marx fully agreed with Engels who said "...the conditions of the working class is the starting point of all social movements today." Marx valued the struggle of the workers for shorter hours and better working conditions and spent much of his life engaged in practical forms of struggle against the capitalist class, in such organizations as the Workers Association, the International Workingman's Association and the Workers Education League, etc. He fought always for the workers' partial demands, but he also knew the role that they played in the general class struggle. In the Communist Manifesto he says, "The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the monetary interests of the working class, but in the movement of the present they also represent and take care of the future of that movement." (4)

While the overall program for Communists is the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Socialism we must also see what are our immediate political tasks today and what is the path to the end of the wages system.

The Communist movement has declared that its aim is to as-

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## "BLOODY HARLAN"

Since July, 1973 the coal miners of Harlan County, Kentucky have been on a militant strike against the Duke Power Company. Armed clashes between the strikers and the gun thugs and scabs are daily events. The company has used Klan style "midnight raids" to try to terrorize the workers. On August 8 for example the local union president's house was riddled with more than 100 45-caliber slugs as he, his wife and 3 children slept inside and the local police and state troopers have acted as the company's police.

3,000 miners from around the country marched in Harlan County August 22 in support of the Brookside strikers. This was part of a 5 day memorial stoppage to commemorate the 100,000 miners lost in the mines or disabled due to black lung disease since 1900. In response, on August 24 the company shot and nearly killed a striking miner. The miners rose up in anger and threatened a general

strike. The company has now been forced to begin negotiations with the miners for the first time in this strike. A general strike of all miners will be called if the injured miner dies or if negotiations break down.

This attack on these courageous strikers is an attack on the whole of the working class. If the capitalists can shoot one of our fellow workers, they will not hesitate in using any means to suppress our whole struggle. We must rally the whole working class in support of the striking Harlan County miners; we must raise this call in our shops, our unions and community organizations. This is a key battle in the general rise in resistance of the working class to the over-production crisis. The heroic men and women of Harlan County are blazing the trail of hard struggle that the entire working class must follow. We must everywhere raise the demand -

SUPPORT THE HARLAN COUNTY STRIKERS

## Negro National Colonial Question

# KEYSTONE OF REVOLUTION IN USNA

In this last issue of the political paper of the Communist League we would like to restate our firm conviction of the crucial importance of the Negro question to the revolutionary movement in the USNA and to observe the recent developments, both objective and subjective, around the struggles of the Negro people for national liberation and equal democratic rights. From the League's inception, we have always stated that the Negro national colonial question is the keystone of the socialist revolution in the USNA, and that every revolutionary organization in the USNA has floundered and finally disintegrated because of the lack of understanding around this key question.

In the last 25 years, from the sit-ins and boycotts of the 50's in the Negro Nation, to the violent rebellions in the major cities across the USNA in the 60's, the Negro people and the Negro national minority section of the Anglo-American working class, while confronting the acts of extra-legal terror which have been perpetrated against them, have also engaged in directly challenging the USNA state, the perpetrator of legal terror against them. In the Negro Nation the question of overthrowing the state is becoming particularly clear as the separation between the Negro petty-bourgeois leadership and the Negro workers becomes increasingly more visible. However, the

imperialists have managed to introduce a new tactic, i.e., they are recruiting Negroes into the state apparatus itself. Thus, in the period after the Negro rebellions in Harlem, Watts, Detroit and other cities, in the four year period between 1970 and 1974, the number of Negro politicians and law enforcement officials increased as shown:

	1970	1974	% Increase
U.S. Senators, Representatives	10	17	70%
State Legislature, Executives	168	239	42
Mayors	40	108	170
Judges, Magistrates	559	1,142	104
Local Officials	114	172	51
Police Chiefs, Law Enforcement Officials	47	111	136
Members of Local School Boards	312	767	146 (1)

And while this has been happening, the objective economic situation was and still is driving millions of the Negro people and the Negro national minority workers further into poverty. This motion in the Negro Nation signifies the intensification of fascism, whereas in Anglo-America the attacks on the Negro national minority have signaled the drive towards fascism.

So, on the one hand, a University of Michigan study in 1973 stated "while both black and white attitudes have become increasingly cynical, blacks have become especially estranged from the Federal Government, national leaders, the election system and

political parties", (2) while on the other hand, Negro politicians, such as, Johnny Ford, mayor of Tuskegee, are endorsing fascists like George Wallace and trying to pull the toilers and workers of the Negro Nation with them.

The creation of a set of compradors throughout the Negro Nation is an attempt to drive the Negro Nation further into submission. However, this attempt sets the conditions for the complete exposure of the capitalist state and imperialism

itself, for the comprador bourgeoisie is the Negro national lackey of the imperialists in the Negro Nation. So we see the role of the Maynard Jacksons as shown in the recent uprisings in Atlanta. But we have also witnessed the role of the Coleman Youngs in Anglo-America who also represent the interests of the imperialists. But because they do not reside in the Negro Nation, they are not compradors. In fact, they are a part of the Anglo-American ruling class; they are a part of the Anglo-American nation. This distinction is an important one for it dispels the idea that the Negro Nation is wherever the Negro people are. These examples

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## DEFEND THE "UNDOCUMENTED" WORKERS\*

The current crisis of overproduction that capitalism finds itself in, is best described by Comrade Stalin 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 impoverishment 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." (1)

Today one of the ways that this contradiction manifests itself is around the USNA-Mexico border. Although the USNA imperialists have to deal with a high, and rapidly rising, unemployment rate, they also have a tremendous need for "cheap labor" which Mexico can "provide".

The USNA imperialists brought huge numbers of Mexican

laborers to the USNA in the early 1900's and early 1940's due to the imperialists' rapidly expanding industry, and, during times of war, to the reduced USNA labor force. But when these Mexican workers were no longer needed they were deported. Today the exact number of "undocumented" workers entering the USNA each year is unknown but it is estimated at 700,000 to 1,000,000. (2) But at the same time 800,000 of these workers were deported in 1974.

In this process of "importing" labor when it is needed and "deporting" it when it isn't, the role of the State, which under capitalism is an imperialist tool for oppressing the working class, is clearly demonstrated. The State passes laws to allow these workers to enter the country and to be deported as the needs of capitalism dictate. Today the Rodino Bill which has already been passed in the House Representatives and is pending in the Senate is being used to lay the groundwork for deporting Mexican national minority workers. This Bill stipulates that any employer who knowingly hires an "illegal alien" is subject to penalty. The Rodino Bill certainly does not threaten employers but only increases the weight of exploita-

tion and oppression of the Mexican national minority workers and leaves the "undocumented" workers at the complete mercy of the employer.

Further the Rodino Bill is a skillful cover for the State apparatus which, with this law, can claim that employers, as well as workers, are "subject to prosecution".

On a wider scale, however, this Bill can be used as a cover for an attack on the whole of the Anglo-American working class. The imperialists must have the ability to shuttle Mexican workers back and forth across the border. This reserve labor force is not only needed for forcing down wages but also for breaking strikes. Thus this Bill is a fascist attempt at dividing the working class.

In the same way this Bill can be used as a cover for the continued use of the threat of deportation as a club to keep the Mexican national minority "undocumented" and "documented" workers from participating in economic or political struggles.

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From the  
Ethiopian  
Revolutionary Committee  
**GREETINGS TO  
THE CONGRESS**

Dear Comrades of the Congress,

This is a momentous event not only for the U.S.N.A. but also for the entire world. We would like to start out by saying: WE HOPE THAT THIS BREAK-THROUGH CONGRESS WILL BE A CONGRESS OF UNITY AND A CONGRESS OF VICTORY AND THAT AFTER ITS CONCLUSION, WE FURTHER HOPE THAT STILL MORE AND GREATER PROLETARIAN VICTORIES WILL BE WON THROUGHOUT THE U.S.N.A. If developments proceeded according to our above hopes, we certainly can boldly make a Marxist prophecy that the creation of this multi-national Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the U.S.N.A. will bear the greatest socio-historical significance in the second half of our twentieth century.

Comrades,

We are overjoyed because a Marxist-Leninist Party is created in the U.S.N.A. Still more, we are overjoyed because it is the comrades whom we know, the comrades whom we have worked with, the comrades from whom we have learnt a great deal, the comrades with whom we have exchanged jokes and teases, the comrades with whom we have dined often times and above all the comrades whose hearts we know for their proletarian love, zeal, hard work, sincerity, integrity, firmness, and discipline; it is these comrades who have fought so bravely, who have braved the fascist storm, who have gone against the petty bourgeois tide in order to translate the dreams of the U.S.N.A. proletariat into an actuality.

Comrades,

Permit us to bore you with a small parable-like talk. The human blood, among its other constituents has the red-blood cells and the white-blood cells. The red blood cells have the primary function of distributing the necessary wants of life and development of each and every cell in our multi-billion-celled body. The white cells are soldiers that safe-guard the body against invasion and ensure the body's dialectical growth and development. If and when a virus invades the body, the white soldier cells (an unfortunate name - should have been the red soldier cells !!) move quickly and consciously to wipe out the invading enemy. Only upon the destruction of the virus can the body continue its proper development and only by strongly built white soldier cells can the body have the ability to thoroughly destroy any invading virus.

Towards the beginning of the 20th century, the world proletariat movement was still suffering from a virus that curtailed its dialectical growth and development. It was the

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# ERA- WOMEN IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE

At this time one issue that could greatly affect the living and working conditions of women is the Equal Rights Amendment, a proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution which, if ratified by just a few more states, will become law throughout the United States of North America. This issue of the Equal Rights Amendment (the E.R.A.) is something that will demand the party's action. Exactly what effect the ERA will have on women will depend to a large extent on whether or not a struggle is waged in the working class around it and if it is, on what type of struggle it is.

The issue of this amendment is being raised at a time of a continuously mounting cost of living and daily moves by the bourgeoisie which take away rights and lay the basis for real brutal attacks on the proletariat. This is rousing the minds of the broad masses and in a real way stirring women into action and exciting their interest in the political movement. The worsening economic situation for the proletariat, and the widespread anger over it as well as the wave of strikes that we have seen, will provide the party we are on the eve of forming with the foundation for uniting the labor movement with the political struggle. That political struggle has developed and will undoubtedly take on new proportions with the indignation over Watergate and the consequences of Nixon's resignation. We will be confronting this situation with a newly formed party whose task it is to truly embrace the vanguard of the proletariat, those workers who are directly confronting the bourgeoisie. Given this objective situation and our tasks at this time, what should be our work around the Equal Rights Amendment?

In "Left-Wing Communism An Infantile Disorder, written in April, 1920, Lenin described this first stage of our Party's growth; "The first historical tasks (that of winning over the class conscious vanguard of the proletariat to Soviet power and the dictatorship of the working class) could not be accomplished without a complete ideological and political victory over opportunism and social chauvinism." (Lenin, LWC, FLPH, page 98) Our task, then, is to get into a position where we can expose in a real way the revisionism of the Communist Party of the United States of America and the class collaboration of the labor lieutenants and other agents of the bourgeoisie's line in the working class movement. We must base our party in that section of the working class with the least ties to capital and there provide the conscious leadership

that will insure the independence of the class conscious proletariat from the bourgeoisie. Here we must fight it out theoretically and politically with the CPUSA for the leadership of the proletariat. But our criticism must not be that they call themselves communists and permeate every pore of every face of the working class movement. This should be the responsibility of any communist party. What we do criticize the CPUSA for is that in the name of communism they put forward a program that in every aspect aims at tying the proletariat to the leadership of the bourgeoisie. A revolutionary struggle for reforms under the leadership of a communist party leads to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, but the groveling of the revisionist CPUSA for reforms only drags back and burdens down the developing working class movement. In our work we must prove the bankruptcy of the revisionist program.

Lenin showed us that: "History generally, and the history of revolutions, in particular, is always richer in content, more varied, more manysided, more lively and 'subtle' than even the best parties and the most class-conscious vanguards of the most advanced classes imagine." (LWC, page 100) This, of course is being born out today by the fact that the class struggle is handing us many forms which if mastered by the communists, offer us arena after arena where we can take political consciousness to the proletariat. Work around the ERA offers us one such opportunity. The ERA states:  
Section 1: Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of sex.  
Section 2: The Congress shall have the power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.  
Section 3: This amendment shall take effect two years after the date of ratification.

What should be our specific tasks around this proposed amendment? First of all, we must say good-bye forever to the times when we could afford to restrict our work to proclaiming ourselves "for" or "against" one or another event in the class struggle. Imagine us going into our union, NAACP, or the Coalition of Labor Union Women, announcing ourselves as "for" the ERA or "against" it. First of all, we should be asked, "So, who are you?" and we will be reminded of the tremendous task we have only barely begun. But, second of all, we will have done nothing to bring consciousness to the movement.

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# FREE PUERTO RICO USNA MILITARY STRONGHOLD

Why do we say that Puerto Rico is a reserve of USNA imperialism?

In the year 1898, following a five month long war with Spain the USNA imperialists enslaved Puerto Rico, the Phillipines, Guam, Wake Island, and established a protectorate over Cuba. Arch-chauvinist Theodore Roosevelt called this war, "a splendid little war, begun with the highest of motives, carried on with magnificent intelligence and spirit, favored by that fortune which loves the brave."<sup>(1)</sup> That same year they annexed Hawaii and the following year "American" Samoa. These conquests were capped with the building of the Panama Canal and the establishment of the Canal Zone under total USNA control in 1903. These colonial possessions realized a long-standing dream of the USNA expansionists that dated back to before the Civil War to the slavocracy's attempts to annex Cuba and Nicaragua with William Walker's expeditions in the 1830's. The strategic thinking behind them was based on Captain Mahan's theories of the key role of sea power in the establishment of influence and control of markets. They were not accidental trophies of war but the loot of a carefully planned robbery.

These colonies were and are links in a chain that stretches from the edge of China across the Pacific, through the Canal into the Caribbean and then the Atlantic. They are the keys to USNA influence and control in Asia and Latin America, the main colonial areas of USNA imperialism. Every one has huge USNA military bases, and with the exception of Cuba (where the USNA still holds onto its enormous naval base at Guantanamo), and the Phillipines which is held as a neo-colony, all remain direct colonies of the USNA.

As early as 1529, Puerto Rico was regarded by the Spanish as the "point of entry and key to all the Indies".<sup>(2)</sup> Today fully 13% of the total land area of the island is occupied by USNA naval, army and air force bases.<sup>(3)</sup> These bases, together with those in the Virgin Islands (purchased from Denmark in 1916), Guantanamo, Florida, and Texas, control the eastern approach to the Panama Canal and are daggers aimed at the whole of Latin America.

In addition to its strategic military position, Puerto Rico is the fifth largest market for USNA commodities in the world,<sup>(4)</sup> surpassed only by Canada and Japan, and nearly equal to West Germany and England. The USNA imperialists unloaded on the two and one half million Puerto Rican population 2.1 billion

dollars worth of commodities in 1970 as compared with \$2.5 billion for England, only \$441 million for the 24 million people of Argentina, and only \$841 million for the 70 million people of Brazil in that same year.<sup>(5)</sup> In fact, the exports to Puerto Rico in 1970 were nearly half that of the 5.6 billion dollar total to the rest of Latin America combined, and were almost double the total amount exported by the USNA to the entire continent of Africa. But this is not all; the main feature of modern imperialism is the export of capital, not goods. The 90% USNA-owned industry and agriculture of Puerto Rico produced a total of 3.8 billion dollars worth of goods, of which manufacturing industries accounted for \$1.8 billion and agriculture \$184 million.<sup>(6)</sup> This production resulted from the investment of over 2 billion dollars from the USNA.<sup>(7)</sup> The USNA imperialists reap super-profits on this capital--they pay little or no taxes, and the median family income in Puerto Rico is only 1,268 dollars compared with a median family income of \$9,433 in the USNA in 1970. The median school years completed by persons over 25 is 4.6 years in Puerto Rico and 12.1 years in the USNA.<sup>(8)</sup> Generally wages in Puerto Rico are less than half that in the USNA while the cost of living is 12% higher.<sup>(9)</sup>

While recognizing that Puerto Rico is both an economic and a military support for USNA imperialism, we must see that it is Puerto Rico's strategic military position that makes it of primary importance to the imperialists. If Puerto Rico was primarily an economic colony, it would be possible for the USNA imperialists to grant it independence and retain it as a neo-colony. Yet it is clear that Puerto Rico's strategic military location requires that the USNA imperialists keep it under direct colonial domination.

The CL has, from the very beginning of our organization, raised the call for independence of Puerto Rico. The proletariat of the USNA must support the just struggle of the Puerto Rican people for liberation. Without this support, there can be no proletarian revolution in the USNA. The interests of the Anglo-American proletariat lie with independence for Puerto Rico and all oppressed nations. As we said in the article, "Free Puerto Rico - Key to Revolution in the Americas" (Peoples' Tribune, Vol. 3, No. 2, page 1): "Our practice and investigation have clearly shown that the revolution in the Americas will certainly be one hemispheric process. During the period of the revolutions against England, Spain and Portugal, there were different social systems, different oppres-

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# REGIONAL AUTONOMY FOR THE INDIAN PEOPLES!

Since its inception, the C.L. has concentrated much of its polemics on the revolutionary solution of the national question in general and the Negro National Colonial Question in particular. This sharp struggle has forced many "left" groupings, including the leadership of the CPUSA, to take a position on the national question. Our struggle for clarity on the national question has led us to the urgent task of presenting a Marxist-Leninist solution to the Indian Question.

The bourgeoisie of the USNA has attempted to solve the "Indian Problem" in three ways. The first "solution" has been extermination. Extermination arose as a solution to this "problem" when the bourgeoisie was faced with the need to clear the western lands of native inhabitants in the USNA in order to expand the rapidly developing economy. This inhuman and criminal policy was justified by the ideology of white supremacy. Following the defeat of the Indian tribes in these genocidal wars, the "solution" of isolation of the Indian tribes on reservations was instituted. And today we see the third "solution" to this "problem", "assimilation" of the Indian peoples. One of the most glaring examples of this policy is seen within the Bureau of Indian Affairs' boarding schools, where children are torn from their parents, shipped to schools hundreds of miles from their homes, beaten if they speak their native language and in many cases drugged into submission.

The total alienation of the Indian peoples from the best land in the USNA, plus the reaction by democratic minded people throughout the world, forced the USNA state to curb its genocidal policy in the latter part of the 1800's. And the development of modern communications and transportation has greatly diminished the isolation of the Indian peoples from the rest of the USNA. However, the third "solution" is still being used by the imperialists today. On the one hand, the bourgeoisie has attacked the culture, languages and religions of the Indian peoples in their attempt to "assimilate" the Indian peoples. While on the other hand they have tried to keep the Indian peoples' struggles isolated from the general working class movement. The main tool that the bourgeoisie has used in order to try and separate and divide the Indian peoples from the rest of the USNA proletariat has been that of white chauvinism. But they have also relied upon the CPUSA to do

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**CPUSA:**

Cont. from p. 2  
 should be noted that the Party was reconstituted as a result of the scathing criticism delivered by Stalin and the other comrades of the international communist movement in the form of an open letter from Comrade Duclos, the secretary of the French Communist Party. However, the opportunist elements remaining in the Party only made a pretense of purging the class collaborators. Shortly thereafter, Foster emerged as the leader of the Party, falsely claiming that it was he (and not Stalin and the international communists) who had insisted on the reconstitution of the Party and that he had resolutely fought against its dissolution in the first place. But let us look at Foster's brand of Marxism-Leninism, "The Communist Party upholds the achievements of American democracy and defends the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights against its reactionary enemies who destroy democracy and popular liberties. It uncompromisingly fights against imperialism and colonial oppression, against racial, national and religious discrimination, against Jim Crowism, anti-Semitism and all forms of chauvinism. In the struggle for democracy, peace, and social progress, the Communist Party carries forward the democratic traditions of Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln, and Frederick Douglass, and the great working class traditions of Sylvius, Debs and Ruthenberg. It fights side by side for all who join in this cause."<sup>3</sup> Clearly, Foster, with his smooth sophisms, and the newly emerged CPUSA leadership were putting forth a more dangerous revisionist line than Browder's which they were supposedly opposing. In spite of its pretense of moving "left", the Party leadership was continuing along its traitorous path.

Since usurping the leadership of the CPSU the Soviet revisionists, the CPUSA's mentors, have historically adopted similar tricks. Is it not a fact that the ouster of Khrushchev by Brezhnev and Kosygin was nothing but a move of the CPSU to present itself as "left" in appearance? That is their "form", but what is their "content"? The Brezhnev/Kosygin gang has not only continued, but they have deepened and expanded social imperialism.

While the CPUSA gives the appearance of moving "left", the "new left" as represented by the October League, the Guardian, The Revolutionary Union and the Black Workers Congress, have moved more openly to the right. They have launched vicious attacks on the National Continuations Committee and a member organization, the Communist League. Both have been called Trotskyites, agents of the bourgeoisie and the leadership of one organization had the gall to suggest that CL comrades should be shot. Is this any way for communists to conduct themselves? These kinds of attacks serve to

open the door for physical attacks from the state against the whole communist movement. And these people call themselves communists!

It should be made clear that the role of the "new left" in the USNA, historically, has been, and is, to take up the attacks on the Marxist-Leninists for the CPUSA. However, with the increasing strength of the Congress, the CPUSA now realizes that it has sent a "boy to do a man's job". As a result, the Party has served notice that it is taking up this struggle itself. It has even begun to use the term "ultra-left"; a term which has been used by the "new left" in earlier attacks on the CL and later against the NCC.

While the "new left" has previously worked secretly with the Party in the past to sabotage the working class movement, the "open" working relationships between the Party and the "new left" have been established and manifested by their cooperation in the "March to North Carolina" rally and by the collaboration of both in the rank and file movements. This gives a strong appearance of co-optation of the "new left" by the CPUSA. But where else can the "new left" go? There is only one science of the working class and that is Marxism Leninism. Revisionism supports the bourgeoisie. It is clear that the "new left" rejects the former.

Comrades, this attack is a good thing for us. We should welcome it and not run from it. Now, more than ever, it is necessary that we dig ourselves deeper into the working class and expose the CPUSA in practice. The rotten revisionist CPUSA is standing in the way of the development of the revolution. In the past few months we have seen the CPUSA launch a gigantic campaign around the Daily World. The aim of the campaign is to set up a network of agents around the Daily World deep in the working class. We too, must step up our efforts to establish a network of agents deep in the working class and especially among the vanguard of the proletariat. However, the crucial difference is that the ultimate aim of the CPUSA's campaign is to divide the working class and isolate it from the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Isn't it clear that the campaign which the CPUSA has launched into the Negro Nation (a campaign which it terms the struggle against "racism and repression") is an effort to isolate the Negro working class from the struggle against capital, the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin makes it clear that "the first historical objective (that of winning over the class conscious vanguard of the proletariat to the side of Soviet power and the dictatorship of the working class) could not have been reached without a complete ideological and political victory over opportunism and social-

chauvinism..."<sup>4</sup> Thus, we must sink deeper into the working class and fight the revisionist leadership of the CPUSA in practice, seizing every opportunity to expose their treachery and traitorous actions against the working class.

This move by the CPUSA leadership should be viewed as the result of the correctness of our line. Furthermore, the correctness with which we wage the struggle against the revisionism and opportunism of the CPUSA leadership will inevitably polarize the membership of the CPUSA along the lines of Marxism-Leninism and Revisionism. Out of the old unity that was the CPUSA came many Marxist-Leninists who were either expelled or driven out of the Party by the opportunist, revisionist leadership (though many honest Marxist-Leninists remained in the Party). Then followed the period of disunity (i.e., these Marxist-Leninists were scattered in different groups, such as, the POC and later the CL). However, this disunity was bound to be followed by a new unity on a higher level - this new unity is the Party which we are about to form. One of the main sources of strength in this new unity is the many brave Marxist-Leninists who participated in many long years of struggle against the revisionists within the CPUSA, and who will now participate in forming a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. We must take the words of Comrade Enver Hoxha to heart and militantly embrace the struggle against the rotten, traitorous CPUSA leadership. "Opportunism and revisionism have always been and remain the ideological and political source of disruption of the unity of the Communist Parties and the communist movement in general. In the course of its history the international communist movement has witnessed a transition from unity to division and from division to a new unity on a higher basis. Victory in the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and Opportunism and revisionism has always been on the side of Marxism-Leninism. After each battle against opportunism and revisionism, the Communist movement has won great historical victories and Marxism-Leninism has been developed and raised to a higher level."<sup>5</sup>

## Footnotes:

1. Daily World, July 20, 1974, p. 9.
2. Georgi Dimitrov, Selected Articles and Speeches, Lawrence and Wishart Ltd., London, 1951, p. 172.
3. Quoted from Admiral Kilpatrick's "On the Struggle Against Revisionism", Communist League, 1974.
4. V.I. Lenin, Against Revisionism, Progress Publ., Moscow, 1966, p. 517.
5. Enver Hoxha, The Party of Labor of Albania In Battle with Modern Revisionism, Naim Fasheri Publ, House, Tirana, 1972, p. 186-7.

**ETHIOPIA**

(Cont. from p. 5)

task of the great Bolshevik Party with its great leaders, V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin to serve as the white soldier cells of the body and to destroy and wipe out the huge virus which as you all know was the 2nd International with all its revisionism and chauvinism.

The world proletariat today is suffering from the virus of revisionism headed by the revisionist Party of the Soviet Union. This is the general. In particular, for the case of the USNA, the proletariat movement there, suffers from the same ailment, the same rotten and revisionist virus headed by the CPUSA. Unless and until this virus is wiped out and destroyed, the proletarian movement of the USNA cannot tread along the revolutionary path set by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse Tung, and other great communist revolutionaries and their parties.

That is why, it has been one of the chief tasks of the USNA communists (M-L) to first serve the USNA proletariat as its white soldier cells in the struggle against and in the destruction of the revisionism which is led by the CPUSA. This battle was a well fought battle and this has been attested to by the first stage of victory. This first stage of victory is represented by your present and first break-through Congress.

We believe that it is not coincidental for your party Congress and the overthrow of the shameful dog Nixon to have happened about the same time. The failure of Nixon bears in it the successful internal struggle waged against U.S. imperialism by the revolutionary sector of the USNA proletariat. It is true that Nixon is only one man, one mad man in the service of international imperialism in general and US imperialism in particular. But his failure does not represent the failure of just one madman, the failure of one fascist. It is a failure that has exposed the rotten nature of imperialism's core. In fact, the very fact that it took a long time to throw him out of office had a positive side when viewing the hood-winked masses of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania. In these continents, the Watergate scandal has offered a great political education on imperialism.

Comrades,

The situation in Ethiopia is one of revolutionary unrest. This is a good thing. Around February, revolutionary storm broke through the deceptive calm that had prevailed for a long time. From all across the entire gamut of the oppressed society, from the working class to the peasantry, politico-economic demands were made. The high level of awareness and the revolutionary militancy of the Ethiopian people was seen. But at present there obtains a leadership vacuum.

We realize that a revolution requires above all corres-

ponding material pre-requisites, objective conditions, maturity of economic, social and political contradictions. But we also realize that apart from these objective conditions, the success of a revolution depends also on a subjective factor, namely, on the ability of the revolutionary class or classes to solve the existing contradictions. This ability depends on the level of organization and consciousness of the advanced class (the working class, especially its detachment), on its revolutionary spirit and capacity to guide the broad masses. Our principal struggle now is to create such a detachment.

So, the main struggle facing us today is that of party building. The ground is fertile but the local fascists and the international imperialists (especially US imperialism) are now, more than ever, active. Be that as it may, our struggle, we are convinced, shall bear fruit in the near future. We would like to share with you some points of interest in our struggle.

First. On the current role of US imperialism in Ethiopia. At a time when the Ethiopian people have risen up-in-arms to destroy and bury feudalism, bureaucrat capitalism and imperialism, the US imperialists through their C.I.A. agents are brazenly infiltrating both the military and the civilian population with their paper money, their arms and their filthy ideology. Already, large shipments of arms have been sent from the United States and soon it is expected that agents will follow. The situation reminds us of Vietnam in the late 50's, when the U.S. imperialists, by violating the Geneva accords, armed and put fascist Diem in power. At present, and here in Ethiopia, they are working very hard to buy out the local military and create in Ethiopia a fascist dictatorship. Our struggle to expose this is intense. You can help us in this respect.

Second. Like you had and still have revisionism as a fascist obstacle in your way, that is led by the CPUSA, we also have revisionism as a fascist obstacle in our way of party building. In Africa, revisionism, utopian socialism and social democracy exist all embedded in the theories and practices of "African Socialism" and "Arab Socialism". These -isms of bourgeois liberalism and social fascism have to be wiped out, destroyed and victory scored over them before genuine M-L parties can be created. This struggle is one of our main struggles today and we are deep in it already.

Third. The question of the great Marxist-Leninist revolutionary thinker and leader namely Comrade J.V. Stalin, is, we believe, a most serious question of Marxism-Leninism on which there can be no compromise, no negotiation or no accommodation. We must fully realize that the people who attack Comrade Stalin are the imperialists, the revisionists, and the Trotskyites. These fascist triplets in form

but who are one in content do not just attack him but attack him wildly and paint him as utterly black and consider him without a single virtue. This enemy attack is a good thing and as if to deal on this very question, Mao Tse Tung said:

"I hold that it is bad as far as we are concerned if a person, a political party, an army or a school is not attacked by the enemy, for in that case it would definitely mean that we have sunk to the level of the enemy. It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work."

We believe that Comrade Stalin was the wise and great leader of communism during its first thirty years of offensive after the October revolution in general and after the death of the great Lenin in particular. Comrade Stalin throughout his life consistently drew a clear line of demarcation between the people and the enemy, between the proletariat and imperialism. He had achieved a great deal of work. On the other hand, his attackers especially the revisionists and the Trotskyites by attacking him give daily proof that they have not only sunk to the level of the enemy but have long become one with and indistinguishable from the enemy, from imperialism.

Comrades,

In ending let us repeat what Mao said once in his, "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War".

"No political party can possibly lead a great revolutionary movement to victory unless it possesses revolutionary theory and a knowledge of history and has a profound grasp of the practical movement."

And accordingly, while wishing you once more proletarian success at your Congress, and confident of the fact that you have got what it takes, we would like to say:

Learn from the history of the CPSU(B)  
Learn from the history of the PLA  
Learn from the history of the CPC  
Learn from the history of N. Vietnam  
Learn from the history of N. Korea

Your struggles are ours and ours yours!!

Long live the victory of your break-through congress!!  
Victory to the Ethiopian Revolution!!  
Workers of all countries, UNITE!!

Comradely,  
Ethiopian Revolutionary Committee

**WOMEN:** Cont. from p. 5  
of the working class. It is not the "for" or the "against" proclamation of this or any other complex question that is decisive. No, it is the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie that may be fought out in part over this issue that is decisive. In this period that which is important is that which wins over the vanguard of the proletariat to the cause of communism and that which brings political, class consciousness to the proletariat.

It should be noted here that just as the "new left" and to a certain extent the CPUSA, are arguing amongst themselves about whether to be "for" or "against" the ERA, so too are countless politicians in the U.S. Congress arguing over this amendment, each trying to portray himself as the true defender of the rights of women and claiming his amendment to the amendment to be the best. But issues such as the rights of women are decided neither in the U.S. Congress nor in the left movement but in the class struggle. However, so long as the issue is merely discussed apart from the working class struggle against the bourgeoisie from either the standpoint of the U.S. Congress or of the "new left" we leave the initiative and the gains to the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie in the USNA is stepping up its fascist drive for there is absolutely no reason to think that the bourgeoisie will gratuitously do anything to help women workers or any other section of the working class. In fact, one interpretation of the ERA would be that "equal" means "same"; an interpretation which can lay the conditions for wiping out any protective laws that cover working conditions for women now. Even now, there are already "protective" laws which in name guard the health and safety of women workers, but, in fact, are used both to deny women jobs and to deny men protective benefits. In the same way, the ERA, if ratified by enough states would be used to deny women protective legislation, and most likely, to substitute women for men in jobs at lower wages. But our righteous decrees on the ERA will do nothing to arm the proletariat for its upcoming struggle against the bourgeoisie. Nor will it in any way weaken the bourgeoisie. In fact, our failure to act will actually allow the bourgeoisie to prepare its fascism without opposition. But our task is to mobilize our forces and all class conscious workers for the revolutionary struggle forcing the bourgeoisie to enforce the supposed benefits of the ERA, the Civil Rights Act, and so on. Victories have to be prepared for and won; they are not simply granted by Congress. We have to fight from our source of strength, --from the factories through our factory nuclei--for real protec-

tion for the health and safety of both men and women, for equal pay for commensurate work. Not with a simple "for" or "against" but with the exposure of the CPUSA and through the actual experience of the workers, will we build up our factory nuclei and closely unite socialism with the working class movement.

All workers must be mobilized for the defense of women's rights. Work must be done among working class women (for example work around the ERA) so as to bring them into the vanguard in the sense of bringing them into political action against the enemy. Working women are, of course, part of the working class, and many times part of the active vanguard of the proletariat. Yet, often, they are not involved in the struggle of the vanguard of the proletariat but rather they are involved in bourgeois and petty-bourgeois led reformist struggles.

But, at the same time, working class women must be brought by political education from this position as reserves into the vanguard of the proletariat. The oppression of women affects women of all classes; and a mass women's movement must involve women of all classes. But the only way for this resistance to the oppression of women to be effective is for it to be pointed at the real enemy, the imperialist trusts. It must show that "true emancipation of women is not possible except through communism. (It) must lay stress on the unbreakable connection between woman's human and social position and the private ownership of the means of production. This will draw a strong, ineradicable line against the bourgeois movement for 'emancipation' of women." (Lenin, The Emancipation of Women, Int. Publ., p. 110) In order for the struggle of women to keep this direction and to really challenge the bourgeoisie it must be firmly based in the industrial proletariat. Political education of the proletariat through propaganda as well as through specific struggles is the task of a communist party.

With our party's destiny ahead of us and the history of the international communist movement behind us giving us strength and direction, let us resolve to leave behind forever the period of the sterile and impotent decrees. With our wealth of trained comrades dedicated to Marxism-Leninism, let us march on, without pausing, to really make ours a party that embraces the vanguard of the proletariat, leading those struggles in which the workers are convinced by their own experience that their enemy is capital and that their future is in socialism.



## STRIKES

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sist the struggle of the working class by developing the class consciousness of the workers, by promoting their organization and showing them the aims and objects of the struggle. The tasks facing the Communists in this stage of party building is to win the vanguard of the proletariat to the cause of communism and in so doing, unite the whole of the working class with the ideas of socialism. In order to fulfill this task, we must engage in the class struggle with particular emphasis in the economic struggle because for the most part this is where the current upsurge of the working class is taking place. Our call "everything to the front" means to ground ourselves in the factories, establish factory nuclei, and in the main mass organizations of the working class, not only organize support for the factory work but organize all aspects of the working struggle into a torrent of revolution.

Any attempt to separate the economic struggle from the political struggle or any attempt to absolutize either side means a deviation toward economism or sectarianism. Lenin put the economists in their place when he told them for the workers, "...such activity is not enough for us, we are not children to be fed on the thin gruel of 'economic' politics alone, we want to know everything that others know, we want to learn the details of all aspects of political life and to take part actively in every single political event." (5) The history of Communists in the economic movement has been the fight conducted against either deviation against either ideological representative of the bourgeoisie.

One important aspect in the fight against revisionism is precisely this question of the inseparable connection between the economic and political struggle in the revolutionary process and whether Communist or Bourgeois politics are introduced into the spontaneous movement.

The essence of revisionism is the denial of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is concretely expressed in their tactics within the class struggle. Thus their tactics are that of raising reforms as an end in themselves rather than as a means to revolution. The revisionists do not fight to raise the level of the consciousness of the working class to class consciousness but rather retard the movement by bowing to spontaneity by "lending the economic struggle itself a political character". Lenin was very clear when he said, "Very often the economic struggle spontaneously assumes a political character, that is to say without the intervention of the 'revolutionary bacilli - the intelligentsia,' without the intervention of the class conscious Social-Democrats. For example, the economic struggle

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**STRIKES**

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of the British workers also assumed a political character without any intervention of the Socialists. The tasks of the Social-Democrats, however, are not exhausted by political agitation on an economic basis; their task is to convert trade union politics into Social-Democratic political struggle, to utilize the sparks of political consciousness, which the economic struggle generates among the workers, for the purpose of raising them to the level of Social-Democratic political consciousness." (6)

We also witness the "left" groups making sweeping statements that these strikes are massive class struggles against the ruling class...."the struggle of the workers becomes a class struggle only when all the foremost representatives of the entire working class of the whole country are conscious of themselves as a single working class and launch a struggle that is directed, not against individual employers, but against the entire class of capitalists and against the government that supports that class. '.....Every class struggle is a political struggle' these famous words of Marx are not to be understood to mean that any struggle of workers against employers must always be a political struggle. They must be understood to mean that the struggle of the workers against the capitalists inevitably becomes a political struggle insofar as it becomes a class struggle. It is the task of the Social Democrats (Communists, ed) by organizing the workers, by conducting propaganda and agitation among them, to turn their spontaneous struggle against their oppressors into the struggle of the whole class, into the struggle of a definite political party for definite political and socialist ideals." (7)

Marxism-Leninism does not tie the movement of the working class to any particular form of struggle nor does it create mass struggle. Marxism-Leninism demands that the most exacting investigation of the social situation should be made so that the tactics which are consciously developed according to the changing objective conditions in the course of the mass movement can be generalized, organized and made conscious to the workers.

We are in the period of building a multi-national Communist Party, of winning the vanguard of the proletariat to the cause of communism. Our tasks are many and there are no "short-cuts". The foundation of every political movement has been the economic struggle. Again we state that we must find every way and means of throwing our vanguard forces into the spontaneous movement of the working class today in order to revolutionize the class. In the words of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: "THE WORKING CLASS IS REVOLUTIONARY OR IT IS NOTHING!"

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**INDIAN PEOPLES**

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some of the dirty work. The CPUSA, in the main, has successfully detoured the Indian peoples' movement onto the road of reformism. They have fought to keep the struggles of the Indian peoples confined within the limits of bourgeois democracy. Along with this, their line of "fight racism", which insists that the "whites" must cleanse their minds of "racism" before aiding and supporting the Indian peoples and all national minorities, has aided greatly in the temporary defeat of the struggle of the Indian peoples for democratic rights.

The bourgeoisie's forced "assimilation" policies, in addition to the total lack of employment opportunities on the reservations, has thrown half of the Indian population into the cities. Once forced into the cities, the Indian peoples, due to a lack of education, inability to speak the English language and the yoke of special oppression as an oppressed people, are driven into the most exploited and oppressed sections of the urban proletariat. The old trick of divide and conquer has been used consistently in the cities of the Southwest. The Indian and Mexican national minority proletarians are used to force down wages and to defeat union struggles. These workers are forced to work the worst jobs for the lowest wages and due to the chauvinist discriminatory hiring practices, their livelihood is in constant peril. Another factor which should be noted as regards the influx of the Indian peoples into the Anglo-American proletariat is the increasing number of "run-away" shops. These shops are located in and around the Indian reservations in order to exploit the vast reserves of cheap labor. Soon the largest coal mining operation in the world will be located on Indian reservations in New Mexico, Arizona, Montana and Wyoming and plans are being completed to locate the largest coal gasification plant in the USNA on the Navajo Indian Reservation in northwestern New Mexico.

However, oppression breeds resistance, and the struggle of the Indian peoples is heightening in various parts of the country. As a result, the fascist offensive has reared its ugly head in the Indian community. For example, the bourgeois judicial system of the state of New Mexico has, in effect, licensed the continued physical intimidation of the Indian peoples by "slapping the hand" of three hoodlums who confessed to the brutal mutilation murders of three Indian men. (The three were sentenced to a maximum of five years in the New Mexico School for Boys for their part in the atrocities.) Alcohol is increasingly being pushed in the Indian communities for the same reason that drugs are pushed on the working class as a whole, i.e., to drown the militancy of the Indian peoples in a sea of cheap liquor.

Comrades, history has set before us the task of defeating the most powerful imperialist state in the world. In order for the new party to be successful in overthrowing the class enemy, it must unify the most militant, class conscious elements of the working class. The party must obliterate all the distinctions and privileges the bourgeoisie has imposed on various sections of the class in order to keep it divided. Lenin writes, "Successful struggle against exploitation requires that the proletariat be free of nationalism....If the proletariat of any one nation gives the slightest support to the privileges of its 'own' national bourgeoisie, that will inevitably rouse distrust among the proletariat of another nation, it will weaken the international class solidarity of the workers and divide them, to the delight of the bourgeoisie. Repudiation of the right to self-determination or to succession inevitably means, in practice, support for the privileges of the dominant nation." (1)

What does this mean to the working class of the Anglo-American nation with regard to the Indian question? It means that the working class of the USNA wholeheartedly support and actively participate in the fight of the Indian peoples against imperialist exploitation. Without this there can be no proletarian internationalism.

Concretely, as Marxist-Leninists within the USNA, we must fight for Regional Autonomy for the Indian peoples. Our struggle must be that of guaranteeing consistent democracy for all the Indian peoples. The various Indian peoples are faced with special economic and social problems which they, because of their knowledge of the local conditions, are in the best position to solve. The Indian peoples know how to utilize the natural and human resources of the particular area in which they reside, and regional autonomy will be the vehicle that will most suitably guarantee the self-determination that they have long been fighting for. As Marxists-Leninists we must also struggle for the preservation of the cultures, traditions and languages of the Indian peoples which also is best resolved with regional autonomy. With the ranks of the proletariat being swelled with the Indian people, and the increasing militancy of the Indian people's movement, Marxist-Leninists in the USNA must raise the Indian question as part of the overall task of winning the vanguard of the proletariat to the cause of communism. The history of determined resistance against the domination of the imperialist USNA state by the Indian peoples will serve as a model of heroism in our struggle against the same enemy. The ascending cry of the Indian peoples who've battled tooth and nail against their capitalist executioners, rings in the hearts of all those groaning under the heel of imperialist exploitation and oppression. We embrace their fighting cry as

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## ELECTIONS

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mess that the imperialists find themselves in. Faced with a spontaneous upsurge of the working class that has brought the largest strike wave in 25 years, it is of utmost importance to the imperialists to have a president who can act free from the taint of the exposed and isolated Nixon regime. He, unlike Nixon, has been able to use the cover of the "honeymoon" of a "new" government to call together not only the financiers, but also the big labor lieutenants, such as, Meany, Abel, Woodcock and Fitzsimmons, to "all work together" toward the building of a fascist front to mislead and snuff out the rising militancy of the working class.

Ford has already taken steps to reintroduce the hated wage-price freeze. While Ford is officially "protesting" against the wage-price freeze, he is "allowing" the fascist labor lieutenants to "talk" him into taking "emergency action" to fight rising prices. But from our past experience we know that wage-price controls only freeze wages, while prices continue to rise.

Under the guise of fighting inflation, the new president has promised to cut federal spending. He made it clear that the cuts would not be in defense, where nearly \$100 billion is being spent to uphold the USNA military stranglehold over its colonies and prepare for war with the other imperialist powers. No, our new president upheld Nixon's last act of vetoing money for welfare, poverty programs, environmental cleanup, and aid to the elderly. In criticizing big government spending, other than for the military, Ford made it perfectly clear that he would continue the Nixon work of slowly but surely cutting out the billions spent on "beneficial programs".

And to add insult to injury, Ford has now proposed a new excise tax on gasoline of 10¢ per gallon.

With an almost identical statement to those of the new premiers of France, Britain and West Germany, Ford told us to tighten our belts and get ready for war. The liberation struggles of the Vietnamese, the Pilipinos, the Koreans, etc. are demanding the "reintroduction" of USNA troops. While praising the Nixon years as a time of "peace", Ford blatantly warned the world of the important lesson that detente is preparation for imperialist war. He stated in his address to Congress, "A strong defense is the surest way to peace. Strength makes detente attainable. Weakness invites war, as my generation knows from four bitter experiences. Just as America's will for peace is second to none, so will America's strength be second to none." (1)

The appointment of Rockefeller as our new "peoples"

Vice President even more openly exposes the true aims of this "new" government. His appointment is the biggest step taken towards fascism so far. Rockefeller represents the most bloodthirsty of the imperialists. The wealth of the Rockefellers is so great that it is impossible to estimate how vast the Rockefeller empire is throughout the world. Through the Chase Manhattan Bank and interlocking directorates, they control oil, cattle, coal, timber, railroads, etc. from Argentina to Alaska and from the Middle East to Southeast Asia. Nelson Rockefeller has maintained a personal political interest in Latin America, having traveled there many times as a "goodwill ambassador" of the USNA while overseeing his estates. The bourgeois press said that Latin Americans are overjoyed at the appointment of Rockefeller. But they can only be talking about the Latin American compradors. We remember that on Rockefeller's last trip, at every stop he made he was confronted with angry mobs who jeered and threw stones at him.

The appointment of Rockefeller signals the direct involvement of big USNA finance capitalists within the government. Rather than allow henchmen and flunkies to take care of business for them, the situation at home and abroad has grown so precarious that the imperialists themselves must move to directly handle the state apparatus. With this appointment, one wonders who is actually the President and who is actually the Vice President?!

This whole chain of events finds the leadership of the CPUSA "caught between a rock and a hard place". On the one hand, they have to support detente because of their ties with the CPSU and this means supporting the pro-detente forces within the USNA government. On the other hand, the anger of the working class at the corruption and bankruptcy of the government means the CPUSA leadership must also be against the same forces they are supposed to support. This left Gus Hall and crew holding the bag as Nixon and now Ford support detente. Throughout the whole Watergate period they had to walk a tightrope - one day praising Nixon for his foreign policy with respect to the Soviet Union and the next day, making wishy-washy comments on Nixon's corruptness. From this we know what to expect from the leadership of the CPUSA as regards Ford! They must praise him for keeping the foreign policy of detente, but as each step towards fascism is instituted through this "new" government, they will be unable to say much of anything.

And what have been their comments on this "new" government, but to hope it leads to a "people's front". Gus Hall stated, "This can be a new beginning if it results in a new unity, a unity of all democratic forces, a unity of all working class forces, a unity of the racially oppressed, a unity

of peace forces and a unity of the young generation." (2) But where will a people's front lead if it is not under the leadership of the united front of the working class and its advanced detachment, a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party? As Gus Hall makes clear, it will lead right into the arms of this "new" government and the horrors of fascism.

We are on the eve of the formation of a real communist party to lead the working class into battle against its class enemy. The coming period will test the Communist's ability to go deep into the class, and organize the vanguard elements directly into the fight for the dictatorship of the proletariat. This cannot be done by quoting abstract theory at the factory gate. No, every upsurge, every manifestation of tyranny and oppression must be used not only to expose the nature of the class system but to imbue the working class with the ideals of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat as the only solution to the rapidly increasing misery and death at the hands of imperialism.

The immediate defense of the working class against the rapidly building fascist menace must be the formation of the united front of the working class against fascism. This united front cannot be built out of thin air, but must be formed under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party, and out of the concrete struggles to defend the class against the attacks of the imperialists.

It is clear that the Ford-Rockefeller government has been formed to further attack the working class. We must meet this attack on our democratic rights with the battle cry for new elections. Article II, Section I of the U.S. Constitution allows for the election of a new president after a resignation, death, etc. But the right of election was not even given to the first 13 states 200 years ago as George Washington and his vice president were not elected, but were appointed by Congress. And since that time, the right to vote has really always been a sham as the electoral college actually chooses the highest officers of our country. Now, even the pretense of voting privileges has been taken away.

As Communists, we must use the call for new elections to enter the parliamentary struggle - not to work for bourgeois political ends, but to use it as a platform to expose bourgeois government for what it is - corrupt, degenerate and against the working class. As Lenin made clear, "As long as we Communists are unable to take over state power and hold elections, with working people alone voting for their Soviets against the bourgeoisie; as long as the bourgeoisie exercise state power and call upon the different classes of the population to take part in

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**PUERTO RICO**

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sors and different political goals. Today there is but one American market, one social system and one oppressor. The decisive task of the Marxist-Leninist parties and groups is to achieve a revolutionary unity. This is absolutely impossible without the struggle for the emancipation of Puerto Rico!"

We must raise the call of INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO! We must take the call - "No political domination of Puerto Rico" to the Anglo-American proletariat and, in particular to its vanguard. The vanguard of the proletariat can only really be won over when we take up our task of uniting the theories of socialism with the working class movement.

The Anglo-American proletariat owes a special debt to the Puerto Rican people. Their struggle for liberation rages on and we must redeem that debt by joining hands in that struggle. As Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin have taught us, the overthrow of imperialism can only be won through the unity of the proletariat of the imperialist countries with the oppressed nations and peoples. No nation can be free if it oppresses other nations!

FREE PUERTO RICO!!

¡VIVA PUERTO RICO LIBRE!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!!

1. The Splendid Little War, Frank Freidel; Little, Brown and Co.; Boston, 1958, pg. 3.
2. Chronological History of Puerto Rico, Frederico Ribes Tovar, Plus Ultra, New York, 1973, pg. 70.
3. Peoples Tribune, Vol. 5, No. 7, page 5.
4. U.S. Census Abstract, 1971, pg. 769, Table 1241 and pg. 786, Table 1258.
5. Same as #4
6. U.S. Census Abstract 1971, pg. 788, Table 1262.
7. Associated Press 1974 Almanac, page 463
8. U.S. Census Abstract, pgs. 784, 318, 110. Tables 1254 505, 165.
9. People's Tribune, Vol. 3, No. 3, pg. 3.

**ELECTIONS**

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the elections, we are in duty bound to take part in the elections with the purpose of conducting agitation among all working people, not only among the proletarians. As long as the bourgeois parliament remains a means of duping the workers, and phrases about "democracy" are used to cover up financial swindling and every kind of bribery..., we Communists are in duty bound to be in this very institution (which is supposed to express the people's will but actually covers up the deception of the people by the wealthy), to untiringly expose this deception.... It is in parliament that the relations between bourgeois parties and groups manifest themselves most frequently and reflect the relations between all the classes of bourgeois society. That is why it is in the bourgeois par-

**NEGRO NATION**

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clearly prove that the Negro national colonial question is fundamentally a class question.

At this point, Comrades, our soon to be formed Communist Party must take the leading role. We must tie ourselves into the spontaneous movement of the Negro people by thousands of links. Our work in the factories, shops and mills will give us access to the advanced Negro workers. But we must also consistently join Negro mass organizations and do consistent, patient, conscious-developing work. And thirdly, we must win the Anglo-American proletariat as a whole to the defense of the Negro people and the Negro national minority workers, thereby ensuring the unity of our class. For limiting ourselves to work only amongst the Negro and Negro national minority masses will not ensure this unity. In our work with the Anglo-American proletariat, we must be the most militant fighters against white chauvinism and for the equality of the Negro national minority. We must concretely show the Anglo-American proletariat, through our practical programs and demands, that their exploitation and oppression is directly tied to the oppression of the Negro Nation.

We must not rest content with only raising the slogan "Free the Negro Nation" in our propaganda, but we must render direct support through our practical activity to make this slogan a reality, because the struggles of the Negro masses and of the Anglo-American working class are inseparable. With analysis and unending research, we must formulate demands that constantly expose the Negro question as a national colonial question. The Anglo-American proletariat must be made to understand the extreme importance of the Negro question so that the slogan "Free the Negro Nation" will become the slogan of the working class. In every aspect of our work, we must raise the question of the oppression of the Negro people and show the connection between

liament, from within it, that we Communists must tell the people the truth about the relation between classes and parties, and the attitude of the landowners to the farm labourers, of the rich peasants to the poor peasants, of big capital to employees and petty proprietors, etc."(3)

The battle for new elections is certainly not an end in itself, but a way to expose the revisionists, a way to expose bourgeois government and the treacherous aims of USNA imperialism, and a way to build a strong defense against fascism. Every shop meeting, every union hall, block organization, community group and PTA can be not only our forum, but the nucleus of our strength. We must not use the battle for reforms as a dead-end road, but as Lenin said, "... they can

this oppression and the onslaught of fascism in Anglo-America.

Recent years have not only witnessed the sharpened contradictions in the Negro people's liberation movement, but have also given rise to an intense battle for the political direction of this struggle. Ten years ago the success of the revisionists was apparent; "peaceful transition", reliance upon elected officials and the struggle for crumbs were the order of the day. Amongst the CPUSA any discussion of the Negro question as a national colonial question was met with ridicule and scorn. The political direction was in the hands of the bourgeoisie and no matter what upsurge or rebellion occurred, it was skillfully turned into bourgeois foundations, commissions, trials, pray-ins, etc.

The struggle against the revisionists has made it increasingly clear throughout the USNA that proletarian leadership of the Negro people's movement means not only rejecting the pacifist leadership of the petty-bourgeoisie, but raising the demand for the independence of the Negro Nation. The only body of theory for the proletariat is communism; everything else has the stale odor of the bourgeoisie. The demand for independence for the Negro Nation is not only the most discussed question within the "left", more importantly, it has been raised in the auto shops, the steel mills and the garment factories throughout the USNA state. Now instead of snickers, the revisionists are frantically trying to prove that there is not a Negro national colonial question.

Yet the revisionists cannot but repeat their worn out slogans. In 1972 Gus Hall said that one of the most significant gains has been the increased number of elected officials. Are these officials serving the interests

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**INDIAN PEOPLES**

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our very own, as we consolidate our ranks in party building. We cherish their legacy, as we, armed with the science of Marxism-Leninism, heighten the assault on oppression and exploitation, by undertaking the task of organizing and enlightening the class which will once and for all vanquish the reign of capital.

Regional Autonomy for the Indian Peoples!

1) Lenin, "The Right of Nations to Self Determination", Selections from VI Lenin and JV Stalin on National Colonial Question, Calcutta Book House, 1970, p. 23.

serve to develop the political consciousness of the masses, to raise them to a higher political level, to organize them, not for the sake of philistine happiness, or for the sake of 'tranquility', 'order' and 'peaceful' (bourgeois bliss, but for the struggle, the struggle for

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## M.L. PARTY

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task has just barely begun. However, it is significant and it should be noted that the struggle to ground the CL in the class has resulted in a membership of about 1/3 Latin American comrades, 1/3 Negro comrades, and 1/3 Anglo-American comrades. This struggle has resulted in 60% of our membership being women. It has resulted in the workers being the leading elements on all of our internal bodies.

In a word, we set out to uphold our responsibilities in the inevitable process of party building. We can say that we have discharged our responsibilities with honor.

Much more important is the period we are entering. All of our efforts in the immediate future must be to organizationally and ideologically prepare ourselves and the class for the upsurge of fascism in this country. This demands that we walk on two legs in all respects: that we struggle to win the vanguard of the proletariat to the cause of communism, and at the same time that we struggle to carry out the slogan - sink deeper into the masses. We must get underground. Not only are we being harassed by the cops and the labor goons, but we are now being threatened by the "new left" gangs. None of these goons dare to follow us deep into the class and this is our only security. We must uphold Marxism-Leninism everywhere; especially we must never cease to struggle to support the Marxist-Leninists within the Soviet Union for this is the crucial battle field in the struggle against revisionism and consequently, imperialism. It is not for nothing that the Chinese comrades state over and over again that the mark of the communist is the ability to swim against

the tide. We must uphold truth as we see it, we must never hesitate to move away from error once we recognize it. Even with our relatively limited knowledge and experience, if we sail with the tide of history and not against it, it is inevitable that we will reach the other shore.

We see that the old situation that was characterized by a unity with the "new left" is smashed forever. With the formation of the new Party we leap forever out of that situation. The new situation and the new unity must be characterized by the struggle with the revisionists. Our roots are in the Party and we know that within that Party are hundreds of brave workers who have contributed scores of years to the revolutionary movement. They maintain their loyalty to the Party because there has never been a polarity, never a real choice. The popular concept that the CPUSA is a gang of dying isolated old fogies is only testimony to the isolation of the "new left" from the labor movement. The fact is that the CPUSA is not only alive but it is growing and for historical reasons has a base in not only the trade union movement, but also in the mass movement.

We have played a real role in this victory in the cause of communism. Like good soldiers, we must not stop to applaud or grow dizzy with our own estimate of success. Rather we must sharpen our trench knives, rebuckle our field packs and set out with a firm route step to the next incomparably more difficult field of battle. That battle can be none other than to drive the Gus Hall gang of revisionists from every position of influence in the labor movement. Only then can we lay across our shoulders the proud mantle of BOLSHEVISM.

## NEGRO NATION

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of the Negro masses or are they being placed in the political arena by the bourgeoisie to further oppress the Negro Nation? The revisionists refuse to answer this question. Instead they continue to say "The main obstacle to the advancement of the struggle for black liberation is the persistent influence of racist ideology among white Americans, and particularly among white workers." (3) Hence, the Negro people are told, your leadership should be the comprador bourgeoisie and your enemy is the Anglo-American workers. These lies and slanders must be exposed and defeated.

In our struggle against the oppression of the Negro Nation we will constantly run up against the CPUSA, as we have stated so often. The CPUSA, because of its insistence that the Negro question is a question of racial oppression, has always declared that the closest allies of the Negro people are the African peoples. While it is true that they are allies of the Negro people, it is true only in its most general sense of proletarian internationalism. The allies of not only the Negro people but of the Anglo-American proletariat as well, are the workers and oppressed peoples of the world. The most important allies of the Negro people are the Anglo-American proletariat. And here in the USNA, because of the strategic importance of the Negro Nation and the fact that Latin America is the nestling ground for the USNA imperialists, we cannot speak of revolution in the USNA without speaking about revolution simultaneously in Latin America. The Negro people are the link that connects the Anglo-American proletariat to the entire colonial world, in particular to the peasant masses and proletarians of

Latin America. Because of the importance of Latin America to the USNA imperialists it is crucial that we understand clearly the question of hemispheric revolution and the importance of unity between the workers and oppressed peoples of the USNA state and of Latin America.

The main obstacle to the advancement of the Negro people is the imperialists, who enslave their homeland and oppress them wherever they go. The main enemy of the Negro people is the imperialists and their revisionist lackeys. Elected officials must be judged not on the basis of their nationality, but on whether they support the struggle of the Negro and Negro national minority toilers for democratic rights. Programs must be based on material reality. Material reality is that the basis of the Negro people's and Negro national minority workers' oppression is the oppression of the Negro Nation. Any program short of this will fail.

Comrades, the formation of a Communist Party is close at hand, the Party whose task will be to provide the organization of the class struggle. This will mean the unity of communism with the objective spontaneous movement of the working class. The Party must make an all out effort to tie itself to the Negro people's liberation movement through the shops and mass organizations. The Party is the most advanced expression of the unity of the working class and through its programs and struggles must unify the entire Anglo-American proletariat in the defense of the Negro people and the Negro national minority workers.

Let the imperialists and their revisionist traitors tremble; the spectre of world communism with its unbeatable

strength known to all fresh and developing forces is raising its challenge: FREE THE NEGRO NATION. We have nothing to lose but our chains; we have a world to win.

- 1) US News & World Report, 5/20/74, p. 25.
- 2) Ibid., p. 29.
- 3) Gus Hall, Main Political Report to 1972 Convention, p. 41.

## ELECTIONS

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the complete emancipation of labour from all exploitation and all oppression." (4)

- 1) Chicago Tribune, 3/13/74.
- 2) Daily World, 8/9/74.
- 3) Lenin, "Letter to the Austrian Communists", Party Work in the Masses, Prog. Pub., 1969, pp. 142-143.
- 4) Lenin, "The Attitude of Parties to the Duma Election", Op. Cit., p. 39.

## STRIKES

Cont. from p. 10

- 1) Business Week
- 2) US News & World Report, 8/12/74.
- 3) Marx, Wages, Price and Profit, FLPP, 1965, p. 77.
- 4) Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto, FLPP, 1972, p. 74.
- 5) Lenin, "What is to Be Done?", Collected Works, Vol. 5, Prog. Pub., Moscow, 1964.
- 6) Lenin, "What is to Be Done?", FLPP, 1973, p. 90.
- 7) Lenin, "Our Immediate Tasks", Collected Works, Vol. IV, Prog. Pub., Moscow, 1964, pp. 215-216.



# FOR A REAL, MARXIST-LENINIST, COMMUNIST PARTY !!

On the occasion of the Communist League's sixth and last anniversary, we should sum up our experiences and indicate the direction for further motion.

The organizational history of the Communist League is well known and we do not want to restate it here. Of importance, however, is an examination of what our political projections were and how well they were carried out.

Briefly, the Communist League was formed with 11 members. Five of them were the core of the old Los Angeles section of the POC (the Provisional Organizing Committee to Reconstitute a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party) and six comrades were from the old San Pedro "Community Action Center".

The objective situation was one in which, except for minor connections in two or three unions and two mass organizations, our little group was isolated. Subjectively, the knowledge of Marxism - the science of revolution - was minimal. Further, there existed some influence of the "new left" amongst some of the comrades.

It was clear to us from the beginning that the main form that the counter-revolution took inside of the revolution was the form of revisionism. Revisionism wore a theoretical mask. It was clear that it would take theoretically developed comrades to really attack revisionism. We saw that the process of building the Marxist-Leninist Party was the process of the struggle against revisionism. Under these circumstances, we raised the slogan, "Education is the main task in this period of Party building." Some of our friends thought that this meant to withdraw from the class struggle and simply study abstractly. This, of course, was not true. At that time, we made our principal points of concentration our work in the UAW and on the waterfront. The projection was that unless we had some understanding of the laws of social development we would surely and up tailing the spontaneous movement. The history of the revolutionary movement in the USNA proved that this was undoubtedly true. Hence, we were correct, and history has proved that we were correct, to embrace Engels' conception "that since socialism has become a science, it must be treated as a science, it must War be studied." (Engels, The Peasant War in Germany, Int. Pub., New York, 1926, p. 28.)

From this beginning, the "left" in this country had a studied program of ignoring the Communist League. By isolating us from the political "left" that evolved from the old SDS, they hoped that we would perish. We accepted this "isolation" in a positive sense since we knew that we could not pretend to make revolution on the campuses and in the coffee shops, and that we would be driven deeper into the working class. However, it was necessary for us to take up the struggle on one central point and that was, "Does the party arise out of the mass struggle or is it the result of conscious effort on the part of advanced revolutionaries?" Since Lenin settled this question long ago, it would seem that such a struggle was on the level of whether Paris is in France or in Poland, that is, that it could be decided by going to any competent authority. However, this point was central because within it was the question of whether a grouping such as ours should go strictly to the advanced workers or whether we should concentrate on the masses: whether we should struggle for the leading role of consciousness or of spontaneity.

In this struggle for the party, all the history of the movement in this country proves to us that it is not enough to have a core of intellectuals to fight for Marxism. A serious movement would have to carry the fight for Marxism into the working class - in short, to base the new party on a core of proletarian intellectuals. Under the existing conditions this necessarily meant a rather prolonged period of intensive struggle with the working class cadre in order to complete the process of recruitment and training.

## THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SYNDICALISM

Another aspect of this struggle was that the CL emerged as a multi-national organization in a situation where such groups as the OL and the RU did not allow Negroes or other national minorities to join them - thus they effectively deepened the split within the working class along national lines. Their projec-

tion was that the Mexican national minority revolutionaries should belong to Mexican national minority organizations and the same for the Anglo-American and the Negro revolutionaries. Our struggle to demand a single multi-national communist party in the multi-national state was actually not only a struggle against white chauvinism and petty bourgeois nationalism but more abstractly it was a struggle against the specifics of syndicalism in the movement. Our principled fight has forced every so-called revolutionary group to abandon their position of national exclusiveness and call for a multi-national movement.

Simultaneously, we launched a struggle to introduce Marxism-Leninism into the "left" movement. This was basically done by taking up the defense of Lenin and Leninism against the attacks by Lin Piao and his gang. Many times this took the form of a defense of Stalin; the attacks on Stalin were actually attacks on Lenin and on Marxism-Leninism. Of course, this earned us great enmity from the "left" but it trained the comrades in the indispensable communist morality of seeking out the truth and defending it with might and main - no matter against whom and no matter what the personal results of such defense may be. Despite the gigantic and consolidated hostility to the Communist League on the part of the entire "left" - from the CPUSA to the Trotskyites - we have forced them to open the books and to struggle with us on the level of theory. As inept as they are at this, the theoretical struggle will certainly render them asunder and will clarify our goal.

The fact of the matter is that the very formation of the CL and its adherence to and propagation of Marxism-Leninism created a polarity within the "left". It is obvious that without polarity, there can be no struggle because it is impossible to know to whom you are talking. Within the context of that polarization, it became clear to us that the path of recruiting the best elements of the "left" was to concentrate in the working class.

In the minimum sense, we fully realized that a Party was an objective thing and that we could not wish it into existence. The construction of a Party was the result of the struggle to fulfill certain objective requirements. Some of these objective requirements are: 1) a national body of cadre - revolutionaries capable of finding their own way. This was to be accomplished by theoretical education and learning from participation in the labor movement. 2) Mastery of the laws of social development and the role of the various classes. Again education was the main weapon. 3) A national newspaper that would be the collective agitator and collective propagandist as well as the collective organizer. By establishing the People's Tribune we set out to fulfill this requirement. The struggle for the Tribune has been long and difficult, but the development of a newspaper which was aimed at the most advanced workers has been proven correct. 4) The development of an independent body of political knowledge and line. The central point within the USNA was our attitude toward the Negro Nation. Our concentration on the struggle to free the Negro Nation has become the dividing line in the struggle. The publication of the Negro National Colonial Question document was the opening gun in a theoretical battle none could ignore. In spite of some theoretical and historical errors the document has forced each group, including the CPUSA, to take a more scientific look at the question and to assert their positions.

Along with the struggle for clarity on the Negro question we could not help but take up and furnish Marxist-Leninist solutions to the question of Puerto Rico, the Mexican national minority question, the Indian question and the question of all the oppressed nations and peoples within the multi-national USNA imperialist state. 5) We set out to establish real ties with the masses and especially with the proletariat. Contrary to the belief of some, this did not and does not mean that we simply be amongst the people, but that we struggle to become the leadership of the people. In the final analysis, this can only be done by recruiting the best representatives of the class into the Party. Owing to objective conditions, this

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