

PEOPLES' TRIBUNE



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

Lenin

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Fascism At Attica

Fascism is murder! On September 13, over one thousand armed guards and state police using helicopters, machine guns, tanks and gas, murdered at least 32 prisoners in Attica State Prison, New York, and seriously wounded many more. The striking prisoners (over 80% Negro and Puerto Rican minorities) and all oppressed and exploited workers in this country were shown once again how the imperialists meet revolutionary demands--with fascist terror. The war of extermination that the U.S. imperialists have carried out in Vietnam is coming home.

It is becoming very clear that the imperialists will stop at nothing to contain the spreading revolutionary movement. Look at how these butchers used the hostages to whip up public opinion against the striking prisoners and then brazenly murdered at least 10 of their own men! How is the brutal murder of at least 42 persons at Attica different from the mass slaughters at the hands of Hitler's army? How is this different from the infamous extermination of the Warsaw Ghetto? Qualitatively there is no difference!

Prisons are changing rapidly as the contradictions within the U.S. state sharpen. No longer a place to lock up the dregs of society, or "rehabilitation centers", they are now Hitler type concentration camps for thousands of poor and oppressed workers and for the national minorities in particular. Prisons are not used to stop crime, but are now being used solely to stop revolution; a direct arm of the rising fascist state. But the growing revolutionary struggle in the prison system is proof that the U.S. workers are and will fight against rising fascism. The struggle at Attica and in prisons through-

out the U.S. is a revolutionary struggle and we fully support and encourage its growth.

To aid in their drive to crush the revolutionary upsurge especially of the black national minority and in the Negro Nation, the fascists have revived the Ku Klux Klan. In Jacksonville, Florida the Klan attempted to bomb a bus carrying school children. In Lubbock, Texas, Klan and police shot a black youngster to death because he entered an integrated school. In Detroit, Michigan, the Klan attempted to blow up

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What the Dollar Crisis Means

What is the basic cause of the "dollar crisis"? The real reason there is a dollar crisis in the world today and why there is runaway inflation in the U.S. is because the U.S. government doesn't have enough gold in reserve to back up the amount of dollars in circulation. The only reason a paper dollar has any value at all is because it has to be backed up by gold. It is on this assumption that governments and businesses around the world accept the dollar as legal payment of debts, etc..

In 1944, over 100 countries in the capitalist world met to establish a stable rate of exchange between countries. It was at this conference that the International Monetary Fund was established. Several important decisions were agreed upon by the IMF members. 1) They agreed that the value of each nation's currency would be based on its relationship to the U.S. dollar, 2) that the dollar would be backed up by gold and that \$35 was equal in value to 1 ounce of gold, 3)

that any nation holding dollars could turn them in for gold and 4) that no nation would allow its currency to fluctuate more than 1% either side of the dollar. Why was the U.S. able to come out of these agreements with such an advantage to themselves? Because at that time Europe and Japan were being devastated by WW11 while the U.S. was strong economically, politically, and militarily. These "agreements" were made at gunpoint after Europe had been bombed to cinders. Truly, the U.S. imperialists were magnanimous!

However, things have taken a severe turn since 1944. The European and Japanese economies have completely rehabilitated themselves since the destruction of WW11 and as a result the U.S. imperialists are faced with decreasing markets. U.S. imperialism has been headed on a downward path for a number of years and in the last 10 years this path has turned into a cliff.

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Dollar Crisis

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Over the years the dollar has become worth less and less because the government has printed billions of dollars more than it has gold to back them up. What this really means is that each dollar is no longer worth 1/35 of an oz. of gold. In fact the dollar has devalued by 2/3 since the 1940's which means each dollar today is worth approximately 35¢.

Do to the huge amount of military spending, trade, the export of finance capital, and the "vacation" industry the governments of Europe and Japan mainly, hold billions of these dollars and now want their gold. The gold reserves of the U.S. today add up to less than 10 billion dollars--nowhere near the amount needed! Japan alone holds close to 9 billion dollars and it is estimated that all the foreign interests combined hold close to 43 billion dollars--this is over 4 times the amount the U.S. has the ability to pay! The gold shortage means in effect that the dollars value has steadily been sinking and along with it the prestige of U.S. imperialism.

ATTICA

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20 school buses and were not held by police. In Butler, Alabama, a black teenager, Margaret Ann Knott, was murdered by fascists during a peaceful demonstration by the black population.

In Puerto Rico, the whole nation was put under open military rule to protect the Yankee Governor's conference held there. In spite of this, over 25,000 people demonstrated against U.S. imperialism.

The open fascist moves by the U.S. imperialists directed at the Negro Nation, Puerto Rico, and the national minorities are the first step toward building a fascist dictatorship. The majority of the U.S. workers are feeling the beginning of these attacks with high taxes, a freeze on wages and no strike laws, while prices skyrocket and there is mass unemployment. But when it is necessary, the fascists will not hesitate to spread the terror they are now perfecting in Attica, San Quentin, San Juan, and the Negro Nation and the Southwest.

Behind all these attacks is the fact that the capitalist system is dying. Either workers must overthrow this rotten system and establish socialism led by the dictatorship of the proletariat, or face another generation of continued war and oppression.

At gun-point, up until now the European and Japanese governments have let this situation "ride". Today they are no longer afraid of the might of the U.S. and are banding together to force the U.S. to officially devalue the dollar by at least 5%. Meanwhile, President Nixon, living in a pipe-dream, continues acting like chief bully of the world. The U.S. imperialists are demanding a 10% revaluation upward of the yen. Not only the yen, but as Secretary of State William Rogers said on the first day of meetings between the U.S. and Japan on the international economic crisis on Sept. 10, "For our part, and I will speak directly and candidly, we seek as priority measures: 1) A major realignment of the dollar against other currencies including the yen, and 2) the elimination of remaining Japanese import restrictions, especially on items of trade interest to the United States.. ..", L.A. Times, Sept. 10. These "requests" show that the U.S. imperialists are badly wounded and in their mania are threatening the whole world. What the U.S. imperialists are asking the Japanese and the rest of the world to do is to bear the brunt of the economic crisis the U.S. is in. A re-



The fascists' attack must be stopped where it starts. Every decent working class person has to actively fight for the rights of the minorities and for the independence of the Negro Nation and Puerto Rico! We must take to heart the heroic stand of the Attica revolutionaries and join in the fight against fascism.

How can we do this? We firmly believe that our main task now is to build a communist party, capable of uniting the growing resistance against U.S. imperialism with the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism--capable of organizing the fight to the finish against the most chauvinistic and reactionary class of imperialist rulers the world has ever seen. We urge all revolutionary minded workers to join us and fight for the rights of the working and oppressed people of the world!

valuation of foreign currencies upward would make goods produced in those countries more expensive, thus creating a larger market for the U.S.. On the other hand, for the U.S. imperialists it would prevent an "official" devaluation of the dollar (which would mean huge losses in profits) and open up new markets for them because their goods would become cheaper. For Japan and the European countries however, such a revaluation would mean greater inflation in their respective countries plus cutting off their own markets! Thus a complete stalemate has set in between the U.S. and its world trading "partners".

Alongside of this the trade deficit of the U.S. is staggering. The U.S. has been importing goods far more than it has been exporting. Or in other words, buying more than it has been selling. The 10% import surcharge is an attempt to curb this importing and to open up more markets for U.S. goods. By forcing the prices on foreign made goods up and pushing the slogan "Buy American" they hope to repair their crutches long enough to hang on for a few more years.

Faced with over-production and decreasing markets, run away inflation, a severe gold shortage, defeat after defeat in the colonial world, especially at the hands of the courageous Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian peoples, the U.S. imperialists are preparing themselves for another war. Only this time, the possibility of war between the imperialists is almost certain. The rebuilding of Japanese and European capitalism plus the counterrevolutionary restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union has cramped the U.S.'s style of having the controlling interest in every pie. For example, the expansion of the Common Market now represents a greater industrial and consuming market than that of the U.S.. The USSR is winning the battle of imperialist expansion into India, one of the stomping grounds of U.S. imperialism and even into South and Central America, probably the most sacred market of the U.S. imperialists. The situation in the Pacific isn't much better as Japan is quickly getting into such markets as the Philippines, Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan etc. while at the same time maintaining a favorable balance of trade with the U.S. itself. The development of these two factors, the victory of the wars of national liberation and the expansion of the other capitalist countries has produced a very severe crisis for the ruling class of the U.S.. Now, for the first time these countries are strong enough to seriously challenge the U.S. They are ready to fight for their share of the world.

All the imperialist countries are faced with one essen-

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Puerto Ricans Demand Independence

On September 12 the Puerto Rican people demonstrated for their independence in one of the largest mass marches ever held in Puerto Rico. Over 25,000 people rallied behind the slogans "Independence for Puerto Rico" and "Yankee Go Home!". The focus of the demonstration was aimed at the U.S. imperialist governors' conference held in San Juan.

Puerto Rico has been a colony of the U.S. since 1898. Under the heel of U.S. imperialism, the Puerto Rican people live a miserable life. Unemployment is over 10%, the average wage is \$1.60 an hour, a beef steak costs as much as \$6, and the average family makes about \$1,400 a year. Because the wages are so low and the prices are so high, many workers have to live in cardboard huts or shipping crates. Puerto Rico is the fifth largest importer of U.S. products. Even shoes made in Puerto Rico, but owned by the U.S. capitalists, have to be first shipped to the U.S. and then reshipped back to Puerto Rico, before they are sold. The neo-colonial status of Puerto Rico leaves the people in a terrible situation.

The Puerto Rican masses are sick and tired of U.S. imperialist exploitation and oppression. They demand independence from U.S. imperialism, but the imperialists, knowing that independence would hurt their profits, refuse and station large numbers of military troops on the island and surround it with war ships. Further, they employ rats like Luis A. Ferre, the present governor of Puerto Rico, to work in their interests.

The Communist League supports the just demands of the Puerto Rican people for complete independence. The colonies and neo-colonies are now reserves of imperialism because the imperialists draw vast profits from them. The Anglo-American proletariat cannot move forward without a consistent and determined struggle for the independence of these oppressed nations. Yet, on the same day as the large independence demonstration in San Juan, there was a mass meeting in Los Angeles to write up some agitational material in the defense of the Attica, New York prisoners (80% of whom are Puerto Rican and Negro). When the Communist League attempted to raise the slogan of Independence for Puerto Rico and the Negro Nation, the Communist Party, U.S.A. revisionists turned inside out in anger and disgust. "No", they said, "This question is too 'abstract', it hasn't been

George Jackson Assassinated

On Saturday August 22, the U.S. imperialists murdered George Jackson. They killed him because he dared to put up a fight against the oppression and exploitation that the working class suffers, particularly black and brown workers, at the hands of the bourgeoisie.

George Jackson had spent the last 11 years of his life in jail for a \$70 robbery. While in prison, he became known as one of the Soledad Brothers who were accused of killing a guard. Jackson had a feeling that the State was planning to kill him--and now he is dead!

U.S. workers, the fascist onslaught is on!! The Jackson murder is one of countless cases of murder and oppression against the Negro masses and black workers--all connected to the oppression of the Negro Nation. In order to keep the Negro Nation as a "super"-profit yielding colony, the U.S. imperialists will attempt to crush any resistance by the Negroes in the South or by the black minority in the Anglo-American Nation. We must clearly see this incident as an aspect of the National Question. The U.S. imperialists use white chauvinism to keep the national minorities oppressed. They will not and have not hesitated to jail and murder blacks in their fascist maneuvers to safeguard their imperialist control over the South. As the People's Tribune, Vol. 2, No. 6, stated:

"The inescapable conclusion is that the question of the minorities is an integral part of the National Question. Secondly, the basis for the oppression of the minority is the oppression or colonization of the nation, and likewise the oppression of the minorities hampers the democratic development within the nation. These facts are the basis of the CL policy that the Negro minority in the Anglo nation

settled. It will confuse the masses and has nothing to do with the struggle inside the U.S." Allying themselves with the Trotskyites, the CPUSA managed to confuse enough votes to table the motion. 25,000 Puerto Ricans march in the streets for independence and the CPUSA says, "It's too abstract, it's not settled"! The CPUSA is the direct spokesman for the imperialists within the working class movement. The CPUSA is a gang of white chauvinist puppets, and even the thought of dismembering this giant multi-national imperialist state brings froth to their mouths, for without the imperialists who would pay

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can never be free until the Negro Nation is liberated."

As with the Angela Davis case, the slimy Communist Party U.S.A. has raised its opportunist voice in calling for "prison reform" and an "investigation into the facts of the case". We in the CL say that the facts are very clear--that the U.S. imperialists are fascist dogs who will do anything to protect their profits. They have tried with the Jackson murder to throw another log into the fire of fascist white chauvinism to divide and weaken the working class. We say to hell with the phoney investigations by the state and their close ally the CPUSA!

As for prison reforms: the imperialist jails are filled with George Jacksons who have been railroaded into jail for such "crimes" against humanity as a \$70 robbery, while the real criminals, the U.S. imperialists, who have murdered millions and robbed billions from the people of the world, run around loose! This imperialist state cannot be reformed--it must be overthrown!

Another point which the CL would like to clarify is our position on the deaths of the San Quentin guards. These guards are the direct arm of violence and terror of the U.S. capitalists. These fascist guards would not hesitate for a moment to carry out mass slaughter of the working class. They are clearly our enemy and we are not concerned with the well-being of our enemy--we are concerned with their overthrow.

Our path is clear. We will take this issue, as we did the Angela Davis case, to the working class--black, brown and white, in order to build a real communist party that will fight not only for reforms but mainly for a socialist revolution!

FREE THE SOLEDAD BROTHERS!!!
FREE THE NEGRO NATION!!!



This is what fascism has to offer the working class.

Bussing: Capitalists Attempt To Spark Race War

The present controversy over the forced bussing law has reached national and violent proportions as summer vacation ends and children are starting back to school. Armed guards and police dogs stand watch over school busses to protect them from bombs. And the newspapers portray an atmosphere of tension and hatred across the country.

This bussing law is directed at the working class and their children. The U.S. imperialists say that by bussing working class children away from their communities to other community schools, they will achieve total integration and equality between white and national minority workers--not only in education but eventually in all aspects of life. That's what the imperialists say, but what are they really trying to accomplish with bussing?

Day after day it is becoming quite clear that the imperialists aim to institute fascism in the U.S.. Just by putting a few pieces of the puzzle together, the ultimate fascist picture is already obvious. The bussing law is another piece of the puzzle, along with the wage-price freeze and the cold-blooded murder of George Jackson. Bussing is a step toward fascism because it further divides the working class. Emotions are running high over bussing--it is stirring up ugly white chauvinism and causing hatred between black and white workers. Through bussing the imperialists are encouraging violent attacks on black workers. Look at what happened in Lubbock, Texas, where the Ku Klux Klan murdered a black child trying to get into a white school. The imperialists are really trying to start a bloody race war!

The bussing issue covers up the class question by making it a question of black vs. white. They make it a question of either black children have good schools or white children have good schools. Instead of either the imperialists control society or the working class controls society.

The imperialists enacted this law as a supposed solution to a problem that they created, a problem that is rooted in a system of decadence that they perpetuate. With the enslavement of the Negro Nation, Puerto Rico and the colored nations of Latin America, Africa and Asia, the U.S. imperialists created the fascist ideology of white chauvinism to justify their oppression and exploitation

of these nations as well as of the national minorities from these nations. White chauvinism justifies privileges to the white workers in the Anglo-American nation over the national minority workers. This is the real reason for low standard education in the national minority communities. As long as U.S. imperialism enslaves these nations there will be no "equality and integration", the same as there can't be equality and integration between slavemasters and slaves.

Imperialism thrives on inequality and division in the working class, so that it can continue its greedy exploitation and oppressive control of the working class. Without this division there could be no capitalist system and no imperialist class. So whatever the imperialists do, it is to divide and maintain inequality in the working class. They use many ways to do this, mainly by male supremacy and white chauvinism.

So what they put up as a solution is really no solution at all. Bussing is, in fact, another tool to further divide the workers. It is another tool to lay the ground and build support for fascism. We can see this perfectly with the example of Pontiac, Michigan, where white workers closed down a whole GM plant in protest against bussing. It was really a strike in favor of the exploitation and oppression of the black, Puerto Rican, and other minority workers. The fascists are organizing around this bussing issue--organizing support for fascism.

The working class must begin to see through the bussing law and all the other tricks the imperialists employ. We must begin to see them for what they really are--nothing more than ways to create greater division and inequality among us. We must begin to see that in order to have true equality between the white national majority workers and the national minority workers in education and in every other aspect of our lives, we must fight for the emancipation of all oppressed nations, particularly the Negro Nation. In order to do this we must smash the U.S. imperialist state altogether and establish the dictatorship of the Proletariat.

TRUE EQUALITY AMONG THE WORKING CLASS!!

FREE THE NEGRO NATION!!

FIGHT FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!!

"Buy American" Give GM A Break

Everybody knows by now that another depression is on the way. This means that factories are closing down and millions of workers are losing their jobs. Among the many solutions being offered, the United Auto Workers Union (UAW) is putting forward the slogan "BUY AMERICAN CARS". The union claims it wants people to buy U.S.-made cars so as to save U.S. auto workers their jobs.

In this article we'd like to answer two questions: Is saving jobs the UAW's main concern and what can U.S. workers do to avoid starvation for themselves and their families in the hard times that are coming?

The U.S. economy is racing toward the worst crisis in its history. One reason is that ever-worsening crises are a fundamental aspect of the capitalist system. The cycle of stagnation and boom has been completed once again and the economy is slowing down (for a more complete explanation of capitalist crisis see People's Tribune, Vol. 3, No. 4, p. 4).

What compounds this already profound crisis is the particular historical period we live in. "The decisive advantage given to U.S. imperialism by the destruction of European industry and the gigantic accumulation of finances and loans by World War II is running out...Today, capitalist Europe has definitely overcome the indescribable destruction of World War II and, led by France and West Germany, is striking out to reclaim their markets from U.S. imperialism." (People's Tribune, Vol. 3, No. 7, p. 2) Japan is also challenging the U.S., "in such a way that war might again be the instrument of determining who controls the wealth of Southeast Asia." (same as above) For example, one aspect of the recent U.S. move toward China is the U.S. fear of Japan's growing economic strength. Japan is China's largest trading partner (nearing \$1 billion per year).

Another factor is the loss of colonial markets due to the victory of socialism in countries like Albania, China, North Korea and North Vietnam. These three factors--loss of markets, advent of a new capitalist crisis and fierce inter-imperialist competition, all add up to a bleak future for the U.S. capitalist economy. We can see that this profound crisis is going to require a profound solution.

The UAW's solution is to pass around bumper stickers saying "BUY AMERICAN CARS". They have also been urging an

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Who Will Nixon Elect in So. Vietnam?

All the U.S. military tactics in South Vietnam, from napalm and "people-sniffing machines" to My Lai-type mass murders, have been defeated by the Vietnamese people. So now the U.S. imperialists are forced to use more political tactics to achieve their strategy of occupying Vietnam and using it as a base against the People's Republic of China and the rising national liberation revolutions throughout Southeast Asia.

The upcoming presidential "election" in South Vietnam is a complete fraud and sham. How can there be "free" elections in a country occupied by 300,000 U.S. and U.S. satellite troops? Obviously, Nixon and the U.S. imperialists are the only ones who will "elect" South Vietnam's next president.

President Thieu is a loyal servant to U.S. imperialism. He is a traitor to his country and a ruthless dictator. He has imprisoned and tortured thousands of Vietnamese (remember the "tiger cages"), shot down workers and students demonstrating in Saigon, and has in every way helped the U.S. imperialists slaughter the Vietnamese people and destroy the country. For this the Vietnamese people unanimously hate Thieu and would never freely vote for him. That's why he "disqualified" all his opponents in the election, which proved for the hundredth time that the U.S. is not fighting this war to "preserve democracy" in Vietnam.

Thieu is totally isolated politically and less and less able to hold back the revolution in Vietnam for his imperialist masters. If they keep him in power it will anger the people of Vietnam, the United States, and the whole world even more, and accelerate the downfall of U.S. imperialism. Nixon is smart enough to realize this and see that it might be wiser to replace Thieu with a more "liberal" puppet, someone who could sound democratic and peace-loving while still supporting U.S. imperialism's basic policies.

So the Nixon Administration is pretending to be "upset" with Thieu's undemocratic actions. They are letting the newspapers bad-mouth and criticize Thieu. Why? We should not be surprised if they are setting him up to be overthrown and replaced by a more "popular" dictator. Then Nixon can brag about how "democratic" U.S. imperialism is. Nothing could be further from the truth!

For almost 20 years the U.S. has occupied South Viet-

nam and carried out the most barbarous war in human history, slaughtering over one million Vietnamese, maiming countless others, herding 1/3 of the rural population into concentration camps, and destroying all trees, crops and animals over huge areas of the country. When we consider this history of insane destruction, can we believe that Nixon is concerned about "democracy" in Vietnam? No, and all the trick elections in the world cannot cover up the truth or make us forget these crimes.

Nixon is concerned about only one thing, the same as Johnson and Kennedy before

him, and that is to establish a military base against the revolutionary wars of national liberation in Asia and to surround the People's Republic of China. But things aren't going as planned for the U.S. imperialists--it's they who are being surrounded by the revolutionary peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, the Philippines, Burma, and India--in fact by the people of the whole world! The U.S. workers and people must join this revolutionary front and help wipe out U.S. imperialism thoroughly and completely!

PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE TO DEFEAT U.S. IMPERIALISM AND ALL ITS RUNNING DOGS!

Fred Hampton Murderers Slapped On Hand

The recent indictments handed down by a special Cook County Grand Jury against State Attorney Hanrahan and 12 Chicago cops is a real farce. As everyone knows, Hanrahan and his team of paid killers attacked the home of Illinois Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton and Mark Clark (another Illinois Black Panther Party leader), with no provocation.

The only crime Fred Hampton and Mark Clark committed was that they were militant fighters for the rights of black and oppressed peoples.

Now after a year and a half of legal hassling and "investigations", a Grand Jury has indicted this gang of murderers. For murder? Hell no. For obstructing justice! This is only one step above disorderly conduct. It is clear that the police have the authority to attack and kill workers in the U.S. with immunity, whether it is an "accident", as in the case of the Sanchez cousins in Los Angeles (see Vol. 3, No. 6) where they just opened fire into an apartment which they "thought" contained a suspect, or it is a planned political murder as in the case of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

Let's look at some of the implications these indictments have for the working class.

First, while it is known that Hanrahan and his killers did murder Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, it is also clear that they did what they are charged with, that is, lie and change evidence. Everyone in Chicago remembers the bold-faced lies they were caught in when they tried to justify the murders on T.V. and the evidence they showed that was proven to be false. The point is that since they

did this in the case of Hampton and Clark, how many other times did they and District Attorneys and police departments around the country lie and present false evidence against working class people in order to get a conviction?

Secondly, it's clear that something of this magnitude couldn't have been pulled off without the consent of the police chief, the mayor, the governor and the Federal authorities. In other words it is clear that the whole political system is involved in the oppression and murder of minority peoples. It isn't some crazy cops.

Third, everyone knows that Daley is not going to allow his lap dog Hanrahan get convicted of anything. This system cannot convict its agents for carrying out its orders.

Fourth, this is no isolated incident but, combined with similar killings throughout the country and the political and economic crisis, it is part of the nationwide fascist offensive of the capitalist class against the working class.

In order to fight this offensive the working class has to get organized. We have to have a political party that represents us as a class. The only solution to our present conditions is to grasp Marxism-Leninism, build a revolutionary Communist Party and struggle to overthrow capitalism.

FREE THE NEGRO NATION!!

BUILD A COMMUNIST PARTY TO FIGHT FASCISM!!

GM (cont. from p. 4)

end to the 7% auto excise tax. "This is the second time recently that the union has been allied with the auto industry and with Michigan Republicans in an effort to spur the automobile business. And there are signs that the union...will soon reverse its position on free trade and take a more conservative protectionist stand..!" (New York Times, 7/25/71)

In other words the UAW is telling us that in order to protect jobs we must protect the capitalists and make sure they keep getting their profits. They tell us the interests of the U.S. workers are the same as the capitalist class.

This is a filthy lie! The truth is that the UAW leaders are a scurvy bunch of traitors who are merely doing the bidding of the capitalist class. The union leaders of today are not the union leaders of thirty years ago. They have long since sold themselves to the employers. Their actions prove this time and again. In advancing the slogan "BUY AMERICAN CARS", the UAW is attempting to forge an alliance between the U.S. workers and the imperialists. This slogan appeals to the national

Puerto Rico (cont. from p. 3)

their bills? All night long as the demand "Independence for Puerto Rico" was again and again put forward, the CPUSA classically fit Lenin's description of the opportunists "wriggling like a snake between two mutually exclusive points of view". First they were imperialist, then anti-imperialist, then pro-imperialist again; wriggle, wriggle, wriggle. But this is nothing but a disguise; their words are anti-imperialist and their deeds are pro-imperialist. The Communist League sees clearly that the creation of a communist party in this country means that the CPUSA must be exposed and destroyed politically.

The struggle for the independence of the oppressed nations is crucial to the revolutionary movement within the imperialist country. The struggle for socialism demands the unity of the working class. How can those from the oppressor nations achieve this unity without fighting for the independence of the oppressed nations? They can't, and the CPUSA knows this all too well, and this is why they hate the mere mention of the independence of Puerto Rico. Like a nest of vipers, they hiss and spit at the slogan, knowing in their hearts that this is the first step toward the defeat of U.S. imperialism and the end of their meal ticket.

INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO
AND THE NEGRO NATION!
BUILD A COMMUNIST PARTY!

chauvinist sentiments of the U.S. working class. Who profits from such a national chauvinist alliance that knows no class distinctions? Only the imperialist ruling class who instigate and direct all such alliances.

At the same time as it ties the U.S. workers to the U.S. capitalists, it also pits the U.S. workers against all foreign workers. By using national chauvinism in the name of job protection and national interest, it sets the stage for aggressive new imperialist wars and inevitably, by disarming the U.S. working class, it helps set the stage for fascism in the U.S. state.

The first thing we have to understand is that the U.S. working class and the imperialist ruling class have no interests in common. For workers the capitalist system means crisis, war, oppression and misery. Socialism, the rule of the working class over the capitalist class, is the only solution to workers' problems. The fight for socialism is the only interest of the working class. In order to gain socialism we must have working class unity on a national and international level.

Working class unity is what the UAW labor-misleaders and the imperialist ruling class are trying desperately to prevent. We have discussed above how they attempt this on an international level. Nationally, the union leaders sow division among the class by pushing contracts that bribe certain sections of the class at the expense of others: (skilled over unskilled, whites over non-whites, men over women, organized over unorganized, U.S. over colonial workers).

Besides these material bribes the imperialists and their agents in the unions offer ideological complements to the bribery. National chauvinism, white chauvinism,

Dollar Crisis (cont. from p. 2)

tial need--each has to have more markets. The only solution to the present crisis is to redivide the world. The only way this can be done is through war. This is what the U.S. capitalist class has to offer the U.S. working class. More and more war! More killing, bombing, and bloodshed! More unemployment, poverty and fascism! We are living in a decaying system. Lenin correctly analysed imperialism as the final stage of capitalism, as dying, moribund capitalism.

We say good riddance to the "American Era" with its imperialist parasites, exploitation, and constant wars! We want peace in the world, we want an end to exploitation and poverty, and we will fight to the death to usher in the "Era of Proletarian Internationalism", the era of Socialism and the working class!

male supremacy, etc., all serve to rationalise the bribes and reinforce working class division.

In the struggle for socialism and against imperialism our main weapon is class unity. We first need to build a Marxist-Leninist Party to unite the class and lead the struggle. But how do we proceed in the labor movement? First we must understand the situation. "Inside the labor unions and the labor movement in general the capitalists are using their labor misleaders, Meany, Woodcock, Bridges, etc., to attempt to rally the workers around a narrow fascist program. Unions are losing not only on contracts, but also on the size of their unions. Each year the union memberships shrink. Today the labor unions are pro-capitalist and controlled by the capitalists. The capitalists are trying to narrow the unions in two ways; number wise and program wise (restricting to a narrow economist outlook)." (People's Tribune, Vol. 3, No. 7, p. 6)

Does this mean we should abandon the unions? No. The unions are too dangerous and at the same time too valuable to be left to the imperialists. The imperialists are out to destroy any remnants of independent leadership and will use the unions against the class to establish fascism. We must convert the unions from reserves of the imperialists to reserves of the proletariat.

"To destroy the hold of the bourgeoisie's agents, the labor lieutenants whose base is the labor aristocracy, on the working class movement, we need to attack from a strong organized base, led by a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, both within the trade union movement and among the oppressed, unorganized and unemployed." (People's Tribune, Vol. 3, No. 7, p. 12)

"Our job is to broaden the unions to deal with the political issues facing the class as a whole. We must develop a revolutionary approach, and that begins with the defense of the national minorities in the U.S. and the colonial peoples throughout the world. We must move from this position in the unions, and clearly base ourselves with the most exploited and oppressed. Our strength lies in the unity of the class." (same as above, p. 6)

Our tasks are clearly outlined. To the imperialists' chauvinist call to "BUY AMERICAN CARS", we answer with the fighting slogans of the international working class: DEATH TO U.S. IMPERIALISM AND ALL ITS RUNNING DOGS!! WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD UNITE!! LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM!!

Iranian Students Protest Shah's Reactionary Circus

For a week in the latter part of October, 1971, the butcher Shah Reza Pahlavi of Iran and his fascist government will celebrate the 2,500-year anniversary of the rule-by-force over the Iranian people by a long succession of kings or shahs. The present Shah's regime, during several decades of absolutist rule, has worsened the miserable living conditions of our people. The medieval-style terrorism used by the Shah to keep our people in line has met with growing political awareness of the masses. There have been more and more strikes, demonstrations and armed struggles.

The weeklong celebration in October will be a ridiculous extravagant production put on by the Shah to push false propaganda about how his regime has made progress for Iran. It is also geared to impress the big imperialist powers like the U.S. Government. The Shah depends on these powers for support when the Iranian people threaten to overthrow his fascist regime. The Shah wishes to make the people of Iran and the oppressed people of the world think that his tyrannical rule will never end. To do this, the Shah is spending millions of dollars that he has squeezed from the people. He is trying to show that the last 2,500 years of history and culture of Iran was created by Iranian kings and not by the Iranian people.

In order to get ready for the 2,500-year anniversary, the Shah has put economic pressure on the people, and has stepped up political suppression of activists. His fascist government has conducted mass arrests and has murdered many militants. Thirteen of these victims were of the "Sia-Kal" group, a group which is organizing the peasants for armed struggle in the northern province of Gilan. Preparation for the festival has aggravated unemployment, and increased exploitation of people in all classes, but especially the workers and peasants. Already pathetic health conditions have gotten worse.

For many years after the CIA-organized coup in 1953, the workers and peasants' movement in Iran remained quite inactive. However, in recent times peasant uprisings and workers' strikes have occurred despite the suppressive efforts of the military and the secret police. The heroic uprising of 2,000 workers at the "Jahan-Cheet" plant, in which 19 workers were killed, and the armed struggle of the Sia-Kal group, attest to a new phase of struggle now developing in Iran.



The lavish festival is being staged by the ruling class of Iran in order to accomplish certain objectives. On the international level, the imperialist-supported regime strives to achieve the following: 1) to demonstrate to foreign investors that it has stabilized itself; 2) to spread its propaganda throughout the world through foreign dignitaries who serve on committees sponsoring the 2,500-year anniversary festival; 3) to maintain that royal reform measures have actually worked; 4) to claim a popular and democratic identity; 5) to obtain international prestige through a show of glory and power.

On the domestic level the regime seeks to accomplish the following: 1) To cover up the failing of its reform projects and make the failure appear as a success; 2) to introduce itself as "nationalistic and independent of foreign influence" through an extensive mass-media campaign; 3) to instill a nationalistic spirit in the people and justify its existence on the basis of a long history of kingdoms in Iran; 4) to terrorize and intimidate the population by the maneuvers of the army and the secret police. For example, a recent series of rapid trials and executions have been carried out following the "Sia-Kal event", in which 13 people were arrested, tried and executed within a month.

The 2,500-year anniversary has, to date, entailed a tremendous expenditure of money and energy. Below we will attempt to give a brief picture of it.

The newspapers and magazines of Iran have been devoting many pages to the anniversary celebration in order to try and prove to the people that activities of this kind are really necessary. Their arguments usually say that although the people are poor, it is more important to publicize the long history of the monarchy than to feed the people.

On the international level there have been many committees formed to support the anniversary celebration. More than 1,000 cultural centers located in countries which support the Shah's regime will make specific contributions in

observance of the occasion. In major cities in Europe and America there will be various exhibitions.

To assure complete satisfaction for the several thousands of "eminent guests of the Shah", a special airport has been constructed. A fantastic new town has been built from tents that will accommodate 5,000 people, including 50 special apartments for foreign dignitaries. These apartments are decorated with marble baths, silk carpets, and golden linings, and are equipped with airconditioning systems and separate servants' quarters. Two hotels have been built to house the more than 1,000 newsmen who are expected to cover the degenerate celebration. The cost of all this will come to more than 20 million dollars. In addition, a 10-million dollar monument in honor of the Shah has been constructed to impress the people. The cooks and the food for the festival will be furnished by Maxim's restaurant of Paris. Regarding the event, Alam, the chief courtier, is reported to have said: "Even if we are a poor nation...we ought to have sold everything we had to finance this celebration".

The World Confederation of Iranian Students, in line with the struggle of our people, will endeavor, with total support of the masses of Iranian students abroad, to expose the true nature of the regime of Iran and the false image of Iran that it has created, by once again presenting the case of the Iranian people's war against oppression.

(This article was contributed to the People's Tribune by the Defence and International Affairs Committee, Iranian Students Association of Chicago.)



The Communists' symbol, the hammer and sickle, stands for the unity of the proletariat and the peasantry.

Repression in Ethiopia

Prepared by the Ethiopian Students Union of No. America

In Volume 3, Number 8 of the People's Tribune, we ran the first half of a pamphlet "Repression in Ethiopia". It dealt mainly with the conditions of the workers and peasants in Ethiopia, and the feudal regime which owns all the land and is backed by the imperialists. The second half of the pamphlet, reprinted below, deals with the class struggle in Ethiopia.

However, this feudal oppression and imperialist exploitation have not gone unchallenged. Since the return of Haile Sellasie from his sanctuary in Europe at the end of the Italian occupation, there have been a host of rebellions against the regime. In fact, a number of the patriotic liberation forces mobilized to resist the return of the feudal tyrant. The most important of these attempts took place in the provinces of Gojjam and Tigre. The peasant-nationalist revolt in Gojjam was suppressed by the British imperialist forces, who came in support of the man they had preserved during the occupation. Bellay Zelleke, a leader of the Resistance, and the organizer of the revolt in Tigre province was crushed by the feudal army. Immediately after the rebellion in Gojjam, the Weyanne revolt broke out and lasted for over a year. It was finally suppressed with aerial bombardments by British Royal Air Force planes stationed in Aden. Yet another rebellion in Ogaden was crushed by British forces in 1948. A peasant uprising in Wollo in 1958 was met with "the eradication of a whole chain of villages from the map of Ethiopia" (New Left Review, 1965). In April 1960 peasants in Southern Ethiopia protested the dispossession of their land by the emperor's daughter and some of her children (Africa Today, May 1961). This protest led to the massacre of more than a thousand peasants. In December, 1960, an attempted coup by the Imperial Bodyguard was put down by the army with the aid of planes flown by American pilots. All the leaders were subsequently hanged, including the corpses of a few who were killed before capture.

Since the 1960 insurrection, the struggle for liberation from the oppressive feudal regime has reached a new stage. Students, workers and peasants are carrying on nation-wide resistance and have begun to consolidate their forces. The last eight years have been a period of extensive armed peasant struggles, initiated in Eritrea and Balle. Workers have continually staged strikes in protest of exploitive labour conditions. During the last few years, this national progressive struggle has been intensified. The heightened fight follows upon important developments in the political and



social conditions of the country. The economy is undergoing a serious crisis. The characteristic incompetence and obscurantism of the huge bureaucracy has made matters worse for the autocracy. To cite an example:

The 1958-59 budget was disclosed in the July 1959 issue of the Negaret Gazeta, published and circulated at the end of the summer a few weeks before the end of the fiscal year of September 9, 1959. In any event, budgets are in effect rendering of accounts rather than planning of state expenditure. (U.S. Army Handbook)

The present problems, however, cannot be masked by paper solutions. Since 1963, the price of food has gone up by 35.6% and the price of clothing has increased by 26.8%. In the same period, wages have risen less than 5%, while in some areas they have decreased by 12%. In 1969, the government issued a directive prohibiting the employment of new personnel in government agencies for the next two years. Of those already in government service, employees in a number of provinces did not draw salaries for over three months. In a hepeless attempt at survival, a series of new taxes were imposed by the government. On imported food, for example customs duties have increased by 50%. Yet more taxes were demanded of the peasantry.

The regime's restrictions on education are indicative of its desperation. Of the 12,000 students who sat for college entrance examinations in 1969, the government decided that there were places available for less than 2,000. In 1970, the government announced that of the 19,000 who took the entrance examinations only about 1,000 has passed. A new annual school fee of Eth. \$10 per child has been made compulsory. In addition, a fee of U.S. \$10 is required for school entrance examinations. The effect of these fees on education in a country with a per capita income of \$35 to \$50 is self-evident.

This state of intensified oppression and exploitation has given rise to a national uprising of workers, peasants, students and other progressive elements. Workers have staged numerous attacks in various provinces demanding wage increments and the rights of labor organization. Among those engaged in the struggle are transportation workers, printing employees, and workers in the sugar factory. In some of these industries, leaders of the labor movement have been arbitrarily dismissed or physically eliminated. The workers have responded by going out on strike until the men are reinstated and reparations have been made.

In protest of the new taxes levied on land, peasant uprisings have spread to other regions in addition to those already underway in Balle, Borrena and Eritrea. The province of Gojjam has taken up arms against the regime. Similar uprisings are underway in Arussi and Harar. In retaliation, the government has mobilized its brutal military and counterinsurgency forces against the peasant population of Ethiopia. Eritrea, Gojjam and other areas of peasant struggle have been under constant attack by army divisions which have been moved there. Air bombardment of these regions has been constant and severe. In many areas, whole villages have been wiped out, and their inhabitants brutally murdered.

The Ethiopian Student Movement is in the forefront of these struggles. Students are waging the struggle under the banner of Land to the Tiller and Anti-Imperialism. The goal has become the building of a new Ethiopia based on a complete social transformation of the society. For over six years now, the Student Movement has given voice to the national struggle against feudalism and imperialism through a series of important public actions. Thus in the early months of 1969, reaffirming its resolute opposition to feudalism and imperialism, the Student Movement at home drafted specific demands with respect to the arbitrary measures imposed by the regime. The demands included: the withdrawal of school and examination fees instituted by the regime; reforms of the corrupt educational system; expulsion of American Peace Corps teachers, whose function is to serve as agents of cultural imperialism in Ethiopia; immediate termination of vast expenditures on extravagant entertainment of foreign guests and visits abroad by Ethiopian officials; the removal from office of those officials directly responsible for the state of the education system. The students also demanded that various officials responsible for the killing of students during peaceful demonstrations be brought for public

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Ethiopia

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trials.

University, secondary, and elementary school students throughout the nation staged peaceful demonstrations to voice these demands. They were joined by other youths, parents and teachers. The government retaliated by closing all schools and colleges for over a month. Later, when the institutions were ordered open, students refused to attend classes and continued to demonstrate until their demands were met. Since the autocracy made no gesture in this direction, almost all of the nation's schools and colleges remained closed for the rest of the school year. The Ethiopian Student Movement overseas joined in condemnation of the regime and in support of the demands of the compatriots at home. Demonstrations of solidarity were held at Ethiopian Embassies in various capitals including Belgrade, Moscow, Paris and Washington, D.C.

Throughout this struggle, the government employed the full force of its repressive machinery. Many students were killed and hundreds seriously injured during the peaceful demonstrations. Many others were held in various provincial and district prisons. Hundreds of Students were expelled from schools and colleges. The first group, consisting of four students and a teacher, to appear before a court were sentenced to five years imprisonment and hard labor for alleged acts of defamation and endangering of national security. A second group of three received sentences of seven years of imprisonment for trumped-up charges including inciting insurrection and forming alliances with "foreign elements". The numbers of students and other progressive elements incarcerated for varied periods of up to one year were in the hundreds.

Students and other persons held in connection with the struggle of early 1969 were subjected to extremely brutal treatment in prison. Some were fatally beaten; others were tied to cars and dragged over pebble roads. Prisoners were kept in ice or stagnant water for days on end. The use of electric shock as torture was widespread. In March, 1969, the regime decreed a Detention Act setting a three-month imprisonment for any subject with a provision that the period can be extended at the discretion of the security arm of the government. Armed with this fascist law, the reactionary regime proceeded to subject thousands to the brutal practices it has perfected in an effort to forestall its downfall.

In the face of this immense persecution, the struggle continued undaunted. Progressive forces throughout

the country protested the inhuman treatment of students. The struggle against repression was not confined to Ethiopia alone. The Ethiopian Student Movement in Europe and the United States also registered its support for the cause of the student struggle at home. In June, 1969 when Haile Selassie visited Washington, D.C. to request yet more military assistance to subdue the national insurrection, and economic aid to check the disintegration of the economy, the Ethiopian Students Union in North America staged a series of demonstrations in Washington, D.C. To highlight the demand for the freedom of political prisoners, to underscore the urgency of meeting the demands set by the compatriots at home, and to underline the opposition to imperialist support for the autocratic regime, the Ethiopian Students Union in North America liberated the Ethiopian Embassy in Washington, D.C. and destroyed all propaganda materials of the decadent regime on the day of Haile Selassie's arrival. Other demonstrations exposing the true colors of the neo-colonial regime were held in front of the White House. Similar expressions of solidarity with the student struggle at home were made through the liberation of the Ethiopian embassies in European capitals including Stockholm, Paris and Moscow.

The regime soon realized that its attempts to subdue the uprising has issued in new waves of insurrection. To avoid an even less manageable state of affairs, it made a show of reconciliation in the summer of 1969. Many of the students and others imprisoned earlier in the year were granted "amnesty." Provisions were made for the opening of the schools and colleges in the following fall.

However, as soon as the new school year began, it became clear that the feigned capitulation was designed to set the stage for a more thoroughgoing repression of the Student Movement. In the fall term of 1969, the government initiated an extensive anti-student propaganda campaign in its newspapers, radio and television media. Students were charged with fostering ethnic and religious conflicts. The government's media claimed that there was no question that students were working in concert with alien powers aiming at the overthrow of the government. If the country is to be saved from an imminent bloodbath, it was urged that the students had to be dealt with forthrightly. The students, on the other hand, fully recognizing that the regime was engaging in this provocative campaign to draw them into actions whereby they would once again fall prey to its vicious troops, refrained from responding. Instead, they held fast to a program of consolidation which was necessary so that they may recover from the repression that had

followed the confrontations of the previous academic year.

The government, in turn, adopted more aggressive steps. Struggle, the only organ of the Student Movement at home was banned. Soon after, an official government newspaper declared in its editorial:

"Last week's suspension of the student publication is a step in the right direction. This step must be followed to its logical conclusion." (Ethiopian Herald, December 19, 1969).

The government then abolished all student organizations. The students even resisted the obvious provocation of these measures which put an end to public student organizing.

Frustrated by the failure of its efforts to instigate a student uprising and hypnotized by its own prophecies concerning the impending doom that was to befall the students, the regime finally undertook a desperate and murderous act. On December 29, 1969, Tilahun Gizaw, a popular leader of the Student Movement and President of the University Students Union of Addis Ababa, was assassinated by a gunman while walking in the streets. On the morning of the 29th, 25,000 Addis Ababa students and other city residents gathered on the University campus to pay final tribute to the fallen leader of the Student Movement. As the funeral procession was about to proceed, government troops allegedly present to see that the march was orderly opened an attack on the unarmed assembly. Students were mercilessly assaulted with bayonets and machine guns. The massacre took the lives of 25 students. 157, including teachers, were seriously injured. The student massacre was not restricted to Addis Ababa. In Harrar where a funeral service was held for Tilahun, students, teachers and parents were attacked by the police. Similar brutality was visited upon students in other towns including Makalle, Adowa, Axum (Christian Science Monitor, January 22, 1970).

The strong protests against the regime's inhuman acts were not limited to Ethiopian students, parents, teachers and workers. Many foreign residents who witnessed the tragic events spoke in full condemnation. The Director of the Peace Corps in Ethiopia, Joseph Murphy, resigned in protest against what he characterized as "the repressive dictatorship which cannot establish a social order with better answers to its problems than shooting and beating young people" (New York Post, February 17, 1970). L.X. Tarpey, Dean of the College of Business Administration, urged that silence before the nazi practices of the regime is indefensible. He was deported from the country on January 24, 1970. About a third of the Peace Corps teachers in Ethio-

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Educational: War And Peace

Throughout the world, the revolutionary movements are surging forward. In every country, on every continent, U.S. imperialism is being beat back. The U.S. imperialists start war after war to maintain their world-wide grip on the colonial peoples, and time and again they are defeated. The world's peoples are calling for peace, an end to the war in Vietnam. Some people are against war, all wars, but we communists are against only some wars. Let us distinguish the position of the CL on wars from other pacifists and "Left" groups.

WHAT IS WAR?

Lenin quoted in his book, War and Peace, "As Clausewitz said, 'War is the continuation of politics by other (i.e. violent) means.'" Under imperialism, war is inevitable. Because of the nature of imperialism, with its continuous cycle of crisis, the imperialists need wars to bring them out of crisis, redivide the world to control its markets, and fight against revolutionary movements that will destroy them. Under class society, there is always going to be wars. Wars cannot be abolished unless classes are abolished and Socialism is created. We must study each war separately. How do we distinguish between which wars we support and which wars we do not?

WHAT ARE UNJUST WARS?

Unjust wars, are wars of aggression, wars of plunder, pillage, rape and looting of the people and their lands. Unjust wars, are the wars that help to strengthen imperialism, which help it to continue its fascist hold on the colonial peoples of the world. The U.S. war of aggression in Indochina is an unjust war against the Indochinese people. The imperialist instigated civil war to divide Pakistan and establish military positions along the border of Socialist China is also an unjust war; why, because the war is fought for the benefit of the Indian expansionists and their U.S. and Soviet imperialist partners. If East Pakistan were to secede, only the Indian reactionaries and the imperialists would benefit. We must not and do not support these types of wars.

WHAT ARE JUST WARS?

Just wars, are wars that help to defeat imperialism. Wars that benefit the development of mankind by helping to destroy harmful and reactionary institutions are just wars.

The Indochinese peoples are justified in their struggle to rid their country of the U.S. imperialists. The Palestinian and other Arab peoples are justified in their fight against U.S. imperialism, Soviet Social-Imperialism and Zionist Israel. These are just struggles for independence from imperialist rule. Throughout the world we can see examples of the colonial people rising up against the imperialists. If tomorrow the poor and oppressed people of the Negro Nation and Puerto Rico were to declare war on the U.S., or the people of Poland and Hungary on the Soviet social-imperialists..."and so forth, those would be 'just' 'defensive' wars, irrespective of who attacked first; and every socialist would sympathize with the victory of the oppressed, dependent, unequal states against the oppressing, slave-owning, predatory 'great powers.'" (Lenin, War and Peace)

WHAT IS PEACE?

The ending of armed conflict between nations, is the common understanding of what peace is. But we have seen, that with imperialism as the dominant economic world system, peace is only time to rest between wars. Peace for the capitalists is only time to prepare for another conflict, another way to try and pump more surplus value out of the working and oppressed peoples of the world. Real peace means, the abolition of class society. A society where the exploitation of man by man is not the way of life. Communism means peace. We must not be fooled by the bourgeoisie of the U.S. and their running dogs, the so-called Communist Party U.S.A. who call for peace. Nixon wants peace, but what does his peace mean; it means allowing the bourgeoisie of the U.S. to exploit and murder the people of the world. The CPUSA says, we can have peace with the bourgeoisie, since they want us to believe that there are "good and bad" imperialists. But the CL rejects such hogwash. We have seen what peace to the revisionists and the bourgeoisie means. So the answer to the question, how do we get peace, is clear and simple: DEFEAT U.S. IMPERIALISM AND ALL ITS RUNNING DOGS!!

FREE THE NEGRO NATION!

FREE PUERTO RICO!

SUPPORT THE COLONIAL PEOPLES IN THE FIGHT AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM!

Ethiopia

(cont. from p. 9)

pia resigned explaining that conditions in the country no longer made it possible for them to teach.

The prevailing conditions in the country following the December massacre can be gleaned from the terms set by the government for the re-opening of the University. According to the directives issued on February 26, 1970, all student publications are to remain banned. All student organizations are permanently dissolved. All students who were "pardoned" the previous summer, and who were present at the events surrounding the funeral ceremonies for Tilahun are to be expelled and returned to prison to serve their sentences (Ethiopian Herald, January 26, 1970). A military force shall be permanently stationed on the campuses of the University (Memorandum from the President of HSIU, January 26, 1970). In short, all forms of dissent are forbidden. Even nominal recognition of the rights of speech and assembly has been denied. Under these provisions, many have been expelled from the schools and colleges. Others remain in prison without trial. New arrests among students and other progressive elements are being made every day.

In spite of such unmitigated repression, the national uprising continues. With full support of their parents, many students have vowed never to return to the government schools. It has become clear to all that even limited education is impossible as long as the regime survives. The student papers have been replaced by underground publications. Despite the growing persecution, student organizing continues with renewed strength. The Ethiopian Student Movement is, therefore, resolved to struggle until victory.

The people and students of Ethiopia are too familiar with the oppression of the feudal and neo-colonial regime in Ethiopia. But the diabolic nature of the government and the true condition of the Ethiopian masses remains unknown to world public opinion. That such a regime should continue to hide its despicable practices through control of the press and censorship does not come as a surprise. It is all the more imperative, therefore, that all well-meaning and progressive peoples everywhere make their voices heard in condemnation of its inhuman acts.

The present popular uprisings constitute but a stage in the protracted struggle of the people of Ethiopia; ultimately, the struggle will free Ethiopia from feudalism and imperialism, and allow the masses to build a nation whose history is their own.



Build a Revolutionary Press Build a Communist Party

Within the last few months conditions in the world have been changing very rapidly. We've seen the main contradiction in the world shifting from that between the imperialists and the colonies to that between the imperialists. We see the U.S. imperialists, faced with a severe economic crisis, shifting the burden onto the working class. We have seen the Nixon administration forced to take more drastic measures such as the wage-price freeze. We know the trade deficit of the U.S. today is greater than ever before in history and the gold reserves have fallen below all previous levels. The internal contradictions of imperialism are intensifying. At the same time the inter-imperialist contradictions are also growing as each imperialist country fights for control of markets. In the colonial world the struggle is heightening everywhere. We read in the newspapers about coups in Bolivia, revolution in the Philippines, and increasing struggle in North Ireland.

What does all this mean? From the standpoint of the bourgeoisie it means capitalism is on its last legs. It means moving more and more rapidly towards establishing fascism, a terroristic dictatorship of the most chauvinistic and reactionary elements of finance capital. Fascism will be the main tactic employed by the bourgeoisie to try and maintain their position.

This crisis of capitalism is in turn demanding more of revolutionaries and communists. From the standpoint of the proletariat, it means we have to move unceasingly ahead toward building an independent class party, a revolutionary communist party that can organize and give political leadership to the mass struggle. Only revolution can stop fascism and liberate the working class, only the act of overthrowing and smashing the bourgeois state.

Revolution is the act of a whole class, of the masses of the people, not just a party. However, it is essential that there be a vanguard detachment of the class to lead the struggle if there is to be a revolution. Never in the history of mankind has there been a revolution without the leadership of a party. Just as an army could not possibly win a war without a general staff, the proletariat cannot carry out a revolution without a vanguard detachment. As the Communist League has correctly pointed out, to defend the proletariat today, means to fight for a communist party.

We must be objective, we must deal with what's before us. And what's before us? An

armed, well organized bourgeoisie and an unarmed, unorganized and divided working class. We cannot afford to let our subjective desires and the pull of the spontaneous movement lead us astray. Our strategy today has to be to build a revolutionary communist party. This is the main blow that has to be struck at the bourgeoisie. This is the first step toward revolution. This has been the direction of the main blow of the Communist League since its inception 3 years ago and everything we do, every decision we make, should be made with this strategy in mind.

The process of building a party means digging deeper and deeper into the proletariat. We must go into the masses and win over the most advanced. Who are the most advanced? They are the most exploited and oppressed, the unorganized, unskilled workers. They have the least bribe, the most class consciousness, and the greatest desire to fight. The minorities, the black and brown workers, along with the least bribed sections of the white workers, are in the main the most revolutionary today. However, we cannot end our analysis here. We have to narrow it down even further. When we speak of recruiting today, of who's going to make up the communist party today, we have to be realistic, we have to realize that only the "most advanced of the most advanced" are ready to join at this stage. The revolutionary press must be aimed mainly at this "most advanced of the most advanced". It may be only 2 or 3 people out of every hundred, but it's these most revolutionary few that we must concentrate on. A communist paper should not be directed at every unsatisfied and grumbling worker. It should raise the political level of the most advanced and revolutionary in order to build a party.

How do we go about winning over these elements? Primarily through education and propaganda, through the communist press. We have to expose the bourgeois line and fight on a nation-wide basis for the line of the proletariat. "The Social-Democrat'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, no matter where it takes place, no matter what stratum or class of people it affects; he must be able to group all these manifestations into a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation; he must be able to take advantage of every petty event in order to explain his Socialist convictions and his Social-Democratic demands to all, in order to explain to all and everyone the world historical

significance of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat."¹

As the struggle between the capitalists and the proletariat intensifies, so does the struggle between the bourgeois line and the proletarian line within the revolutionary movement. What are these two lines? One line is a petty-bourgeois--in essence a bourgeois line that says that the political paper should be directed to the masses in general. That a communist paper is too highly theoretical and political and the masses won't understand it. That it should simply be a big leaflet, so that we can build a mass movement. The other line is a Marxist-Leninist--in essence a proletarian line, the line of the Communist League, that says that the paper should be specifically directed to the advanced elements of the most exploited and oppressed section of the working class. That it should be used in distributions and study circles so as to raise the theoretical and political level and recruit the most advanced, so that we can build a communist party that will lead the masses.

The bourgeois tendency we are referring to in the main manifests itself as tailism, a bowing to the spontaneity of the masses. For example, some so-called communists are so busy passing out leaflets calling for reforms that they "don't have time" to teach the proletariat Marxism-Leninism. Others argue that what the proletariat needs is a good left-trade-unionist paper. They often write excellent trade-union papers, but they don't raise the political level of the working class. These "communists" are constantly being drawn completely into the mass movement and forget about building a communist party. This subservience to the spontaneous movement of the masses was long ago exposed by Lenin when he pointed out, "...then the only choice is: Either bourgeois, or Socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for humanity has not created a 'third' ideology, and, moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or above-class ideology). Hence, to belittle Socialist ideology in any way, to deviate from it in the slightest degree means strengthening bourgeois ideology. There is a lot of talk about spontaneity, but the spontaneous development of the labour movement leads to its becoming subordinated to bourgeois ideology...Hence, our task, the task of Social-Democracy, is to combat spontaneity, to divert the labour movement, with its spontaneous trade-unionist striving, from under the wing of the bourgeoisie, and to

(cont. on p. 12)

Revolutionary Press (cont. from p. 11)

bring it under the wing of revolutionary Social-Democracy."²

Another example of this bourgeois tendency is the complaint that the level of a communist paper would be "too high", even for the most advanced workers. Isn't this clearly white chauvinism in disguise? Lenin said, "...we (the Russian workers) are not children to be fed on the sops of 'economic' politics alone; we want to know everything that everybody else knows, we want to learn the details of all aspects of political life and to take part actively in every political event. In order that we may do this, the intellectuals must talk to us less on what we already know, and tell us more about what we do not know and what we can never learn from our factory and 'economic' experience, that is, you must give us political knowledge. You intellectuals can acquire this knowledge, and it is your duty to bring us that knowledge in a hundred and a thousand times greater measure than you have done up till now."³

As in Russia, the working class in the U.S. today needs political knowledge, political training and political leadership! We aren't opposed to concrete demands or to reformist work, but it must always be viewed from the standpoint of our strategy. "Revolutionary Social-Democracy always included, and now includes, the fight for reforms in its activities. But it utilises 'economic' agitation for the purpose of presenting to the government, not only demands for all sorts of measures, but also (and primarily) the demand that it cease to be an autocratic government. Moreover, it considers it to be its duty to present the demand to the government, not on the basis of the economic struggle alone, but on the basis of all manifestations of public and political life. In a word, it subordinates the struggle for reforms to the revolutionary struggle for liberty and for Socialism, in the same way as the part is subordinate to the whole."⁴

Our main weapon in carrying out this political education and in party building is the communist press. Its main role in this historical period is as a collective organizer. We've got to use a communist paper to collect or draw together an organization of revolutionaries. And not only to collect, but to build and hold this organization together. Lenin wrote: "The publication of an All-Russian political newspaper must be the main line that must guide us in our work of unswervingly developing, deepening, and expanding this organization (i.e., a revolutionary organization always prepared to support every protest and every outbreak). Pray tell me: When a bricklayer lays bricks in various parts of an

enormous structure, the like of which has never been seen before, is it a 'paper' line that he uses to help him to find the correct place to place each brick, to indicate to him the ultimate goal of the work as a whole, to enable him to use not only every brick but even every piece of brick, which, joining with the bricks placed before and after it, forms a complete and all-embracing line? And are we not now passing through a period in our party life, when we have bricks and bricklayers, but we lack the guiding line, visible to all, by which to guide our movements?

...The whole art of politics lies in finding the link that can least be torn out of our hands, the one that is most important at the given moment, the one that guarantees the command of the whole chain, and having found it, to cling to that link as tightly as possible. If we possessed a staff of experienced bricklayers who had learned to work so well together that they could dispense with a guiding line and could place their bricks exactly where they are required without one (and speaking abstractly, this is by no means impossible), then perhaps we might seize upon some other link. But the unfortunate thing is that we have no experienced bricklayers trained to teamwork, that bricks are often laid where they are not needed at all, that they are not laid according to the general line, and are so scattered about that the enemy can shatter the structure as if it were made not of bricks but of sand. Here is the other comparison:

"A newspaper is not merely a collective propagandist and collective agitator, it is also a collective organizer. In that respect, it can be compared to the scaffolding erected around a building in construction; it marks the contours of the structure, and facilitates communication between the builders, permitting them to distribute the work, and to view the common results achieved by their organized labour. ...at the present time we cannot imagine that the building we require can be put up without scaffolding."⁵ In the U.S. today it is crystal clear that we require this scaffolding, and this scaffolding is the communist press.

From the very beginning the Communist League saw that it was necessary to use a political newspaper as a main tool in building a communist party. What does this mean? That communists must use the paper to raise the theoretical and political level and recruit from the most advanced workers. We learned from our experience that we had to take the hard road. That it wasn't enough to print a political paper, but we had to distribute it amongst the most exploited and oppres-

sed workers in their communities and plants. That it was not enough to distribute it, but we had to take it door to door to make firm contact. That it wasn't enough simply to make contact, but we had to build study circles that use the paper as a tool in connecting the daily struggles of the working class with the general communist line. In short, the road was, and still is, the road of arduous struggle. This is the road that true communists must take.

But there are many "communists" who prefer to take the easy road. They prefer to hide their communism. Why? Because they say a communist paper is too advanced for the masses. That we should sink to the level of the masses and not raise their theoretical and political level. That we should concentrate only on leaflets that strictly deal with the daily struggles of reformism and not link it up with the communist line of revolution. That we should not concentrate on the most advanced of the most advanced section of the working class, but on the masses in general. That we should not, in the final analysis, concentrate on building a communist party, but instead a disjointed, local, mass movement.

Our task is to build a political party. The revolutionary press cannot be a mass paper at this time. It must do one thing: unite the most advanced members of the revolutionary proletariat around a common Marxist-Leninist line and into a communist party that will lead the proletariat forward to Socialism!

(All quotes were taken from What Is To Be Done?, Collected Works of V.I. Lenin, Vol. 4, Book 2, International Publishers.)

- 1) p. 159
- 2) p. 123
- 3) p. 153
- 4) p. 143
- 5) p. 233 & 234

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