

PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE



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

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International Women's Day:

Mexican National Minority Women Demand Equality

Women have been oppressed as women for centuries. And, the struggle for equality has gone on for just as long. Women have struggled for equality, for emancipation, in many different ways. The struggle has taken many different forms, expressing itself as the fight for the right to vote, to be educated, to be active in political life, against discriminatory hiring practices, equal pay for equal work, etc..

March 8th marks International Women's Day, a holiday that originated in the U.S. in 1908 during a bitterly fought strike of tens of thousands of women garment workers in New York City. Since that time the bourgeoisie in the U.S. have done their best to do away with this holiday just as they've tried every possible way to crush the struggle for emancipation of women.

Because the woman question is fundamental to proletarian revolution and because capitalism is the last bastion of reactionary male supremacy, the Communist League feels it's very important to re-establish and revitalize this historic holiday. In commemoration of International Women's Day we are going to print three articles on the woman question. The first will be on the struggle of Mexican national minority women for equality, the second on the struggle of Negro national minority women for equality, and the third on women industrial workers.

It has been said that the "women's struggle is the revolution within the revolution". And as the struggles of all oppressed peoples for liberation intensify, the role which women MUST play, as one of the

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In Memory Of Joseph V. Stalin

March 5th, 1972 marks the 19th year since the death of Joseph Stalin. The terrible news of that day stunned and saddened revolutionaries around the world. While the millions mourned, there was a handfull of renegades and traitors who realized that the moment in history had arrived when they could strike their blow.

The Great Patriotic War of National Liberation had taken a terrible toll of steeled Bolsheviks. In the Soviet Union alone, ten million soldiers died. In every nation, humanity's shock battalions were composed of Communists. In Italy, France, Spain, in the United States and in every country the most steeled, the most theoretically and ideologically advanced comrades

were to be found in the thick of the battle.

During the heady moment of victory over fascism we sadly observed our international ranks and realized the price of victory. The ranks of the international Communist movement were soon replenished by new militants. However, enthusiasm and willingness to struggle could not, in a short time fill the places of those who had fallen. They were comrades who had raised the banners of revolution from San Francisco to Vladivostok. They were comrades who had been educated under the Comintern and steeled in the trenches of Spain, in the mines of South Africa, in the prisons of Hungary and Brazil. The traitors Kruschev and Co. realized the weakness

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China's Taiwan Province

By Chieh Chun

China's largest island, Taiwan, is off the southeastern coast. It has been Chinese sacred territory since ancient times. In A.D. 230, during the period of the Three Kingdoms, the Kingdom of Wu sent two generals in command of over 10,000 troops to sail across sea to Taiwan. During the Yuan Dynasty in the 13th century, Taiwan and other islands formally became part of the dominion of China. Apart from the island itself, Taiwan Province consists of dozens of others, including Penghu and Tiaoyu islands. Facing Fukien Province across the sea, Taiwan Province covers an area of 36,000 square kilometres

It has a population of 14 million. Apart from the Kaoshan and other local minority nationalities, over 90 per cent of the population is of Han nationality. The overwhelming majority of the compatriots in Taiwan speak the south Fukien dialect and the Hakka dialect of Kwangtung Province.

The island has a mild, spring like climate and is pleasant throughout the year. It has abundant rainfall and fertile soil. It abounds in rice, sugar-cane and tea. There are well-known fruits, including bananas, pineapples, papayas, longans, coconuts and betelnuts. Forests cover 70 percent of the area. Its camphor production accounts for more than 70 percent of the world's total output. It has deposits of valuable minerals, including gold, silver, copper, coal, petroleum and sulphur. It also abounds in aquatic products, 500 of which can be named.

Starting in the 16th century, the Western colonialists began to scramble with each other for possessions on the seas of the Orient. Portugal attempted to invade and occupy Taiwan Island after seizing China's Macao. Holland and Spain invaded and occupied Tainan and Keelung in China's Taiwan Province

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Stalin

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of the Communist movement more than the revolutionaries did. While Stalin lived, they were impotent. The enormous prestige of Stalin was a shield protecting the movement. Waiting in the shadows of history, the vultures Kruschev, Togliatti and on down to such puny sastraps as Dennis, Gates and Gus Hall, bided their time.

The death of Stalin was the international signal to attack. Stalin, the creative disciple of Lenin was not the target. The target was Lenin and Leninism, even though the attack was against Stalin. The world Communist movement, split and disorganized, fell back in confusion. No counter-revolutionary tactic was beneath the revisionists. The horror of the counter-revolution, abetted by the international Kruschev gang was written with the blood of the Hungarian Bolsheviks, of Lumumba and Karmin Kassim, an outstanding Iraqi revolutionary.

For a brief moment the revisionists seemed invincible. When all seemed lost, the brave and resolute Marxist-Leninist, Enver Hoxha, leader of the glorious Albanian Party of Labor stepped forward and hurled the gauntlet at the feet of international revisionism. Passionately defending Stalin and the construction of socialism in the USSR, Comrade Hoxha sounded the clarion call that marked the first rallying of the Marxist-Leninists. The great, victorious Communist Party of China, led by Mao Tse-tung defeated the attack of the Chinese revisionists and assumed the leadership in the fight against revisionism and for Marxism-Leninism.

The Communist League, in its struggle to build a Communist Party in the United States has never been disoriented on the question of Stalin. In fact, it was the theoretical and ideological defense of Stalin that built the Communist League. We knew and history has fully confirmed the fact that a Party cannot be built in the United States unless it takes full account of the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the Party. We knew and history has fully confirmed the fact that the oppressed peoples and nations within the United States cannot be emancipated except by following the teachings of Lenin and Stalin. We knew and history has fully confirmed that honest revolutionaries cannot fight and defeat the Trotskyites who are splitting and wrecking the movement everywhere without taking into full account the teachings of Lenin and Stalin. The fight to build a Communist Party is the fight to reassert and reaffirm the historic contributions of Stalin.

Those of us who have remained true to Leninism during the past 19 years did so only

because we were inspired by Stalin's dogged determination in the face of political reverses.

In the name of Stalin and Communism we had taken up the trench knife and grenade and had hurled ourselves at the throats of the fascists. We had wept when the news of Stalin's death was given us. We were confused and helpless in the face of the international attack of revisionism. Inadequately trained politically, barely schooled in theory, expelled from the Party and lacking organization, our sole weapon was Stalin's ideology. On this reliable base we have rebuilt our organizations.

The tide is turning. Led by the truly glorious Parties of China and Albania we have safeguarded the mantle of Lenin. We are confident that history will not find us lacking in either judgement or courage.

Today, standing with the revolutionary masses of the world, we dip our red banners in the memory of the great Stalin. As we have said to our comrades who fell in Spain, in Johannesburg, in Alabama, in Santiago de Cuba, at Stalingrad and Shanghai —

"Rest well, Beloved Comrade,
The fight will go on
'Til we win."



The Greatest Friendship

BY MAO TSETUNG

Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, greatest genius of the present age, great teacher of the world Communist movement, comrade-in-arms of the immortal Lenin, has departed from the world.

Comrade Stalin has made an inestimable contribution to our era by his theoretical and practical activities. Comrade Stalin represents our entire new era. His activities have led the Soviet people and the working people of all countries to transform the whole world situation: the cause of justice, of People's Democracy and Socialism has achieved victory on a tremendous scale over a territory containing one-third of the earth's population — more than 800 million people; moreover, the influence of this victory is spreading daily to every corner of the globe.

The death of Comrade Stalin has aroused unparalleled and profound grief among the working people of the whole world; it has stirred the hearts of upright people throughout the world. This demonstrates that Comrade Stalin's cause and his ideas have gripped the hearts of the broad masses of the people throughout the world and have become an invincible force, a force that will guide those peoples who are already victorious from one fresh victory to another and lead all who are still groaning under the oppression of the old, vicious capitalist world to strike courageously at the people's enemies.

After the death of Lenin, Comrade Stalin led the Soviet people in building into a magnificent socialist society the first socialist state in the world, which he, together with the great Lenin, created during the October Revolution. The victory of socialist construction in the Soviet Union is not only a victory of the Soviet people, but also a common victory of the people of the whole world. Firstly, this victory proved in real life the absolute correctness of Marxism-Leninism and gave concrete instruction to the working people throughout the world how they should advance towards a happy life. Secondly, this victory ensured that humanity would have the strength to defeat the fascist beasts during the Second World War. The achievement

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Taiwan

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in 1624 and 1626 respectively. After the Opium War in the middle of the 19th century, U.S. and Japanese imperialism coveted China's Taiwan Province and engaged in aggressive activities for a long period. Beginning in 1895, Japanese imperialism carried out half a century's armed aggression against and occupation of Taiwan.

After Japan's surrender in 1945 China formally recovered Taiwan in accordance with the provisions of the Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Proclamation. In 1950, while launching its war of aggression against Korea, U.S. imperialism brazenly ordered the U.S. 7th Fleet into the Taiwan Straits and occupied China's territory of Taiwan Province by force, placing the Chiang Kai-shek clique under the protection of U.S. bayonets. Taiwan has since then been a colony and a military base for U.S. imperialism to invade the mainland of China and other Asian countries. Over the past few years, reviving Japanese militarism has also attempted to stage a come-back and intensified its economic infiltration of Taiwan. The people of Taiwan, our compatriots by flesh and blood, suffer all sorts of brutal oppression, exploitation and ravage by the U.S. aggressors and their running dogs. All the Chinese people are determined to fight through to the end for the liberation of Taiwan.

Capitalists' Creed: Maximum Profits - Minimum Safety

What factory worker in the U.S. has not looked on helplessly at some time to see one of his comrades mangled or killed by a dangerous machine? Words can't express the horror that seizes us when a fellow assembly-line worker is caught and dragged by the moving line screaming for help until his leg is ripped off! Or when a giant press "trips" and collapses and makes a bloody gore of the worker changing the die under it! Or when a die-casting machine jams and shoots out a massive jet of molten metal straight into the face of the operator!

The list of major industrial injuries that happen every day is endless: acid burns, sewn fingers in the garment industry, severe lung damage from breathing chemical dust and fumes, crushed, severed and burned arms and legs, etc.. This is to say nothing of the thousands of workers killed every year in mine disasters, explosions, excavation cave-ins, railroad collisions, etc..

The one common cause of all these "accidents" is the capitalists' need to maximize their profits. What else can it mean when companies refuse - in spite of repeated protests by the workers - to shut down "killer" machines still dripping with blood from the last "accident"? What other conclusion can there be when we are forced to run powerful dangerous equipment without safety guards, on floors covered with oily slime? How else can you explain the murderous speed-up and overwork of men and women forced to put in 50-60 hour weeks for months on end?

The capitalist owners couldn't care less what happens to their laborers! If one is "used up" in production they know they have long lines waiting outside. The capitalists' only concern is wrenching out the maximum profits.

Their favorite trick after a worker gets hurt is to blame the accident on carelessness. How many of us have sat through "safety meetings" where the foreman absolves the company and attacks the victim for day-dreaming and not paying attention to his job! These foremen have strict orders never to say anything about actual conditions. They always promise the management will make a "complete investigation" (this is like asking Rockefeller to investigate the Attica massacre)! When they apologize at all it's only to plead that the machinery is old and falling apart, that the maintenance staff can't fix everything at once, etc.. Of course they can't! The capitalists have no intentions of "wasting" money on the safety of the workers, keeping their plants up, hiring "extra" labor or anything else that cuts into their profits.

Every company subscribes to some industrial relations outfit that mass-produces phoney posters about safety and "employee motivation" literature. The giant corporations have whole departments for this purpose alone. "Why not?" say the capitalists. "It's a lot cheaper than improving conditions!! It lets us blame all accidents on the workers and still makes us look like we're concerned about safety."

When someone is injured the standard procedure is to do the absolute minimum. All pressure is applied to get the worker back on the job. The foreman bullies him to take "ointment" for bad burns, band-aids for cuts, aspirins for bashed heads, anything just to keep him there! If that doesn't work they let him see the quack at the first aid station. Here they can stitch up bad gashes or wrap up sprains and mainly hand out "pain-killer" drugs - they send him right back!

If injuries are more serious the next "line of defense" (for the company's profits)-is the "company doctor". Every industrial plant has a special deal with one of these outside clinics to provide the cheapest possible medical care for injured workers. In the most extreme cases - where workers are permanently injured, lose their limbs or are killed, companies will do anything to try for an out-of-court settlement. A common plan is to offer the victim a "lifetime" job (the privilege of being exploited for life!). This practice is especially favored by companies planning to close down and move their operations to the colonies where they can squeeze still much greater profits.

Who is hurt most by this modern day capitalist butchery? Look at the composition of the heart of the U.S. industrial proletariat today and the answer is clear. In every industry the worst jobs, the lowest paid and most dangerous jobs are reserved for the national minorities. One glance through the halls of the industrial clinics or General hospitals shows who suffers and pays in blood to grease the wheels of capitalist production: workers from the Negro Nation, Puerto Rico, Mexico, Thailand, Panama, and all the other nations and regions oppressed by U.S. imperialism.

As the great Vietnamese communist leader Ho Chi Minh once said, "Wherever there is oppression there is resistance." Led by the national minorities, the working class in the U.S. has fought back against the worsening conditions in industry, against pay cutbacks, unemployment, etc.. Wildcat strikes, slowdowns and open battles with police are only the earliest signs of the new rise of the working class struggle.

But the real revolutionary content of the working class movement did not and could not come from this spontaneous reaction to oppression. As the People's Tribune Vol. 3, No. 7 points out, "Within the U.S. the revolutionary spirit has been brought to the working class through the struggles for liberation of the Negro Nation (civil rights movement, Watts, etc.) and the determined struggles of the Vietnamese people for their liberation (the war in Vietnam). These issues have awakened the U.S. working class and unmasked the morbid face of U.S. imperialism."

U.S. imperialism is the enemy of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world. Its brutal oppression and exploitation of the colonial and dependent nations have earned it the hatred of the working masses of all countries, including a large section of its "own" working class.

It is true the profit-mad capitalist class daily causes suffering for its proletariat. But its crimes at home pale before the ferocious brutality dealt out to the colonial world. Instead of \$1.65 per hour the Ovambo tribesman slaving in the U.S. owned diamond mines of Southwest Africa gets 5¢ per hour! Instead of being fired for trying to organize a labor union the South Korean worker is put up against the nearest wall and shot! Instead of surviving off of food stamps and a tiny unemployment or welfare check the starving Bolivian peasant family chews coca leaves to forget their hunger! In most of the colonial world if a worker or peasant is hurt badly there is no hope for them - there are no doctors!

The general crisis of imperialism is intensifying day by day. As the Communist League has repeatedly pointed out, this crisis is forcing the U.S. imperialists toward new wars and the setting up of fascism at home. The imperialists are being forced to tight-



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Woman Question

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most revolutionary forces in a society, becomes clearer to the elements within this fight... but of course it is the clearest to ourselves, the women.

In commemorating "International Woman's Day" it is necessary, first of all, to point out the similarities which we all share in our oppression; this in the spirit of solidarity with all working class women. Secondly, it is important to point out the differences in the oppression experienced by working class women who are national minorities (Mexican national minority in particular) and that experienced by Anglo-American women.

In the past, it has been common for women to lash out at the most obvious thing that oppressed them, the man. But now with the heightening of our awareness and education, the more obvious truth is that "a slave needs a slave"; this realization is leading us to hurl our wrath and fury against the common oppressor of both working class women and men, capitalist rule. This is not to say that we don't have to struggle relentlessly with the male supremacist errors which are committed all the time. For this is what is meant by "a revolution within the revolution", but it must be made clear that

Again, because of the whole basis of this society, which is built on the private ownership of the means of production, it became widespread to place a woman alongside a man's other possessions (his car, his home, his furniture, etc.). "Like all his other possessions the woman would be a measure of a man's worth"... again, a woman was and still is treated like an "instrument of production"; she produces kids, produces a well-run home, produces anything to fulfill the man's wishes and desires. She is this slave's slave. "By pushing this pre-capitalist ideology, the capitalist class hopes to reinforce the division of its class enemies, the toilers. The capitalists know that unity is the real strength of the working class." Therefore they try to divide up - pitting the women against the men in order to cover-up the real problem and true solutions.

So much for the similarities which all oppressed working class women face. Now to deal with the special oppression which working class Mexican national minority women face. The women from this national minority have to cope with inequality on 3 levels: 1) as part of the working class, 2) as women, and 3) as members of the Mexican national minority...(not necessarily in this order!)



Young Mexican national minority women are ready to fight!

the man is NOT the enemy, but rather our biggest ally and comrade in the fight; the real enemy is the bourgeois ruling class and their ideology which infests us all.

The capitalist ruling class is responsible for the wide-spread bourgeois ideology of male supremacy. This it does because it is quite useful and profitable for the capitalists to push the idea that women are inferior and their place is in the home, so that when conditions of life get hard and the women are forced to go out and find jobs, this ideology can be used as the rationale for the severe exploitation of women laborers.

The biggest difference in talking about the Mexican national minority woman's oppression is her cultural and historical heritage. Historically the Catholic church in Mexico has played a major role in the perpetuation of male supremacy. It was through the power of this church that the dominant class of Mexico instituted the societal roles of men and women. It is well known that Catholicism in Mexico is centered around the cult of "La Virgen de Guadalupe" - the Indian virgin who appeared to the poor Indian farmer, Juan Diego. This virgin not only "provided refuge for the unfortunate, consoled the poor, helped the oppressed", etc., but unfortunately for Mex-

ican women of then and now, she was elevated to represent the epitome of what women should be like - the universal mother - the pure, virginal woman. "The cult of the virgin reflects... a concrete historical situation, in both the spiritual and material realms."

Traditionally, the role of the Mexican woman in a home, (as a daughter), meant she never spoke her mind, for she was told she didn't have one: "that's what's the matter with you, you have little brains and big ovaries!" It was in the family not to talk against the father, not to disagree with him on anything. "The phrase 'I am your father' has no paternal flavor and is not said in order to protect or guide another, but rather to impose one's superiority, that is, to humiliate." The young Mexican national minority woman never questioned the authority, rules or actions of the father or brothers in her family. She confronted her problems and the world with an impassive smile. She would be "decent" in the face of erotic excitements and long suffering in the face of adversity."

Again, the Mexican woman was expected to carry these actions over to her relationship with the man as her husband. She had to be pure and untouched before marriage and remain naive and "decent" about sex throughout her married life. The whole thing amounting to "keeping the woman barefoot, pregnant and in the kitchen."

And right here enters the infamous "machismo" - that outstanding and obvious element in Mexican culture which dictated (and still does) the relationship between "el hombre y su mujer", (the man and his woman).

Machismo has been greatly characterized by absolute power and domination by the man, with violence used at times in order to maintain this set-up through fear. The woman is seen merely as a "productive" creature who exists only to make the man's lot more comfortable and pleasurable.

The system which perpetuates this type of ideology and which gains from pushing it is the enemy of the whole working class, the capitalist state. It is this same ruling apparatus that is to blame for the new and expanded form of oppression which working class Mexican national minority women must face and which more and more is taking the form of outright fascist attacks on our people.

When we hear of the different types of abuse which are directed against Mexican national minority women such as forced experimental practices like sterilization, abortions etc., we can't help but clearly see these actions for what they are! In line with other brutal abuses of women, Mexican national minority women have been

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Negro History Week

The week of Feb. 13 through Feb. 20 is celebrated as Negro History Week. As with most other holidays the bourgeoisie does its best to misrepresent the true meaning of Negro History. They use the week in an attempt to camouflage the super-exploitation and oppression that they bestow on the Negro people the other 358 days of the year. The imperialists in the main praise those Negro "leaders" who have done their bidding, compradors such as Booker T. Washington, Charles Evers, Julian Bond, Adam Clayton Powell, Roy Wilkins etc., who help keep the rest of the Negro people enslaved. These and other compradors, are the heroes in the history of the Negro People, so say the imperialists.

What has been the real history of the Negro People? Is it possible that the few individuals that the imperialists praise are the heroes and makers of history? No they

Mexican National Minority Women

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used as guinea pigs for experimentation in contraception. This was done recently in San Antonio by a "doctor" (Joseph Gozieher), who wanted to test the reaction of women to birth control pills. Without informing them or asking their opinion, he gave some of the women dummy pills (placebos) which would not prevent conception and as a result some of the women became pregnant. When questioned about his actions Gozieher's reply was: "If you think you can explain a placebo test to women like these, then you never met Mrs. Gomez from the West Side." This chauvinist, fascist from the Southwest Foundation for Research, is an agent of the imperialists carrying out their fascist experiments against a people - all with the purpose of arriving at another method of annihilating and exterminating us!

At the present time Mexican national minority women face another form of cold and brutal abuse, and this takes place in the factories where many work. Not only are they exploited as wage slaves, but their employers, supervisors and foremen constantly insult them and molest them in terms of male supremacist advances and actions. This does not end here however; for they are also abused by these men because many of them are Spanish speaking. Because of this factor they have to put up with white chauvinism which is exhibited against them. Thus we see that male supremacy against the Mexican national minority women has taken many forms: machismo, double standard, influence of the church etc..

As the liberation struggle

are not. "The people, and the people alone are the motive force in the making of world history". (Mao Tsetung, Selected Works, Vol. III, p. 257) This quote can also be applied to the particular history of the Negro people. The imperialists have never and will never praise the real heroes and history of the Negro people because it is a history of the millions of Negro people who have lived and died, struggling against the exploitation and oppression forced upon them by the capitalist system. It has been a history of revolutionary struggles for freedom and independence for the Negro people and the Negro Nation. Let us look at some of these examples from history.

In 1741 there was a slave rebellion in New York City. Most of the slaves who took part were hung. In 1800, several thousand Negro slaves in Virginia participated in what was called Gabriel's Conspiracy. Again, this bid for freedom was unsuccessful due to betrayals and was met with severe repression.

However, the struggle con-

of the Mexican national minority steadily deepens and matures the importance of unity of the men and women in this fight is greatly increasing. Male supremacy, the bourgeoisie's ideological weapon to divide our movement, must be exposed and destroyed. While it is obvious that women must initiate and push forward this struggle, its success will depend also upon the extent that this poison is rejected and actually combated by men.

Finally, Mexican national minority women are oppressed as a national minority. This oppression is common to both men and women and stems from the semi-colonial relationship of Mexico to U.S. imperialism and the resulting ideology of white chauvinism. The resolution of the national question is an important part of the struggle for socialism. And in turn, the resolution of the national question is essential to resolving all three forms of oppression suffered by Mexican national minority women, their exploitation as workers, their oppression as women, and finally as a national minority. The only viable resolution to the Mexican national minority question is Regional Autonomy. "The advantage of regional autonomy consists, first of all, in the fact that it does not deal with a fiction bereft of territory, but with a definite population inhabiting a definite territory. Next, it does not divide people according to nations, it does not strengthen national barriers; on the contrary, it breaks down these barriers and unites the population in such a manner as to open the way for division of

continued to spread. In August, 1831, in South Hampton, Virginia, Nat Turner's revolt was the climax of three years of increasing unrest and struggle among the slaves throughout the south. During this uprising over 100 Negroes and about 60 Anglo-Americans were killed. In 1847 the Dred Scott Fight started and continued for ten years when in 1857 it was decided that all territory was slave territory. In 1859, John Brown's insurrection at Harper's Ferry, Virginia marked one of the high points in the history of the Negro people's struggle for freedom during the 1800's. It was one of the most revolutionary battles and was also one of the many examples where Negroes and Anglo-Americans united in the fight against slavery. These struggles for freedom continued throughout the long and costly Civil War and Reconstruction.

Some people think the struggle ended at the end of the Civil War or soon after, that the Negro people had finally achieved the freedom they had fought for so long. But

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a different kind, division according to classes. Finally, it makes it possible to utilize the natural wealth of the region and to develop its productive forces in the best possible way without awaiting the decisions of a common centre - functions which are not inherent features of cultural-national autonomy.

Thus, regional autonomy is an essential element in the solution of the national question." (Selections from V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin on National Colonial Question, Calcutta Book House, p. 102.)

The national question in essence is the struggle for democracy and regional autonomy for the southwest is the only way to insure full democracy for the Mexican national minority. And even then, this insured democracy can only be truly insured with the overthrow of imperialism (U.S.).

So, while regional autonomy solves the national question, the question of the oppression of the Mexican national minority as a minority, the only real solution left to us all, in our struggle for total emancipation of women, is to fight for the overthrow of this wretched bourgeois, ruling class and the capitalist system. For by liberating our class as a whole, we are working towards the only true way in which we can liberate ourselves as women. Like Chairman Mao has said, "genuine equality between the sexes can only be realized in the process of the socialist transformation of society as a whole".

Stalin (cont. from p. 2)

of victory in the anti-fascist war would have been inconceivable without the victory of socialist construction in the Soviet Union. The fate of all mankind was bound up with the victory of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and victory in the anti-fascist war, and the glory of these victories must go to our great Comrade Stalin.

Comrade Stalin carried out a comprehensive and epoch-making development of Marxist-Leninist theory and advanced Marxism to a new stage of development. Comrade Stalin creatively developed Lenin's theory concerning the law of the uneven development of capitalism and Lenin's theory that Socialism can first be victorious in one country; Comrade Stalin creatively contributed the theory of the general crisis of the capitalist system; he contributed the theory concerning the building of Communism in the Soviet Union; he contributed the theory of the basic economic laws of modern capitalism and of Socialism; he contributed the theory of the revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries. Comrade Stalin also creatively developed Lenin's theory on the building of the Party. All these creative theories of Comrade Stalin further united the workers throughout the world, further united the oppressed classes and the oppressed peoples throughout the world, and thereby enabled the struggle for the emancipation and well-being of the world's working class and all oppressed people, and the victories in this struggle, to attain unprecedented proportions.

All Comrade Stalin's writings are immortal works of Marxist literature. His Foundations of Leninism, History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks) and his last great work Economic Problems of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. comprise an encyclopaedia of Marxism-Leninism, a summing-up of the experiences of the world Communist movement in the past hundred years. His speech at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a precious testament bequeathed to the Communists of all countries of the world. We Chinese Communists, like the Communists of all other countries, find our own road to victory in the great works of Comrade Stalin.

Since the death of Lenin, Comrade Stalin has at all times been the central figure in the world Communist movement. We rallied round him, ceaselessly asked his advice and ceaselessly drew ideological strength from his works. Comrade Stalin was full of warm love for the oppressed peoples of the East. "Do not forget the East" - this was Comrade Stalin's great call after the October Revolution. Everybody knows that Comrade Stalin warmly loved the Chinese

people and regarded the might of the Chinese revolution as immeasurable. He contributed his lofty wisdom to the problems of the Chinese revolution. And it was by following the teachings of Lenin and Stalin, and with the support of the great Soviet state and all the revolutionary forces of other countries, that the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people won their historic victory a few years ago.

Now we have lost our great teacher and most sincere friend-Comrade Stalin. What a misfortune this is! It is impossible to express in words the sorrow which this misfortune has brought us.

Our task is to transform sorrow into strength. In memory of our great teacher Stalin, the great friendship linked with the name of Stalin, which exists between the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, will be immeasurably strengthened. Chinese Communists and the Chinese people will further intensify the study of Stalin's teachings, of Soviet science and techniques, to build their country.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a party personally reared by Lenin and Stalin; it is the most advanced party in the world, the most experienced and the best trained in theory. This Party has been our model in the past, is our model now and will remain our model in the future. We are completely confident that the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, headed by Comrade Malenkov, will certainly be able to follow Comrade Stalin's behest to advance and carry to greater glory the great cause of Communism.

There is not the slightest doubt that the world camp of peace, democracy and Socialism headed by the Soviet Union will be still more united and become still more powerful.

In the past thirty years, Comrade Stalin's teachings and the example of Soviet socialist construction have made the world advance with giant strides. Now that the Soviet Union has become so powerful; the Chinese people's revolution has obtained such great victories; construction in the various Peoples Democracies has brought such enormous achievements; the movement of the peoples throughout the world against oppression and aggression has risen to such heights; our front of friendship and solidarity is so consolidated--we can definitely declare that we are not afraid of any imperialist aggression. Any imperialist aggression will be smashed by us; all foul provocations will be of no avail.

The reason that the great friendship between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union is unbreakable is precisely because our friendship has been built on

the great principles of internationalism of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The friendship between the peoples of China and the Soviet Union, and the peoples of the various Peoples Democracies, as well as all people who love peace, democracy and justice in every country of the world, is also built upon this great principle of internationalism and is therefore also unbreakable.

Clearly, the strength created by our friendship, which is of this kind, is inexhaustible and truly invincible.

Let all imperialist aggressors and warmongers tremble before our great friendship!

Long live the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!

The glorious name of the great Stalin is immortal!

Definition:

NEGRO NATION: The Negro Nation is that historically evolved stable community of Negro people, along with the historically developed Anglo-American national minority who live in the Black Belt and the economically dependent area of the Southern U.S. of North America. This nation, which evolved from the specifics of slavery historically evolved stable community of people formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture.

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

Safety Conditions

(cont. from p.3)

en the screws on the Anglo-American working class. For the oppressed masses already suffering today, fascism can only mean untold new horrors.

Georgi Dimitrov, the great Bulgarian communist and leader of the Communist International, said in The United Front, "Fascism promised the workers 'a fair wage', but actually it has brought them an even lower, pauper standard of living. It promised work for the unemployed, but actually it has brought them even more painful torments of starvation and forced servile labor. In practice it converts the workers and unemployed into pariahs (outcasts) of capitalist society stripped of rights; destroyed their trade unions; deprives them of the right to strike and to have

(cont. on p. 13)

Nixon's Peace Plan: Phoney Talk and More Bombing

On Feb. 25, President Nixon came out with his secret proposals to end the war in Vietnam. The purpose of the "secret talks" was supposedly to bring about a just and resolute solution to the war; instead Kissinger, following Nixon's order, attempted to shove the same imperialist policies down the throats of the Vietnamese. This so-called new proposal is nothing but putting sugar on the same old poison of death, destruction and exploitation for Vietnam and all of Indochina.

Nixon's newest "peace plan" attempts to cover up his intentions of intensifying the war. Proof of this can be seen in the recent step-up of bombings throughout Indochina. Since Nixon took office he has made pledge after pledge to the people of the United States and the world to end the war. He has pledged to "increase troop withdrawals", "end U.S. involvement", and even gone so far as to assert that he expects to be "held accountable if he fails". He also states that the prisoner of war question must be solved before withdrawal of U.S. troops. Well, it is obvious to the people of the world that Nixon has not worked at ending U.S. involvement, in fact, he has intensified U.S. involvement in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Nixon has not fooled the people of the U.S. and in fact has infuriated them even more with his lies about peace. During this election year Nixon is trying more and more to deceive and cover over his stepping up policies of Vietnamization or using "Asians to fight Asians".

The U.S. imperialists have in the past months shown the world how much they want "peace". The U.S. and puppet troops in launching new military adventures in Indochina have suffered many defeats and severe setbacks. Despite these disastrous defeats the U.S. imperialists refuse to give up their aggressive aims. The recent and continuing heavy bombings of North Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia clearly show the complete insincerity of Nixon's peace proposals. The bombings are a tactic to try and intimidate and threaten the Indochinese people.

These are not new tactics in the U.S. imperialists' attempts to enslave and colonize the people of Indochina. During the past ten years the U.S. has spent more than 3 billion dollars and sent hundreds

Struggle Intensifies in Iran

During the first week of February a Military tribunal sentenced 6 Iranian revolutionaries to death, another 15 to life imprisonment and the rest to 10-3 years of imprisonment. The group were tried on accounts of "communist activities", "attempt to overthrow the monarchy", "attempt to open and armed struggle", etc.. The group, who were mainly intellectuals, resolutely stood up and condemned the phoney charges made against them. They declared that only armed struggle can save Iran from the yoke of western imperialism and its native servant, the Shah.

Today, Iran is no longer the so-called island of peace and stability, but is a country with an ever increasing struggle. Within the last 2 years thousands of workers, peasants, intellectuals, clergymen and people from other segments of society have been sent to jail or killed, and there is yet more to come.

Today Iranian people are

of thousands of troops, and all kinds of modern weapons to try and crush the liberation struggles of the peoples in Indochina. The victories of the People of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have greatly weakened the U.S. imperialist forces and deepened the political, economic and social crises in the United States.

In Indochina this is seen concretely in the serious **defeats and setbacks** the U.S. imperialists have encountered in every attempt they have made to crush the revolutionary movement. With every attempt at trying to implement the imperialist policy of Vietnamization, the U.S. and puppet troops are pushed further back. Recently, they have decided to forcibly remove nearly one million inhabitants of the northern provinces of South Vietnam. They plan to put these people in "strategic hamlets" or what are better known as disguised concentration camps. They are sure by doing this they will weaken and eventually put down the struggle of the people in South Vietnam by cutting off the ties between the North and South Vietnamese people. This so-called pacification program will only further arouse the hatred for the U.S. imperialists and their puppet clique and surely bring about more serious military and political defeats.

In Laos, the liberation of Long Chen is a decisive military and political victory for the patriotic forces. Long Chen had been since 1962 a strategic base for the C.I.A., "special forces" headquarters and the Vang Pao puppet troops. This base was used to direct strategic bombers to liberated areas and main communication

determined to get rid of imperialism and its running dogs with revolutionary force. Hundreds of revolutionaries have been arrested and many more are being arrested every week. Yet, the struggle is waging on.

The U.S. imperialists and their international collaborators are planting seeds of another Vietnam in the Middle East. We ask all anti-imperialist organizations and elements in the U.S. to unite with and support the just struggle against imperialism being waged in Iran. Our unity will force the fascist dictator regime of Iran to defeat.

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE OPPRESSED MASSES OF THE WORLD AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ALL REACTIONARIES!

(The above is a statement of the Iranian Students Association in Chicago.)

Note: Since this article was written 20 more Iranians have been arrested.

lines. The Lao patriotic forces and people have demolished the Vang Pao "bandits", annihilated huge numbers of Thai accomplice troops and have completely done away with this strategic base set up by U.S. imperialism. This further consolidation of the liberated areas has dealt another crushing blow to the aims of U.S. imperialism in Indochina.

Another example of the political crisis the U.S. imperialists are in is the cancellation of the peace talks in Paris because of the anti-war meeting in Versailles. Is it is from a position of strength that U.S. Ambassador William J. Porter calls off the peace talks indefinitely because the anti-war meetings would "befoul the atmosphere"? The Versailles meeting which Porter called a "horde of communist controlled agitators" is being represented by over 1,200 delegates from 80 countries, to demand independence for the Indochinese peoples, including representatives from the U.S.. Would it be possible for the U.S. to hold such a conference in support of their aggression and intensification of the war in Indochina? It is hardly likely that they would get more than President Nixon and his puppet Thieu out for such a rally.

And finally, within the United States Nixon's policies in Indochina have increased the sentiments against the aggressive war in Indochina. The people are demanding that Nixon stop talking so much about ending the war and withdraw U.S. troops. In answer to the increased political awakening of the people in the U.S., Nixon's Chief of Staff

(cont. on p. 8)

Negro History (cont. from p. 5)

on the contrary, with the involvement of the Negro Nation the struggle was raised to a higher level to the struggle for independence. Some examples of the struggle for independence of the Negro people include the Niagra movement, founded July 14, 1905 by James Monroe Trotter and headed by W.E.B. DuBois. This anti-fascist movement took as its goal the full equality of Negroes. The fifties and sixties marked another crucial period in the intensification of the Negro national struggles. On Dec. 4 1955 in Montgomery, Alabama, the magnificent struggle broke out. The struggle in Montgomery brought about a re-awakening of interest in revolutionary Marxism. This was due to the fact that for some years the Negro People's Liberation movement had floundered, the leadership had been disoriented or bought off. In Birmingham, Alabama, 1963, the Negro people again rose up in massive struggle. This was followed by more revolutionary uprisings in Harlem, Bedford Stuyvesant and Rochester in 1964. In Watts, Aug. 18, 1965, the struggle of Negro national minority workers was raised to a higher level. The Negro masses no longer were fooled by the cries for non-violence. The Watts uprisings linked the struggle of the Anglo-American workers to the National liberation movement in the Negro Nation. This new level that matured in Watts was carried even further by the Detroit uprising of 1967. There the participation of southern Anglo-American workers from the Negro Nation, was for the ruling class, a terrible harbinger of the future. And just one month ago, we witnessed the heroic fightback of the Negro people in Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

The history of the struggle of the Negro people has been a long and heroic one. Today the revolutionary movement in the Negro Nation is still growing, however on the other hand it has been held back. Throughout its history it has been continuously misguided by agents of the imperialists. The compradors in the Negro Nation have historically played a key role in holding back the revolutionary movement through the use of reformism, non-violence and continually selling the Negro people "down the river". The rotten, revisionist CPUSA (Communist Party of the United States of America) sold out long ago when they "revised" the national question and then proclaimed that the Negro Nation was no longer a nation. Today, the role of the CPUSA is quite similar to that of the compradors in one respect; they too mislead and attempt to disarm the working class; by working against revolution, the only road today that can lead to independence.

In order to move forward and to a victorious revolution, we must build a Marxist-Lenin-



The discovery of Nat Turner in hiding after the failure of his rebellion.

ist communist party. A communist party that will take all that is positive from the history of the revolutionary movement and apply that to the revolutionary movement here. A strong and militant bolshevized communist party able to expose and destroy the agents of the imperialists and unite all the forces needed to deal the final blow to U.S. imperialism and lead the working class in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism.

The independence of the Negro Nation and its people is an inevitable part of its history. We in the Anglo-American nation must support and assist our class brothers and sisters in the Negro Nation in their struggles for independence. In observing Negro History week, we in the Communist League call on all revolutionaries to join us in giving support to the Negro people and join us in raising the slogan:

FREE THE NEGRO NATION AND ALL NATIONS OPPRESSED BY U.S. IMPERIALISM



Set a date and withdraw all U.S. troops from Vietnam!

Vietnam

(cont. from p. 7)

Halderman has warned that anyone who supports the peace proposals of the Vietnamese and in fact is against this governments policies of aggression in Indochina is aiding and abetting the enemy, or in reality is guilty of treason. This clearly shows the increasing instability of the U.S. imperialists.

The peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia have strengthened their unity and are resolved to fight and defeat U.S. imperialism and their puppets. This can be seen recently in the closely co-ordinated operations against the U.S. and puppet troops, and especially the victories gained in South Vietnam, along Highway 6 in Cambodia and the Plain of Jars in Laos. The people of Indochina are not intimidated by the increased military adventures of the United States. They are not fooled by Nixon's phoney peace plan, they are only more enraged and determined to drive the U.S. aggressive troops completely out of their countries. History is on their side. They will not be enslaved!

U.S. imperialism on the other hand, unending in its need for profits and markets will not give up its hopeless attempts to enslave the people of Indochina. But, history has already set the stage for the collapse of U.S. imperialism - but the final death blow must come from within the U.S. We must raise the banner of Proletarian Internationalism and demand the freedom of all nations exploited and oppressed by U.S. imperialism. Only then can we deal the final blow and be free ourselves.

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Chicago, Ill. 60654

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

Longshore Strike- A Victory For Whom?

The Longshore strike is over, the ships are moving again and each side claims victory. But what is the true meaning of the strike? In the final analysis, each side, the leadership of the longshoremen's union (I.L.W.U.) and the capitalist class did win. This is because each was fighting for the same goal, the establishment of a fascist labor front. It was the working class and the oppressed nations who were the losers in this strike settlement.

The history of the struggles of the longshore workers reveal that strikes take on different characters depending upon the primary base of capitalist exploitation. Before imperialism, their primary base of exploitation was the workers in the U.S. state. As such, labor struggles were dominated by direct violence and contradiction with the capitalist class. Life on the docks was miserable; labor hired by the day and by favoritism; long hours with low pay and unhealthy conditions; no medical insurance or job safety. As the primary base of exploitation shifted to the colonies, due to the rise of imperialism and the export of capital, a material base was created for "certain labor victories." In short, the super profits gained from the colonies, allowed the capitalists to grant certain concessions in the labor battles at home. The labor battles of yesterday were characterized by the employers dynamiting company towns, assassinating union leaders, machine gunning union meetings and cutting off all food, lights and heat for the strikers. The workers fought back by shooting scabs, seizing factories and docks and fought sincerely for class solidarity. But today we see another scene, the "struggle" takes place in expensive hotels around the conference table, while the workers lounge beside the picket line drinking beer and coffee. Today the longshoremen have relatively good wages, medical benefits, guaranteed annual income, etc.. What is the price of these privileges? It is the sad price of class collaboration.

Today class collaboration is characterized by the building of a fascist labor front. The fascist labor front is a political unity of the capitalists, the labor aristocracy and the most backward sections of the Anglo-American proletariat, which seeks to instill the most chauvinistic, terrorist, and reactionary conditions upon the working class as a whole. The specifics of this strike settlement clearly point to the construction of a fascist labor front, with the longshoremen's union playing a key role. The increased

benefits, higher wages, guaranteed annual income, represent an attempt by the capitalists to buy off the longshore workers. The containerization issue is a different matter. Today a large portion of the freight is prepacked in containers and unloaded upon delivery. The union at first demanded their right to unpack the containers, but has agreed to allow the containers to be unpacked by non-union labor. The result of this will undoubtedly be that the capitalists will use the non-union labor, primarily unorganized white, Negro national minority and Mexican national minority, to do the work. More importantly, it means that the union is actively participating in the exploitation of unorganized and unskilled workers.

However, this strike, like everything else has a dual character. On one hand the strike represents a progressive aspect in that it is a strike against the capitalists in one of their most important industries; on the other hand the major aspect of the strike settlement is reactionary in that it is a decisive step in the formation of a fascist labor front. In the struggle to interpret the meaning of the strike to the working class, two harmful political deviations have arisen by misrepresenting the two aspects of the strike. On the one hand there is the right error of the Communist Party U.S.A., which proclaimed the longshore settlement as a victory for the working class and on the other hand the petty bourgeois left deviation which proclaims no support at all for the strike and labels the strikers counter-revolutionary.

We in the Communist League do not feel that this strike can be understood except as a unity of opposites. These opposites spring from the situation the working class finds itself under, imperialism. On the one hand, the working class fights its natural enemies the capitalists, on the other, exploitation of the oppressed nations provides a base for bribery and class collaboration. As the national liberation struggle intensifies, markets grow less, and the contradiction between the capitalists intensifies. In this process imperialism is forced inwards, the basis of the bribery is lessened and the contradictions between the workers and the capitalists grow more intense. The capitalists respond to the revolutionary upsurge with a fascist labor front, controlled by the social-fascist leaders like Bridges.

Understanding these laws of social motion it is essential that revolutionaries fight to turn major strikes

like the longshore strike from primarily reactionary to primarily revolutionary. This can only be done by supporting the national liberation struggles against imperialism and by building a revolutionary communist party to overthrow the capitalists. We urge all honest and progressive elements of the longshore union to wage a resolute struggle against the fascist labor leaders, lest they be unwittingly, tools of the ruling classes drive for fascism.

DEPORTATIONS:

Imperialists Are The Only Illegals

The U.S. imperialists have always been afraid of the Mexican national minority in the Southwest. Why? Because in the Mexican-American War of 1848, the U.S. stole this vast territory from Mexico. The imperialists were and still are a foreign invader, forcefully occupying the land of another people. No wonder these bullies are afraid of the Mexican national minority! The imperialists see the Southwest as a powder keg about to blow up, and they are right.

The imperialists think they have an answer to their problem: mass deportation to Mexico. Already, hundreds of Mexican "illegals" are picked up off the streets, thrown into trucks and dumped across the border every week. But even more important is the increasing white chauvinist propaganda directed against the Mexican national minority that is preparing the way for even more massive deportations. For example, recently both the U.S. and California governments passed laws making it illegal for factories to "knowingly" hire "illegal" Mexicans. The punishment is a slap on the hand: a 200 dollar fine. Obviously, this law is a phoney! It was passed for the sole purpose of spreading filthy lies about Mexican national minority workers. For weeks this "law" got front page coverage in the newspapers, and the imperialists' white chauvinist message came through loud and clear: "To all Anglo-American workers: The Mexicans are taking your jobs. They are causing unemployment. They are your enemies."

Right now the imperialists are trying to build support among Anglo-American workers for a huge fascist attack, by deportation and by murder, on the Mexican national minority in the Southwest.

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In Defense Of Marxism-Leninism

A salute to J.V. Stalin and Mao Tsetung

Part II

(Part I appeared in Vol. 4, No. 1)

Assuming that everyone is overwhelmed by his arguments, Sanmugathanan leaps from the contention that Mao discovered class struggle under Socialism to the contention that Mao discovered that dialectics operate within the Communist Party. Of course this is pure foolishness. Lenin dealt in great detail with the basis of contradictions within the party in his "Struggle Against Revisionism." Stalin says in "Inherent Contradictions of Party Development" (the title alone discredits Sanmugathanan), "The whole history of our Party is the history of overcoming internal Party differences and the steady consolidation of the ranks of our Party on the basis of overcoming these contradictions....It follows that the fight to overcome internal Party differences is the law of development of our Party." (Int. Pub., 1946, p. 47). Sanmugathanan is simply not telling the truth when he says that internal party struggle was discovered by Mao Tsetung.

Similarly, Sanmugathanan says on p. 43, "Comrade Mao Tsetung solved these questions of art and literature with the aid of Marxist dialectics."

The way this is said leaves one to believe that Stalin's important works, that Andrey Zhdanov's important writings on art and literature, don't exist; that the brilliant essays by Marx and Engels entitled "Literature and Art" were never published. They are totally disregarded.

It's clear from the examples we have given that time after time Sanmugathanan attributes to Mao Tsetung theories that were developed and elaborated by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as well as by Mao himself. By pointing this out do we mean to diminish the stature of Mao? On the contrary. For us Mao's greatness lies in the way he applied Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of Chinese society, it lies in the fact that he is the undisputed leader in the worldwide struggle to make Marxism once more a realistic, living revolutionary theory and practice. His greatness does not lie for us (as it does for Sanmugathanan) in his having invented abstractions of Marxism.

It is Sanmugathanan, not we, who does a disservice to Mao Tsetung and to Marxism-Leninism in general by developing a cult of the personality, by separating Mao Tsetung from Lenin and Leninism, from Marx and Stalin; and even worse, by separating him from the realities of social life and social struggle. To illustrate this once more let us examine Sanmu-

gathanan's treatment of Mao and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

According to Sanmugathanan, Mao Tsetung personally initiated and led the Cultural Revolution. Now, it's a fact that Mao did initiate and lead the Cultural Revolution - but not as some abstraction. His leadership, and the Cultural Revolution itself, were part of the general revolutionizing of the means of production in China, the winning of the battle for production, and the development of production, without which socialism and the development of communism are impossible. And how is the battle for production and socialism won? By bringing society and the superstructure into line with the more mobile and developed productive forces by means of a revolution in social relationships. It is the productive forces, the most revolutionary aspect of society, that objectively lead society toward communism. Without revolutionizing the means of production, communism is impossible. But Sanmugathanan wants you to think that all you have to do is develop the right spirit, the right thought. He thus proposes that spirit or thought, not the productive forces, is the most revolutionary force in society. This is utopian socialism of the Robert Owen type, not Marxism. Haven't thinkers and religious figures for thousands of years had an idealist, naive conception of "communism" and attempted to realize their vision by strictly idealist means? And haven't they failed, not out of lack of sincerity and high-mindedness, but because it is only in modern times that the productive capacity of society has produced a situation and a leading force, the proletariat, and a leading theory, scientific socialism or Marxism - where it is really possible to build socialism and communism? But it is precisely this material, historical content of Marxism that Sanmugathanan "extracts" from Marxism, thus rendering it flat and banal.

It is, of course, undialectical and anti-Marxist not to give full account of the dialectical relationship and transformation of thought and activity - base and superstructure, the ideal and material world. One has an impact on and changes the other. Stalin says,

"The strength and vitality of Marxism-Leninism lies in the fact that it bases its practical activity on the needs of the development of the material life of society and never divorces itself from the real life of society.

It does not follow from Marx's words, however, that social ideas, theories, political views and political insti-

tutions are of no significance in the life of society. We have been speaking so far of the origin of social ideas, theories, views and political institutions, of the way they arise, of the fact that the spiritual life of society is a reflection of the conditions of its material life. As regards the significance of social ideas, theories, views and political institutions as regards their role in history, historical materialism, far from denying them, stresses the important role and significance of these factors in the life of society, in its history." (Dialectical and Historical Materialism, op. cit., Problems of Leninism, p. 726)

Mao Tsetung says,

"While we recognize that in the development of history as a whole it is material things that determine spiritual things and social existence that determines social consciousness, at the same time we also recognize and must **recognize the reaction of spiritual things and social consciousness on social existence**, and the reaction of the superstructure on the economic foundation. This is not running counter to materialism; this is precisely avoiding mechanical materialism and firmly upholding dialectical materialism." (Selected Works, Vol. 2, Int. Pub., 1954, p. 41).

None of the great teachers supports a mechanistic view of the role of the productive forces. Our view is dialectical, and that is precisely why we reject the line that revolutionary thought is divorced from the concrete basis of the productive forces and productive relations which arise from them. In this regard the whole latter part of Stalin's Dialectical and Historical Materialism is worth quoting. But let us quote Marx instead:

"Social relations are closely bound up with productive forces. In acquiring new productive forces men change their mode of production; and in changing their mode of production, in changing the way of earning their living, they change all their social conditions. The handmill gives society the feudal lord; the steam-mill gives society the industrial capitalist.

The same men, who establish their social relationships in conformity with their material productivity, produce also principles, ideas and categories, in conformity with their social relationships.

Thus these ideas, these categories, are as little eternal as the relationships they express. They are historical and transitory products.

There is a continual movement of growth in productive

(cont. on p. 11)

Sanmugathanan

(cont. from p. 10)

forces, of destruction in social relations, of formation in ideas the only immutable thing is the abstraction of movement - mors immortalis." (Poverty of Philosophy, Int. Pub., 1935, pp. 354-355)

There it is, summed up as Marx saw it, as Stalin saw it, and as Mao sees it. Fundamentally, the productive forces are the forces that revolutionize society and its superstructure, not the other way around as Sanmugathanan would have us believe. To make this even clearer. It is not a question of which aspect (the material base or the superstructure) is principal at a given moment, the question is which is fundamental. For example, no one would deny that white chauvinism (a belief, part of the superstructure) has greatly affected the bloody history of the Negro people, that it has had a great impact on the material life of the United States. But where did white chauvinism come from? From the material system, from imperialism. The importance of ideas is as Stalin says: **Revolution is impossible without the introduction of new, revolutionary ideas.**

"New social ideas and theories arise precisely because they are necessary to society, because it is impossible to carry out the urgent tasks of development of the material life of society without their organizing, mobilizing and transforming action. Arising out of the new tasks set by the development of the material life of society, the new social ideas and theories force their way through, become the possession of the masses, mobilize and organize them against the moribund forces of society, and thus facilitate the overthrow of these forces which hamper the development of the material life of society." (Dialectical and Historical Materialism, op. cit., p. 727)

Finally, let us quote from Marx's A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy:

"It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material forces of production in society come into conflict with the existing relations of production, or - what is but a legal expression for the same thing - with the property relations within which they had been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation, the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed."

That's what any revolu-

tion is all about, including the Cultural Revolution. In our opinion the Cultural Revolution was indeed a revolution, a revolution to bring the social relations of China into conformity with the developing productive forces and to free those productive forces for further advance and further social revolution. The struggle to accomplish these necessary tasks resulted in a seizure of state power by the broad masses on a much larger and deeper scale than the seizure of state power in 1949, the simple military victory which ended the period of "new democracy" and began the period of socialist construction.

How does Sanmugathanan view this seizure of power? In the abstract. He says on p. 25, "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China was a revolution for capturing people's minds. It was an attempt to uproot the old feudal and bourgeois ideology." etc.. Finally, he correctly concludes "It was an endeavor to bring the superstructure into line with the changed socialist economic base. It would probably take centuries before its full effects would be felt."

The Cultural Revolution did not and could not limit itself to the capture of people's minds. This is a bourgeois approach.

And as far as the question of "bringing the superstructure into line with the changed socialist economic base" is concerned, we should understand that the most important aspect of the superstructure is the state. It is precisely in the struggle to consolidate state power that the Cultural Revolution really meant something. Lin Piao's speech on National Day, October 1, 1967, states,

"From the capital to the border regions, from the city to the countryside, from the factory workshops to workers' homes, everyone, from teenagers to old folk concerned themselves with state affairs and the strengthening and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

To get yourself into someone's mind doesn't mean anything if that person keeps state power. Sanmugathanan is quite correct when he says the Cultural Revolution was for bringing the superstructure into line with the changed socialist economic base. This meant, first of all, changing the character and composition of the state. But Sanmugathanan refuses to plant himself firmly in materialism. On p. 36 he says, "The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was an attempt to see that proletarian ideology decisively triumphed inside the minds of the Chinese people." He says nothing about the historical conditions which made it necessary to carry out

the Cultural Revolution, to get rid of the capitalist-roaders, to shake off the fetters that had developed and which hampered the further development of Chinese society. For him the thing remains a sort of big debate.

Sanmugathanan's idealist approach to the Cultural Revolution is reflected in his approach to revisionism, and in particular modern revisionism. He talks a lot about revisionism but does not say a single word about the material basis for revisionism. For example, (p. 21), "Lenin, in his day, clearly defined revisionism as the influence of the bourgeoisie inside the working class movement." This is of course true, but is it all? No, because Lenin also explained that this influence was brought into the proletariat via certain strata of workers - principally, the impoverished petty bourgeois forced to become wage workers, and the bribed workers, the labor aristocracy. As Stalin says in Inherent Contradictions of Party Development,

"The pressure of the bourgeoisie and its ideology upon the proletariat and upon its party result in bourgeois ideas, morals, habits and moods not infrequently penetrating into the proletariat and its party through the medium of certain strata of the proletariat connected in one way or another with bourgeois society." (Marxism and Revisionism, Int. Pub., 1946, p. 49)

Why is Sanmugathanan's failure to discuss the material basis for revisionism important? Because it is part of his attempt to turn class struggle into a debating society, a struggle of ideas, not of social classes and strata. This failure, incidentally, is one that Sanmugathanan shares with countless so-called "lefts" and "communists" in the United States. These people talk loud and long about revisionism, but never say exactly how it comes into the working class. This is because they belong to, and appeal to, one of the two strata Stalin says bring opportunism to the movement, that is, they belong to "the petty bourgeoisie and intelligentsia." They don't want to point the finger at themselves, so they remain silent. Charity begins at home.

But to continue. Sanmugathanan further uses the concept of revisionism in another attempt to split Mao off from Marxism-Leninism. He goes to great pains to do away with the whole concept of modern revisionism as a new process, a new counter-revolutionary stance. Speaking of the "great debate" between Lenin and Bernstein, Kautsky, etc., Sanmugathanan says,

"The present day revisionists, from Khrushchov to Keunenman, have not improved on any of the theories originally put forward by Kautsky and Bernstein and brilliantly refuted by Lenin

(cont. on p. 12)

SANMUGATHASAN

(cont. from p. 11)

during his time. They are merely repeating the same bald-erdash. The only reason why they are called the modern revisionists is to distinguish them from the revisionists of Lenin's time."

He admits that Lenin's struggle against revisionism was a defense of the theories and teachings of Marx and Engels. But he stops there and says nothing has changed since. Look at what the Chinese comrades say in Long Live Leninism (1960)

"As pointed out in the Declaration of the meeting of representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries held in Moscow in 1957, 'The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source.' Old revisionism attempted to prove that Marxism was outmoded, while modern revisionism attempts to prove that Leninism is outmoded. The Moscow Declaration states, 'Modern revisionism seeks to smear the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism...'"

Furthermore, the fine pamphlet entitled Leninism and Modern Revisionism (Editorial #1, Hongqi, 1963) points out how modern revisionism attacks Lenin, and therefore differentiates itself from the old-style revisionism. Why does Sanmugathasan deny this correct distinction? To accomplish what he tries to do throughout his book - to separate Mao from Lenin and Marx. In this case he lumps Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin together as one thing, and then we have the disconnected "brilliant thought" of Mao Tsetung - shining completely by itself out in the middle of nowhere.

Another example of this trick is Sanmugathasan's treatment of the Cultural Revolution as "without a doubt the greatest epoch-making event even more profound in its influence than the October Revolution." (Italics added)

The Communist Party of China, however, has a different opinion. In Leninism or Social Imperialism? they point out,

"Applying the principles of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Mao Tsetung creatively solved the fundamental problems of the Chinese revolution and led the Chinese people in waging the most protracted, fierce, arduous and complicated revolutionary struggles and revolutionary wars ever known in the history of the world proletarian revolution, and in winning victory in the people's countryside, in the people's revolution in China, this large country in the east. This is the greatest victory of the

world revolution since the October Revolution. (Italics added)

The Chinese see the Chinese revolution and the Cultural Revolution which is part of it, as a development of the October Revolution of 1917. This is absolutely correct. Sanmugathasan, on the other



J.V. Stalin and V.I. Lenin

hand, attempts to split the Chinese revolution off from the Russian revolution and to place it in limbo, just as he attempts to split Mao off from Marxism-Leninism and to place him in limbo.

We shall give one more example of Sanmugathasan's splitism. It involves characteristically, a further development of his attack on Stalin. Sanmugathasan really does his thing when on pp. 46-7 he says,

"Stalin thus put the law of the unity and struggle of the opposites as the last one instead of the first one. When the philosophical circles in the USSR dealt with the three laws of dialectics or when Stalin wrote about the four features of the dialectical method both sections were putting the law of unity of opposites on an equal footing with the other laws instead of treating it as the basic law of materialist dialectics."

Then he goes on to show that Mao Tsetung discovered that the unity of opposites is the basic law of dialectics. Let us examine this.

Any examination of Stalin's works in philosophy will show that he didn't invent anything on the question of dialectics. He merely organized and quoted Marx, Engels, and Lenin. Sanmugathasan makes a serious mistake when he fails to give quotations and merely says what he thinks is there. In Dialectical and Historical Materialism (op. cit., p. 715) Stalin quotes Engels as saying that dialectics "takes things and their perpetual images essentially in their concatenation, in their movement, in their rise and disappearance." What can that be but the unity of opposites?

Further on Stalin quotes Lenin as saying, "In their proper meaning dialectics is the study of the contradictions within the very essence of things." And more, "Development is the struggle of op-

posites.'" So we come down to the question that if Lenin says that "Dialectics is the study of the contradictions within the very essence of things", can this mean anything but the unity of opposites? Far from discovering that contradictions or the unity of opposites was discovered by Mao Tsetung, Sanmugathasan merely shows us, against his will, that Comrade Mao Tsetung is a very good Leninist, and not at all separated from Lenin and Stalin, as he would like us to think.

Before summing up, we shall mention one more example of Sanmugathasan's metaphysical idealist approach to history. On p. 13, he opens his polemic against Trotsky and sums it up by saying,

"Trotsky himself, had, during the unsuccessful 1905 Russian Revolution issued the sectarian slogan, 'No Tsar, but a workers' government', in opposition to Lenin's slogan of 'A workers' and peasants' government' - thereby demonstrating Trotsky's consistent lack of faith in the peasantry."

But the point isn't at all that Trotsky lacked faith in the peasantry. The point really is that Trotsky was a counter-revolutionary and that his sloganeering was a method and a theoretical mask used to confuse naive people who could not see the counter-revolutionary role Trotsky consistently played.

CONCLUSION

The whole purpose of Sanmugathasan's book is to abstract Marxism-Leninism and especially Mao Tsetung, from reality "Lenin", he says on p. 5, "creatively developed Marxism to the stage of Mao Tsetung Thought." As if it were a question of climbing a ladder rung by rung. All through the book history is presented as what Lenin or Mao decided to do, without any analysis whatsoever of the objective situation - the productive forces, the social struggle, the class struggle - the things that make Marxism-Leninism what it is.

Stalin and the Communist Party of China take a correct line, in opposition to Sanmugathasan. Stalin's introduction to Foundations of Leninism is a fine example of showing how Leninism proceeded from a concrete historical situation. Stalin is correct when he says that Leninism is Marxism in the era of imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions. The CPC is correct when it says (in the Constitution of the Party) that "The CPC takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as the theoretical base guiding its thinking. Mao Tsetung Thought is Marxism-Leninism in the era when imperialism is headed for total collapse, and socialism is advancing toward world-wide victory." Not a rung on a ladder going God knows where, but Marxism is a

continued to p. 13

SANMUGATHASAN

particular period of history. The changing historical situation, and it alone, makes it possible to "extend", or, more accurately, "to creatively apply" Marxism-Leninism. We don't think for a moment that Mao Tsetung Thought is the end of the process. It is a creative application of the methodology of Marxism that corresponds to a definite stage of the productive forces and the resulting social struggle, not in any one country, but worldwide.

Only when Marxism-Leninism is viewed concretely, in relation to the real material world does it have meaning. Similarly for the great teachers, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao. When they are abstracted from

history and the class struggle they become religious icons, harmless to the bourgeoisie.

On p. 30 of his book Sanmugathasan gives a thumbnail sketch of the background of the Cultural Revolution, and does it quite correctly. He shows how it was built up, and how it arose on the basis of the class struggle. What he fails to show, of course - and it is the obvious conclusion - is that Mao is great because Mao marches with history. Mao raised the question of the Cultural Revolution as it was raised by the Liberation Daily, which called for a rounded cultural revolution. Then the Party discussed it, and then Mao initiated it. This showed that he was marching with history, with the masses. Nobody can make society do something. Society has to

be already on the path of doing it, and then a leader emerges who is able to rationalize and sum up the desires and needs of the masses. That is what leadership is, and that is why Mao is such a gigantic figure in the history of mankind.

But Sanmugathasan presents a different picture, one in which god-like figures (Lenin, Mao) float about in the heavens making pronouncements and handing down decisions. Such a picture of Marxism-Leninism, of the great teachers, of revolution, can only lead to the renunciation of science, of the concrete analysis of concrete reality - the only thing that can lead the proletariat to victory and free humanity. Revolution is not a debating society or a dinner party.



Deportations (cont. from p. 9)

Today every worker must choose: to support the revolutionary struggle of the Mexican national minority workers for control over their own homeland, or to fall for the imperialist lies and allow fascism to triumph in the U.S. This is a very important question for the Anglo-American workers, because it will affect not only the Mexican national minority, but also their own struggle for a decent life and socialism.

What is the history of Mexican immigration and deportations across the U.S.-Mexico border? How do deportations affect the Anglo-American working class? This article will try to answer these questions.

For the past 60 or 70 years, Mexicans have been hurled back and forth across the border. The needs of the Mexican people are never considered. Families were and still are split up for long periods. Children were and still are treated like animals because they spoke only Spanish. Millions of Mexican workers live in poverty on both sides of the border. But the imperialists

never see anything but the millions of dollars in profits rolling in from this huge source of labor.

In the early years of imperialist domination of the Southwest there were little or no controls on Mexican immigration. The imperialists were building railroads, mining silver and other metals, and beginning to develop capitalist agriculture in the Southwest. They needed plenty of cheap labor, and Mexicans were "welcome". From 1900 to 1950 90% of all the railroad workers in the West were of Mexican descent. These workers made up 60% of the work force in Southwestern mines. By 1929 the Southwest alone was producing 50% of the vegetables, fruit and truck crops in the U.S., and 80% of the work was done by Mexicans. In other words, the present economic empire in the Southwest was built by Mexican labor.

What did these workers get in turn? Wages on the railroads were \$1.00 a day and men, women and children were forced to live in boxcar labor camps.

(cont. on p. 14)

Safety Conditions

(cont. from p. 6)

their working class press, forces them into fascist organizations, plunders their social insurance funds and transforms the mills and factories into barracks where the unbridled arbitrary rule of the capitalist reigns." (our emphasis) & "Fascism is the most vicious enemy of the working class and of all working people."

The question of the dangerous factory conditions in the U.S. today (like every other form of economic oppression) can't be understood in isolation from the crisis of imperialism. In the same way the struggle against these murderous conditions must be transformed into a fight against imperialism. As Lenin has taught us, imperialism is reaction down the line! It cannot be reformed. We must unite to overthrow it!

DOWN WITH THE BLOODTHIRSTY CAPITALIST CLASS!!

Deportations

(cont. from p. 13)

Pay in the mines was even lower. Mexican gold miners in California were hung and their claims stolen. Mexican farmers lost all their land to huge agricultural corporations, and then were forced to work for well below minimum wages.

But under capitalism there are always economic crises. The period of expansion after WWI was followed by a severe depression. As the depression hit, relief roles swelled and labor struggles intensified. In 1930 the Federation of Mexican Laborers was formed, which led a strike of Mexican cantalope pickers in the Imperial Valley of California. It was at this time that the special apparatus of the state known as the Immigration Authorities was formed and used as a special weapon to threaten the Mexican national minority workers in the Southwest. The government rounded up thousands of Mexicans - whether they were born in the U.S. or Mexico - and sent half a million in special trains to Mexico.

In other words, now that the imperialists no longer needed these people, they were thrown out like so much garbage.

After World War II there was again a period of expansion for U.S. imperialism. Again the imperialists needed a large supply of cheap labor. So the Bracero Program was organized under agreements between the Mexican and U.S. governments, in order to recruit farm workers from Mexico. Thousands of Mexican workers came to work the sugar beet, cotton and other fields, as well as the railroads, at a minimum wage of 30 cents an hour plus free round trip transportation. The U.S. imperialists made billions of dollars off this fascist program.

At the same time the imperialists tried to keep immigration "under control". There were still large round-ups of "illegals". In the last six months of 1940 alone, 70,500 Mexican workers were deported. The Immigration Act of 1952 made it a felony to "harbor, import, or transport" illegal aliens into the country. "Operation Wetback" in 1945 was a massive round-up and deportation program which was organized with military precision". If a person could not immediately furnish documentary evidence of his legal residence in the U.S. he was immediately deported. Another description in La Raza magazine made the picture even more graphic: "Flying squads of U.S. deputies swept through fields, factories, and communities to ferret out, capture and herd over the border Mexican laborers. Private homes were invaded in the middle of the night; men, women and children were routed from their beds; business places were raided; street cars and buses were halted; planes swept down upon fields trying to pick out

Mexican workers." And, "In Los Angeles, the County Playground for children and youth, the Elysian Park Recreation Center, was used as a stockade to hold thousands of Mexican-Americans pending their deportation to Mexico." (La Raza, Vol. 1, No. 7 p. 48)

Between 1950 and 1955, 3.8 million people were expelled under military and police force. There is no other word for this other kind of reign of terror than fascism.

Today, conditions are much worse than before. The crisis of U.S. imperialism means that there is less and less need for Mexican labor in the U.S.. The factories all over the Southwest are laying off, and once again the Immigration Police hunt for "illegals". Thousands of Mexican national minority workers can find no work; thousands of families are going without good food, proper medical care and decent housing. The youth are growing more and more militant as more and more police are stationed in their neighborhoods, arresting and beating at will. For example, East Los Angeles, a large Mexican national minority community in L.A. has a higher concentration of police than any other section of the city. The situation in the Southwest is explosive.

The question before the working class in the U.S. is whether or not we are going to support this revolutionary movement in the Southwest, and unite with it to defeat our common enemy, the imperialists; or will we allow ourselves to be used as tools of the fascists, believing their chauvinist lies and supporting the murder and deportations of our class brothers and sisters?

How can we support the struggle in the Southwest? The revisionist Communist Party U.S.A. says we must fight in the courts of "justice" and with elections. To this the Communist League says: The imperialists hand us two wet noodles, a lawyer and a ballot, and say "fight us with these". And what weapons do they keep for themselves? The Army, Air Force, and police, not to mention a financial empire that controls the economy of most of the world, including the Southwest. With all its talk about courts and elections, these traitors are setting the Mexican national minority throughout the Southwest up for a slaughter.

The struggle for control of the Southwest by the Mexican national minority and the struggle for socialism in the Anglo-American nation are inseparable. How can there be a proletarian revolution in the U.S. without the support of the Mexican national minority in the Southwest? How can the national minorities really free themselves from imperialist domination until imperialism is dis-

membered and crushed by a proletarian state in the U.S.? It is obvious that a steel strong unity must be built, first of all on the part of the Anglo-American workers, by supporting the demands of the Mexican national minority in the Southwest.

What are these demands? There is certainly a long list, but they all add up to one thing: "Regional Autonomy for the Southwest"! That means turning over to the Mexican national minority control of the Southwest; political control, which means regional and local self-government; economic control, which means give back the land, natural resources and industries that were built by Mexican labor and control over cultural life, which means that Spanish must be equal with English, that the people must run their schools and cultural institutions. And last but not least, it means freedom from the Immigration Service and border patrols, so that the people are able to move back and forth freely between Mexico and the U.S., according to their own needs and not those of a few profit-hungry imperialists.

REGIONAL AUTONOMY FOR THE MEXICAN NATIONAL MINORITY IN THE SOUTHWEST!!

FIGHT FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS.



Drawings by L. Dhrami.