

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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What is Regional Autonomy?

The question of regional autonomy is an essential part of the question of socialist revolution in general, and the national question in particular. The correctness of regional autonomy as a method of insuring democracy and the unity of the working class made up of many minorities was clearly pointed out by J.V. Stalin in his Marxism and the National Question:

"The advantage of regional autonomy consists first in the

fact that it does not deal with a fiction deprived of territory, but with a definite population inhabiting a definite territory.

"Secondly, it does not divide people according to nation, it does not strengthen national partitions; on the contrary, it only serves to break down these partitions and unites the population in such a manner as to open the way for division of a different kind, division according to class.

"Finally, it provides the opportunity of utilizing the natural wealth of the region and of developing its productive forces in the best possible way without awaiting the decisions of a common center - functions which are not proper to national cultural autonomy.

"Thus regional autonomy is (cont. on page 2)

Border Patrolman Rapes Mexican Woman

In the middle of last May (it has only now been revealed by the bourgeois press), Miss Martha Lopez, a Mexican citizen crossed the border at Tijuana for a visit to Chula Vista, a town just south of San Diego, California. She and two friends were soon arrested by the San Diego police and turned over to the Border Patrol. At his office on the border, a fascist cop questioned the three Mexican women at his leisure. Then he drove them to a border crossing and ordered Martha Lopez' friends to get back to Mexico. The two refused saying that either all three of them would go or none of them would go. This degenerate fascist responded by driving to a remote area where he drove off the two friends by threatening to beat them if they did not leave. He ordered Miss Lopez to strip "so that I can see if you have any concealed documents or money." (1) Miss Lopez refused and fought, but the cop beat her down. He raped her so brutally as to cause vaginal injury and then this swine said, "I hope you do not have any disease"! He ordered her to put on her clothes, then he pushed her out of the car and

forced her to crawl under a chain link fence back to Mexico! Such fascist acts will no longer be tolerated by the working and oppressed peoples either side of the border. Such white chauvinist and male supremacist fascist practices, particularly against our Mexican class sisters, occur every day at the hands of the imperialist Border Patrol. The rape of Miss Lopez is not an isolated case of one "bad cop". Women are constantly forced to strip, manhandled and sexually abused by the punk patrolmen at the border, and this is not the first time a woman has been raped either.

The USNA (United States of North America) imperialists attempt to justify these acts by spreading white chauvinist propaganda, by saying the Anglo-American nation is superior to other nations such as Mexico, Vietnam or the Negro Nation, and therefore has the right to oppress, rob, and exploit their peoples. It was this fascist ideology of chauvinism linked up with male supremacy ("the woman is the absolute slave and property of the man") that the imperialists spit in our face

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Conditions in Puerto Rico Worsen!

From 1966 to 1971 some 232,000 workers in Puerto Rico went out on 344 strikes. In the first half of this year strikes or threatened strikes have involved 75,000 workers. And no slackening is in sight. In fact, this spontaneous proletarian fightback is the greatest in Puerto Rico since the 1930's. To grasp this motion we must go back and expose the deepening hold of U.S.N.A. (United States of North America) imperialism on Puerto Rico, how it overthrew semi-feudalism and then created an agricultural proletariat only to destroy it at a later stage in the name of manufacturing and industry thus creating a more exploited industrial proletariat to run its machines.

In the late 1800's Puerto Rican society was predominantly semi-feudal and based on a hacienda system which was linked to a limited degree to international-Spanish-capital. (1) There was a significant exception even then, however, in the capitalist production of coffee-Puerto Rico being fourth in the world in coffee production. The producing classes were either semi-serfs on the haciendas or poor peasants just barely making enough to live

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Border Rape

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to justify rapes, beating and murders of the Mexican people and the Mexican national minority in the Anglo-American nation. But how can the Border Patrol get away with these Hitler type crimes against our class sisters and brothers? What are the roots of such shameful treatment? As the Peoples Tribune, Vol. 3, No. 8, p. 6 stated: "The roots and ideology behind this treatment of the original inhabitants of the southwest is no mystery. The devastating poverty that U.S. imperialism forces upon the workers of Mexico (along with the reactionary bourgeois Mexican government) leaves the Mexican people no choice but to come to the U.S. looking for better wages than in their homeland. The capitalists love this situation. They create it! This gives them great pools of cheap labor so they can force down the wages in the Southwest, especially along the borders where daily thousands of Mexican workers cross back and forth as 'day-laborers'. With these people economically at their mercy the capitalists feel they can use them and treat them any way they want."

To show how the Mexican people are economically at the mercy of U.S. imperialism and its puppets (the bourgeois Mexican government) we give this example: In 1965 the Mexican government and the USNA imperialists jointly set up a "Border Industrialization Program" along a 12½ mile deep zone on the Mexican side of the border. From 1968 to 1972 the number of U.S. owned plants here jumped from 60 to 333! Employment rose from 4,000 to 40,000. The majority of these workers are women. Their wages start at 30 cents an hour and at times they have to work as long as 15 hours a day. (2)

This example shows that it is the imperialist system that is the enemy and the target of our struggle. Once the economic system of exploitation at imperialism's hands is done away with, the Mexican people will never again have to endure fascist treatment such as Miss Lopez' rape because they will not be economically dependent on USNA imperialism, and not subjected to the imperialist Border Patrol which exists to protect that economic system. Only the unity of all sections of the Anglo-American working class, the complete destruction of USNA imperialism and regional autonomy for the southwest can end such fascist, brutal, and barbaric acts!

What is regional autonomy? As explained in the People's Tribune, Vol. 3, No. 8, p. 6: "Lenin and Stalin first put forward the concept of Regional Autonomy for those regions in Russia where national minorities were concentrated. Stalin out-

lines some of the rights of a national minority under Regional Autonomy in Marxism and the National and Colonial Question: 'to organize their own courts, administrative bodies, economic organs functioning in the native language and recruited from among local people acquainted with the customs and psychology of the local population and to develop a press, schools, theaters, clubs and cultural and educational institutions generally, functioning in the native language.' and 'Finally, it provides the opportunity of utilizing the natural wealth of the region and of developing its productive forces in the best possible way...'"

A revolutionary solution clear enough for us!! Yet there are those crafty servants of capital injected into the struggle of the Mexican national minority workers to confuse and mislead the struggle. The number one agents in Marxist disguise, the revisionist Communist Party USA (CPUSA) demand: "Border crossing between Mexico and the U.S. must be liberalized to do away with all forms of harassment, persecution and prosecution." (3)

Comrades, border laws are not the basis of the oppression of the Mexican and Mexican national minority people. "Liberalization" of such laws will not stop the harassment, persecution and prosecution of the Mexican and Mexican national minority people. No, this can only be accomplished by revolution, a revolution of the Anglo-American working class against the imperialist USNA state. And, the first step towards revolution has to be the building of a united, multi-national, Communist Party to lead and

guide the entire working class in revolutionary class struggle.

Next, the traitorous CPUSA calls for: "The Border Patrol in its present form (our emphasis, C.L.) must be abolished." But no matter what form the Border Patrol takes are they not still part of the imperialist state to oppress the Mexican people? Our job is not to reform the present bourgeois state, or to put another mask on the true face of imperialism, but to expose it, to overthrow it and replace it with a state of workers, peasants, and oppressed peoples.

The deceiving, reformist, counter-revolutionaries in our midst will tell us the rape of Miss Lopez is an exception to the rule and the fault of one "bad cop". We must theoretically, ideologically, and politically destroy and evict from the movement their lead dog, the CPUSA. Then we can get down to the job of organizing and preparing the workers and oppressed people both sides of the border for the final assault on imperialism!

REGIONAL AUTONOMY FOR THE SOUTHWEST!!

USNA IMPERIALISM, GET OUT OF MEXICO AND ALL COLONIES!!
BUILD A REVOLUTIONARY MULTI-NATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY!!
WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!! WE HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT OUR CHAINS WE HAVE A WORLD TO WIN!!

Footnotes

- 1) Peoples World, Sat. July 8, 1972
- 2) U.S. News and World Report
- 3) "Toward Chicano Liberation" Resolution of the CPUSA.

Regional Autonomy

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an essential element in the solution of the national problem." (International Publishers, New York, 1942, page 64)

Thus the Communist League raises the slogan, "Regional Autonomy for the Southwest" as a concrete application of the Marxist line. The demand of the Anglo-American proletariat is for unity of its class, and this unity can only be achieved through the struggle for the establishment of democracy in the Southwest, with the power to enforce that democracy in the hands of the Mexican national minority workers.

Following the Marxist program developed in the Soviet Union for the solution of the national problem, the Communist Party of China, led by Mao Tse Tung have successfully implemented this program in China as a solution to the problem of guaranteeing democracy for its national minorities. The following article (reprinted from Peking Review #18, May 5, 1972, page 8) gives a concrete look at the high development and application of this important question:

May 1 this year was the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region. In this short historical period, the working people of the autonomous region which has Mongolian, Han and other nationalities under the wise leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao, have experienced tremendous social changes, achieved thorough victory in the democratic revolution and won great victories in socialist revolution and construction. Since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, in particular, the people of Mongolian, Han and other nationalities, closely united and holding aloft the banner of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, are advancing in giant strides along the socialist road.

Progress and Achievements

On the northern plateau of our country, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region has vast grasslands, fertile soil and rich resources. More than

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REPLY TO ATTACK ON CL pt.2

The reply of the Communist League (CL) to the "new left" revisionists is necessary for one reason--the exposure of these elements is a prerequisite to the defeat of the revisionist line of the Communist Party of the USA. We realize that the "new left" is merely a pimple on the backside of revisionism, yet currently history has inflated their importance by placing them in the position of a buffer between the forces trying to build a party of a new type and the forces of revisionism. The CL has watched the degeneration of these organizations over the past three years. It was clear that these groupings, many of whom are led by the same leaders of the old student movement, could and would not break with revisionism. Thus they are conciliators because they try to reconcile the politics of Marxism with those of revisionism.

Their first task was the maintenance of syndicalism over Marxism-Leninism within the theoretical movement. Over and over they have preached their syndicalism to various

groups of advanced workers. Within the past year there have been decisive defeats for the syndicalists. Thus quickly losing ground, these groupings united to attack the Communist League, hoping to gain in slander what they have lost in the objective struggle.

Marxism-Leninism holds that the laws of nature hold true for the social sciences as well as the physical sciences. It is precisely at this point that the "new left" attempts to strike, they advocate materialism in chemistry, idealism in politics. Their basic line is that the battle of the proletariat is against ideas (i.e. racism); 2) that the mass movement or the spontaneous struggle is the primary aspect of revolution, that spontaneity should lead consciousness; and 3) that the proletarian party will be built from the mass movement and 4) that the laws of Marxism-Leninism do not apply to the struggle in the United States of North America (USNA). This line is projected throughout their publications and in the attack, especially in the sixth

paragraph; "We are not interested in descending on progressive working class caucuses, splitting them up, and snatching away a few of its more active members only to ruin them and disillusion them by taking them out of the mass movement to form some mythological communist party headed by the CL." These projections completely contradict Leninism and fit hand in glove into the CPUSA's program.

This fundamental question was dealt with by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels over one hundred years ago in their Address of the Central Council of the Communist League (Engels/Marx, Selected Works, Vol. II, International Pub. New York, p. 162)

"At the present moment, when the democratic petty bourgeois are everywhere oppressed, they preach in general unity and reconciliation to the proletariat, they offer them their hand and strive for the establishment of a large opposition party which will embrace all shades of opinion in the Democratic Party, i.e., they strive to involve the workers in a par-

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Keep Nixon's Hands Away From Our Dykes!

(from the VIET-NAM WOMEN'S UNION)

Nixon, to justify the criminal attacks on dykes of North Vietnam, declared at a press conference in Texas on April 30, 1972 that "dykes are a strategic target and indirectly, a military target".

This sounds very much like the definition of the German fascists who, 30 years ago, in World War II, destroyed Holland's dykes and were sent to the gallows by the Nuremberg Tribunal for this savage genocide.

Hoping vainly that the war will end when there is nobody to fight it and seeing in each Vietnamese - whether an old person or an infant in its cradle - a potential enemy of the "security" of the United States and of the lives of the 60,000 American servicemen still in South Vietnam, Nixon is planning to drown dozens of millions of peaceful people in the plains of North Vietnam in this season of rains and floods.

Vietnam is a tropical country, where it rains heavily in the wet monsoon, with rainfall sometimes averaging 600 millimeters a day. There are very big rivers. The Hong Ha (Red), Thai Binh, Ma and Ca rivers, for example, have a rate of flow of tens of thousands of cubic meters per second. Some 15 million people, or 75% of the population of North Vietnam, live along these rivers and their tributaries. In places, the density is 600

persons per square kilometer. There are also high mountains, whose slopes speed rain-water toward the rivers and into the fields in mighty currents. In certain places after a heavy rain, the water level may be 7 or 8 meters above the fields.

To the east the country is washed by the sea whose level, at high tide, is 2 or 3 meters above the fields.

Without dykes, the fields, towns and villages in the plains of Bac Bo would be flooded every year, and cultivation in coastal areas would be impossible because of sea water.

In the season of rains and storms from June to October every year, it is the systems of river and sea dykes totaling over 3000 kilometers that protect the lives of dozens of millions of people living on a vast region of tens of thousands of square kilometers. These dykes, the fruits of the labour of the Vietnamese nation, act as mighty dams to keep rivers from overflowing. In North Vietnam, the breaking of a dyke is regarded as a great disaster of unfathomable consequences.

The Vietnamese people, well aware of all this, have spent thousands of years putting up and strengthening systems of dykes along rivers, from their sources in the mountains to the sea, and along the coast to keep sea water from

the fields.

Since the restoration of peace in North Vietnam, the DRVN Government has paid great attention to the consolidation of dykes. In addition, it has built many major irrigation works - lakes for better conservancy and dams to fight both floods and droughts. Almost everybody takes part in the checking and repair of dykes before and after the rainy season every year. There have been dozens of million of cubic meters of earth removed in all these years, much more than in the previous centuries. Thanks to these great efforts, our dykes have always been secured, although there have been many heavy swellings in the previous years, including those of the war of destruction conducted by President Johnson.

Now, by attacking our dykes and irrigation works, the Nixon administration is actually destroying the defenses of man's natural environment.

Following are the remarks made by French geographer Yves Lacoste (Le Monde, June 7, 1972) on this criminal scheme of Nixon:

"Like in the years of 1966 and 1967, the U.S. aggressors have dropped the hint that they might consider the possibility of the destruction of the Red River's dyke system.

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Puerto Rico

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on. The USNA invasion in 1898 brought this stage to an end by definitively implanting capitalist production relations in the countryside, specifically, a system of sugar and tobacco plantations, and by destroying the semi-feudal hacienda system.

This new system deepened imperialism's hold on Puerto Rico, increasing its profitability for the USNA ruling class and tying it more closely to the USNA economy. It also created a rural proletariat, especially in sugar and tobacco. By the 1930's the agricultural proletariat had its own labor federation, the Federacion Libre de Trabajadores, and its Partido Socialista. (2) This stage, in which the agricultural proletariat became the leading producing class and in which Puerto Rico's role was to supply cheap sugar, tobacco and coffee for USNA imperialism began again to change from the 1940's on.

The great Lenin pointed out that one of the essential features of imperialism is "the export of capital...as distinguished from the export of commodities." (3) What lies behind the export of capital is mainly imperialism's unquenchable thirst for maximum profit and its desire to guarantee its supplies of raw materials, etc.. In the colonies it is able to reap superprofits due to the low wages, scarcity of capital, low price of land, cheapness of raw materials. (4) And, as Lenin notes, "The export of capital greatly affects and accelerates the development of capitalism in those countries to which it is exported." (5) This developing capitalism means ever greater exploitation of the colonial masses through the development of the more productive manufacturing and heavy industry. Where before one worker might produce new value for the capitalist of \$20 a day, now working on his machine, he turns out \$500.

Just such an intensification of imperialist plunder has taken place in Puerto Rico since the 1940's but especially after 1950. On the one hand this has meant the ruin of agriculture and thousands of agricultural proletarians and poor peasants. (In 1940 1 out of 4 in the "work force" made his living in agriculture; today it's less than 1 in 16) (6) Many thousands were permanently unemployed and from 1955 to 1966, some 564,000 were forced to emigrate. (7) Many have had to join the new manufacturing or industrial proletariat. On the other hand, the increased exploitation has meant the formation of a modern concentrated proletariat.

In Puerto Rico, like the Negro Nation, the USNA imperialists have direct colonial control. Puerto Rico is "game" basically only for USNA imperialism. So it is no surprise that, as this second stage of imper-

ialist exploitation developed, USNA capital squeezed more and more wealth out of the island. In the early 1950's, when the new trend was still relatively weak, profits on imperialist capital were only \$22 million a year; by 1966 they were 13 times larger. (8) Just 4 years later they had leaped by \$300 million. (9)

While they have been fattening on their colonial super-profits, the imperialists have been busily digging their own grave. As Stalin has said, "...in exploiting these countries (colonies and dependent countries) imperialism is compelled to build there railways, factories and mills, industrial and commercial centers. The appearance of a class of proletarians, the emergence of a native intelligentsia, the awakening of a national consciousness, the growth of the liberation movement - such are the inevitable results of this 'policy'." (10)

By 1969 there were some 137,000 workers in manufacturing plants (mainly in clothing, leather goods and food processing). "There were also a few thousands employed in heavy industry, such as the Phillips petroleum refinery and the Ferre (the so-called 'governor' of Puerto Rico) cement plants. Since the 'workforce' is about 1,070,000 (with some 30% unemployed) and because agriculture accounts for just 5% of Puerto Rican income now, it is clear that the manufacturing and industrial proletariat is by far the leading producer class." (12)

The workers in manufacturing were making \$3,100 a year before taxes. (13) Since the cost of living is 15% higher than in the rest of the USNA state, real income comes to \$2,630 a year or \$53.50 a week - before taxes. And since the average Puerto Rican family has 5 members, it is clear that this miserable sum has to be spread far too thinly. With this kind of wage, most workers cannot keep their heads above water and slip into debt. From 1961 to 1969 family debts - not including mortgages - increased 500%. (14) Although most proletarians have some possessions, such as a radio or a television or refrigerator, most of the time it is on the installment plan. Repossessions are very frequent as families, unable to keep up, have to surrender what little they have.

From about 1966, the worsening of the crisis of USNA imperialism has further intensified the oppression of the proletariat in Puerto Rico. In the first place, inflation since 1966 has reduced workers' real income. For example, from 1966 to 1969 the price of food and health services rose 6 to 7% a year. (15) Secondly, unemployment has increased among the proletariat. The garment industry, the largest in Puerto Rico, has laid off several thousand workers. In Ai-

bonito, for example, over 1,500 workers have been laid off in the last year - out of 2,000!

Thus we see that imperialism has laid the conditions for its own destruction. The proletariat which it created to extract more wealth from Puerto Rico has, as the crisis has developed, engaged in sharper spontaneous struggles. Moreover, imperialism, by annihilating the remnants of semi-feudalism along with building up the working class, has put on the immediate agenda of the national liberation struggle in Puerto Rico the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Clearly, the objective conditions for revolution are maturing in Puerto Rico. It is also clear that, as in the rest of the USNA state, the subjective factor lags behind the mass movement. First, there is not anywhere in the USNA state, including Puerto Rico, a Marxist-Leninist, multi-national communist party. So long as this situation persists, no revolution will be possible in the USNA state. In addition, there is a Puerto Rican revisionist party, the Partido Socialista Puertorriqueno - Movimiento Pro Independencia (PSP-MPI) which has been busily attempting to keep Marxism-Leninism out of the working class, thus following in the footsteps of the Communist Party USA. The PSP-MPI practices tailism toward the spontaneous workers' struggle. According to a recent statement by A. Agosto, a high-ranking PSP-MPI leader, the economic strike is the highest form of workers' struggle. With this line of pushing Marxism-Leninism into the background, not educating the workers in theory, and pushing to the foreground "only what seems acceptable to the bourgeoisie" it is no wonder that the PSP-MPI acts as a brake on the workers' struggle in Puerto Rico. The PSP-MPI, which is petty-bourgeois in origin, is trying to attach itself to the workers' movement and use it (for the bourgeoisie). Proletarianize their high-ranking cadre and have them leave their cushy positions, etc.? Sorry, that would be too much to ask! It's "better" to picket "in sympathy" with strikers, etc.. Or, if they find a good worker, a talented union organizer, try to swallow him into the PSP-MPI and push him up the union bureaucracy. After all, then he will be in a "position of power", and so on. With this kind of backstabbing, bourgeois, revisionist, so-called "leadership" it is crystal clear that whatever progress the workers have made has been solely the result of their spontaneous struggle and that the PSP-MPI is a big obstacle on the road to national liberation in Puerto Rico.

The national liberation struggle in Puerto Rico is linked to the proletarian revolution in the Anglo-American

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Regional Autonomy

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ten nationalities, including Mongolian, Han, Hui, Manchu, Tahir, Olunchun and Korean, live on this rich land. Ruthlessly oppressed and exploited by the reactionary ruling classes of past dynasties, the Kuomintang reactionaries and Japanese imperialism, the region was very backward economically and culturally and the working people here lived in extreme misery.

With the victorious development of the Chinese revolution and the implementation of the policy of regional autonomy, the backward state and miserable life of the people in Inner Mongolia have gone for ever. The system by which one nationality oppresses another has been completely eliminated since the founding of the autonomous region. The Mongolians and other national minorities are jointly participating in political life on an equal footing and handling the internal affairs of their respective nationalities. The working people of various nationalities have become the real masters of the country and are totally emancipated politically.

Inner Mongolia's industrial foundation was very weak and modern industry was virtually non-existent. But the region has built its iron and steel industry centering around Paotow's modern iron and steel complex, thereby ending the situation in which Inner Mongolia produced no iron at all.

It has also developed many other industries, including electronics, non-ferrous metals, machine-building, coal, electric power, chemicals, construction, cotton and woolen textiles, tanning, dairy products and sugar refining. The number of big, medium-sized and small industrial and mining enterprises in the whole region exceeds 2,200 and modern industry has begun to take shape. Compared with the early post-liberation period, total output value of industry in 1971 had risen 102-fold and made up 76% of the total output value of industry, farming and livestock-breeding.

The farming areas have built large numbers of water conservancy works on farmland and steadily raised farm mechanization. Per-mu grain yield has almost doubled and total grain output gone up 3.2-fold, compared with pre-liberation days. People in the pastoral areas have step by step gone over to living in fixed settlements and herding animals around transformed pastures which did not have adequate water, stepped up the building up of grasslands, transformed deserts, improved animal breeds, made rational use of the pastures and increased the number of animals which can be supported by a unit area of pasture. The total number of animals in the autonomous region has increased 3.9-fold compared with the early post-liberation period.

Communications and transport have made rapid progress with transport lines extending

to a great number of places. Compared with pre-liberation days, motor vehicles of all types rose 790-fold and the length of railways increased threefold to fourfold. Two civil airlines have also been opened.

There were practically no schools in the pastoral areas in the old society and more than 90 per cent of the peasants and herdsmen were illiterate. Primary school education is now universal throughout the region, and there are more than 1,000 middle schools and secondary technical schools and seven universities and colleges. On the average, there is one Mongolian college student for every 95 Mongolians. Besides, there has been tremendous growth in the Mongolian spoken and written language.

Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, specialized art troupes have been organized at the league (equivalent to an administrative region), city and higher levels in the region, while film projection units exceed 1,200. Active in the pastoral areas and villages the Ulanmuchi—a new type of national cultural troupes—are found in every banner (equivalent to a county) and county.

Developments in medical and health work have thoroughly transformed the former situation in which disease spread far and wide and the population fell. Medical and health institutions have been universally established, from the autonomous region to people's communes, and medical personnel rose 19-fold compared with pre-liberation days. Venereal disease and plague which had seriously endangered people's health have been completely wiped out and endemic diseases, such as undulant fever, are basically under control. Population of the national minorities has increased year by year. The Mongolian population has more than doubled since liberation.

National Regional Autonomy

National regional autonomy is the basic policy of the Chinese Communist Party in solving the national question in our country. The achievements of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region in the past 25 years represent a great victory for this policy.

National regional autonomy applied in the national minority areas means that, within the inalienable territory of the People's Republic of China and under the unified leadership of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, the proletariat and working people in areas where national minorities live in compact communities have political power in the autonomous areas. They administer the internal affairs of their own nationalities, guaran-

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Puerto Rico

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nation by the fact that both share common oppression through the USNA state. It is in the interests of the Anglo-American proletariat to support their comrades in Puerto Rico since the island acts as a reserve of the imperialists, used to depress wages, create monopoly super-profits, establish military bases and so on. The struggle in Puerto Rico also forms part of the national liberation movement of all Latin America. It is absolutely required to support these struggles since the Latin American masses of oppressed peoples will be the principal ally of the Anglo-American proletariat in its revolution. Puerto Rico - 14% covered by military bases, source of many compradors useful in subverting Latin America (such as T. Moscoso, of "Alliance for Progress" fame) and so on - is the key to revolution in the Americas, for all Latin American revolutionaries will be watching how we carry out our proletarian internationalist duties to "our bourgeoisie's own colony". Puerto Rico is the concrete link to hemispheric revolution. It is the touchstone by which our reliability as allies will be tested.

For these reasons, the Communist League upholds Puerto Rico's independence, without which - under conditions of imperialist control - it cannot have self-determination, and upholds the necessity of a Marxist-Leninist, multi-national Communist Party in the USNA state in the slogans which serve to guide our practice:

INDEPENDENCE for PUERTO RICO!
BUILD A MULTI-NATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY!

1. A.G. Quintero Rivera, "El desarrollo de las Clases Sociales y los Conflictos Politicos en Puerto Rico"
2. *ibid*, p. 3 and 8
3. V. I. Lenin, Imperialism, Highest Stage of Capitalism, Selected Works, Vol. 5, p. 81
4. *Ibid* p. 58
5. *Ibid*
6. Kal Wagenheim, Puerto Rico, A Profile, Praeger 1970 p. 100
7. Juan Angel Silen, We, the Puerto Rican People: A Story of Oppression and Resistance, MR Press, p. 90
8. *Ibid* p. 92
9. (Apendice a la) Declaracion General de la Asamblea Constituyente del PSP-MPI, p. 12-13
10. J.V. Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, FLP, Peking, 1970, pp. 5, 6
11. Wagenheim, p 101
12. Apendice, p. 7, 8
13. Wagenheim, p 101
14. Apendice
15. *Ibid*

Vietnam

(cont. from p. 3)

"If the bombings cause the simultaneous collapse of a series of portions of this system (it is not necessary to destroy all the dykes to cause the inundation of virtually the whole of the Tonkin plain) in the season of heavy swellings, it is very likely that the disaster will cause more deaths than an attack with several atomic bombs... In his speeches, Nixon has eliminated the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons. This is because he can hardly assume alone the responsibility for such a horrible act. Nevertheless, a greater and imminent danger is a genocide through the medium of floods, since the U.S. air forces can perpetrate such a genocide without Nixon's explicit order, which enables him to deny all responsibility".

ACTIVE ROLE OF US AIR AND NAVAL FORCES IN NIXON'S GENOCIDE

In the two months ending June 10, U.S. aircraft and warships launched 68 attacks on 32 dyke portions and 31 irrigation works with the use of, among other things, 665 bombs. The dykes along the Hong Ha (Red), Thai Binh, Ma, Ca and Lam rivers were all attacked, each at 6 or 7 places, where they are most vulnerable. Certain damaged areas extend for a full hundred meters. Sea-dykes and major hydraulic works like the Thac Ba dam in Yen Bai province, the Tran dam in Nghê An province, the sluices of Phu Ly and Luong Ca in Nam Ha province and the Lan sluice in Thai Binh province were all subject to concentrated attacks.

In the last four days of April, a portion of the dyke on the northern bank of the Ma River was attacked with 60 large-sized bombs, which caused very heavy damage. On May 24, 180 bombs were dropped on a stretch of one kilometre of the Thai Thuy dyke in Thai Binh province. On June 10, US aircraft made 55 sorties against the Thac Ba dam.

More savage still the U.S. aggressors also sought to keep the bombed-out dykes from being repaired. On June 14, U.S. aircraft attacked civilians who were busy repairing a portion of the dyke on the southern bank of the Ma River that had been damaged by U.S. bombs on April 24. Over 100 people were killed or wounded, among them many school mistresses and students who took part in the job as part of their vacation activities.

No floods have yet been caused because the rivers are not yet in spate. Even though the attacks on the dykes prove to be premeditated. By bombing the dykes in such a systematic way the U.S. is under-

mining them and making them vulnerable in the season of heavy swellings. What's more, there will not be much time for the repair, and even if the mending can be done now, it will take much time for the new earth to mix. It is difficult to guarantee the technics completely with the foundation.

Nixon says that the bombing of dykes is but a mistake. Now, listen to Yves Lacoste again: "In the coming weeks dykes may break down without being directly hit.

"Aircraft have dropped large sized bombs not directly on the dykes but, at a certain distance, on the alluvion bed on which a river flows. The deep craters thus created have rocked and undermined the alluvion bed, which may cause the whole lead of the river's water not part of it, to pour into the plain. The advantage of this tactic is that the bombings can be very destructive without being directed on the dykes. Even before the season of floods, attacks have been conducted to weaken the dykes... The inundation of the Tonkin plains can be done indirectly and can be attributed to a natural disaster, and one can then blame the North Vietnamese that they should have taken care of their dykes instead of fighting."

"The difficulties caused by the U.S. war in Indochina to the Nixon administration are such that one should be prepared for the worst: Nixon may attack dykes in the period of great swellings. It will be very difficult to avoid disaster then when the destructive power of explosives combines with the push of sea water."

"One example was the 14 attacks from July 27 to 31, 1967 on sea dykes in the districts of Tien Lang and Vinh Bao in Haiphong. The floods were joined by the pressure of sea water which storm Ora was pushing toward the shore. Vast areas were submerged."

We can supply another example: In October 1970, the provinces of Quang Tri and Thua Thien in the northern part of South Vietnam were hit by a great flood due to the fact that dykes had been neglected. And the U.S. - puppets, instead of coming to the aid of the population, ordered their air forces to attack people who took shelter on the roofs of the submerged houses or hills.

These criminal acts can be repeated by the enemy in North Vietnam.

To destroy dykes to cause floods in the Tonkin plains is an unparalleled crime. It is the combination of genocide, biocide and ecocide. It is much more horrible than the testing of atomic bombs on the high seas that mankind condemned.

The International Demo-

cratic Association of Lawyers has pointed out: "If dykes break as a consequence of the pre-meditated U.S. bombings, the responsibility for this genocide will rest with Nixon and the U.S. government."

For our own existence, our nation, for thousands of years has had to resist natural calamities and foreign aggression, simultaneously. Our enemy now seeks to complement their weapons with natural calamities in an effort to break our fighting spirit. Yet, we have provided against the worst to reduce to a minimum both nature- and enemy-inflicted disasters.

We have done our level best to defend our country. In the last three months alone we have shot down 260 US aircraft and 50 times shot afire U.S. warships, bringing to 3,717 the total of U.S. war planes destroyed over North Vietnam. What's more, dozens more of US pilots have been captured, which makes the list of American militarymen taken prisoner in North Vietnam lengthen indefinitely.

In the fact of the devilish schemes and savage acts of the Nixon administration, we earnestly call upon our sisters in all the five continents and the entire progressive mankind to act resolutely to help us in our just struggle of self-defence.

Stop the hands of these criminals! Don't let them destroy an entire hard-working independence and freedom-loving nation who are fighting to preserve man's values.

Act with more single-mindedness and more energetically to denounce and protest these barbarous crimes of Nixon with all the love that women can have and with all the wrath that honest people can manifest in face of brute force! Act in such a way that you can drive it home to the devilish Nixon that morality still exists, that justice is still respected and that the mighty is not always right, even in this age of electronics.



Party of Labor of Albania

"The struggle against the most dangerous anti-Marxist trend, Soviet-led modern revisionism, has been continually in the center of the attention of the Party." (1) So says Comrade Enver Hoxha, referring to the leading role the Party of Labor of Albania (PLA), of which he is the leader, has played in the international communist movement in the past decades. The Communist League is at war with this same revisionist line, expressed in the USNA chiefly by the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA). The heroic PLA should be our model in the struggle against modern revisionism.

What does this outstanding Marxist-Leninist party have to say about the current shifts taking place in the camp of the imperialists and social-imperialists, particularly about the USNA-Soviet collusion and its meaning to the world national liberation struggles, Vietnam first and foremost? We say:

"During the last week in May Leonid Brezhnev of the USSR and Richard Nixon of the USNA, met like thieves in the night, to plan world-wide counter-revolution. This meeting represented a serious affront to all workers and peasants throughout the world. The representatives of international finance capital agreed to 1) secure the counter-revolution in Eastern Europe, 2) attempt to monopolize nuclear arms, space travel and biological weapons of war among the superpowers, and 3) attack the revolutionary wars of national liberation, especially in the Mideast and in Indochina." (2) This position is in conformity with the line expressed in some recent documents from Albania which provide more concrete information. In the May 27, 1972 editorial of "Zeri i Popullit" the Albanian comrades point out:

"Some years ago, Kosygin had declared publicly that as long as the war continues in Vietnam, as long as the bombs keep falling on the innocent people, a Soviet-US summit meeting will be impossible. Now, not only this statement, but others much more dramatic, are forgotten." After pointing out that the Vietnamese people will not stand for their fate being decided on by the two superpowers, the editorial continues, "To be really in solidarity with Vietnam, it is not enough to grant some material aid as the Soviets do. For this, principled, consistent and correct stands, as the People's Republic of China assumes, are needed. China has refused to talk to anybody on the Vietnam question and it continues without let-up in the most noble and fraternal way its powerful aid and support for the people of Vietnam.

"We have said and life has confirmed that the 'support' for Vietnam on the surface has been for the Soviet revisionists a propaganda means to preserve the 'anti-imperialist' appearances, while in every day practice it has served as an object for the Soviet-US bargaining concerning the division of the spheres of influence and the domination of the world.

"From this is clear not only the betrayal of the Soviet revisionists, but also the fact that the US imperialists have imposed on the Soviet revisionists from a position of strength, a thing they were never able to do with the heroic Vietnamese fighters. That is why the stand and the actions of the Soviet leaders are for the Vietnamese people and the Vietnamese fighters entirely perfidious and treacherous." (3)

The Party of Labor of Albania has seen this motion developing for many years and has consistently labeled it for what it is. In November of 1971 at the Sixth Congress of the PLA, Enver Hoxha explained:

"The greatest counter-revolutionary force opposed to the struggle of the nations for freedom and socialism is the Soviet-US alliance. In all fields, economic, political and military, the imperialist courses of the US and the Soviet Union are continuously drawing nearer to and embracing each other. In order to realize their aims of hegemony and domination, the two superpowers need each other, therefore they synchronize their watches and continually coordinate their plans and concrete activity.

"Their strategic objective is to destroy socialism, to strangle the revolution, to establish their rule over the whole world." Further, "Nixon's new doctrine of the so-called 'Vietnamization' of the war and his maneuvers for 'peace talks' etc. cannot have any success. 'Vietnamization' means extension and continuation of the imperialist aggression, so that Vietnamese are set against Vietnamese, Asians against Asians while the US imperialists dominate, suppress, exploit them and use them as gun fodder in their aggressive and hegemonistic policy. But the Nixon plan for the 'Vietnamization' of the war in Vietnam failed in the face of the heroic stand of the peoples of Indochina and it cannot lead its authors anywhere but to new and greater defeats. Neither can their friends, the Soviet revisionists, who for years on end have undermined the efforts of the Vietnamese people and have exerted pressure on them to

quell their anti-American struggle, save the US imperialists from the disaster in Vietnam." (4)

This crystal clarity on the part of the PLA did not fall from the sky, but came from long years of bitter revolutionary struggle.

The PLA was not formed until 1941 because of many years spent defeating the various revisionist ideologies and consolidating a vanguard organization of the working class based on Marxism-Leninism. Revisionism in Albania during the formation of the party had the same intent as revisionism has in the USNA today - to block the formation of a bolshevized communist party and to block and mislead the revolution. Among the ideas the Albanian revisionists put forth were the Social-democratic slogans of allowing the revolution to be led by the bourgeoisie because of a supposed "lack of a proletariat" and the "conservative nature of the peasantry". Others adopted the Trotskyite theory of "preserving cadres" that is, isolating them from the masses and mass struggle, which was considered "dangerous". Some even held that instead of fighting the invading fascists (Albania was occupied by Italian Fascists during the War), communists would merge with them organizationally and politically and someday fight them from within.

With help from the Communist International, led by the great Stalin, Enver Hoxha led the Marxist Leninist exposure of the revisionists. Using the lessons of the Marxist classics and the October Revolution, the Albanian communists were able to unite all honest elements, defeat the revisionists, and form the Communist Party of Albania (now PLA) in 1941.

Almost immediately the Yugoslav revisionists (Yugoslavia is a large multi-national country bordering Albania) began sabotaging the young party. Led by the imperialist lackey Tito, the Yugoslav traitors tried to place the liberation armies under the command of the USNA and British imperialists. After liberation in 1944 their agents in the PLA itself began pushing a line of capitulation to capitalism. These traitors pushed the classic revisionist "theory" of unity between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and between the imperialists and the colonies and semi-colonies. For their abandonment of socialist revolution and Marxism-Leninism, the Yugoslav revisionists and their lackeys received billions of dollars from the imperialists

(cont. on p. 8)

Albania

(cont. from p. 7)

and even hoped to build an anti-soviet empire in the Balkans by conquering the weaker nations, particularly Albania.

Under the leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the party exposed the Albanian Titoites and drove them out, just as their Yugoslav masters were later driven out of the international communist movement.

In 1956 at the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, Khrushchev laid out a complete program for submission to imperialism. Peaceful co-existence replaced proletarian internationalism as the guiding element of Soviet foreign policy, just as the "state of the whole people" replaced the dictatorship of the proletariat within the country. Khrushchev did all this under cover of a vicious attack on Stalin. His plan, still being realized today, was the return to capitalism and the social-imperialist oppression of a vast empire. His revisionist-capitulationist policies were echoed throughout the socialist bloc by hidden traitors, imperialist agents, and unstable elements. The revisionists in Albania united as many enemies of the Party and working class as possible for a massive assault on the Party's revolutionary line and leadership. They demanded concessions to the capitalist and rich peasants on the basis of the Bukharinite line of "the dying out of the struggle against the class enemy", and used reactionary chauvinist slogans to divide people on the basis of nationality. They opposed the Party constitution, active ideological struggle and criticism and self-criticism. They took a defeatist economic line opposing industrialization. But they failed miserably. The Party exposed them as capitulators and traitors to Marxism-Leninism and expelled them. The PLA stood solidly for revolution and the Khrushchev gang was dealt a heavy blow.

From that time on the PLA took a leading role in the exposure of the modern revisionists. An outstanding example of its leadership is Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech at the 1960 meeting of 81 communist and workers' parties. He said:

"The PLA is of the opinion that imperialism, first of all US imperialism, has not changed its skin, color, or nature. It is aggressive and will remain aggressive as long as it has a single tooth left in its mouth...Peaceful co-existence does not imply, as the modern revisionists claim, that we should give up the class struggle. On the contrary the class struggle must continue; the political and ideological struggle against imperialist, bourgeois and revisionist ideology should become ever more in-

tense." Further, "Hiding behind the slogan of creative Marxism, of new conditions, the revisionists have striven on one hand to deprive Marxism of its revolutionary spirit and to undermine the belief of the working class and working people in socialism, and on the other hand have used all means in their power to prettify imperialism, describing it as moderate and peaceful." (5)

Comrades, these same revisionist theses are being pedalled today in the USNA, chiefly by the CPUSA. History shows that unity based on Marxism-Leninism can be built only out of the class struggle, out of the fight against the imperialists and their agents, the revisionists. In our fight to build a Bolshevik party on the theoretical, ideological and organizational ruins of the CPUSA we must arm ourselves with the experience of the PLA, best described in the History of the Party of Labor of Albania and in Enver Hoxha's speech to the 81 parties.

Finally we want to reaffirm our support for the People's Republic of Albania. Albania is a country of only 11,000 square miles and a population of 2 million (less than Puerto Rico). It is surrounded by fascist Greece, imperialist Italy, revisionist Yugoslavia and has constantly been threatened by social-fascist Soviet imperialism. But she is steadily building socialism under the slogan, "A pick in one hand, a rifle in the other." Small but heroic Albania is a living, brilliant example of the regeneration of Marxism-Leninism on the ruins of revisionism, and a slap in the face of imperialists and "superpowers" and bullies everywhere. We pledge our small but growing forces in her defense.

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA!

DOWN WITH THE MODERN REVISIONISTS OF THE USSR!

CRUSH THE CPUSA!

BUILD A MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE USNA!

READ ALBANIAN LITERATURE!

- (1) Enver Hoxha, Report submitted to the 6th Congress of the PLA, Nov. 1, 1971, Report on the Activity of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, the "Naim Frasher" Pub. House, 1971, p. 207
- (2) People's Tribune Vol. 4, No. 6, "Nixon-USSR Plan Counter-Revolution" p. 1
- (3) Editorial of "Zeri Populit" May 27, 1972
- (4) E. Hoxha, op. cit. pp. 26, 27, 32, 33
- (5) E. Hoxha, "Speech Delivered at the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers Parties in Moscow" Nov. 16, 1960; "Naim Frasher" 1969, p. 23, 25

Jimmy Gordon: OUR YOUTH ARE KILLED WHILE IMPERIALISTS MAKE MONEY OFF DRUGS

August 4th, in the Alemany Projects, San Francisco, at about 11:00, Jimmy Ray Gordon bled to death. No one knows what actually happened, and Jimmy can't tell the story, but it's reported that he was robbing one of the apartments in the projects, and was surprised by the people who lived there. He supposedly jumped out the window and severed a main artery in his leg, then he ran down the hill in the projects, collapsed from loss of blood, and died on the spot. This is what the bourgeois press has reported, but many of the facts are wrong and many left out.

Jimmy Gordon was with a friend who got away completely, and the house in which the incident occurred is known for drugs. Some people think it was a set-up, or murder, and that his body was carried down the hill and put up against the fence. Jimmy Ray Gordon, 21, was on drugs, addicted. Jimmy, like millions of youth in S.F. and all over the entire country, was drawn towards drugs. Drugs are very available-especially in a national minority project, among the most exploited and oppressed. There are about four centers in the Alemany projects where everyone knows drugs are sold, and yet it is never stopped. There are no activities for the youth, no jobs, only poverty and suppression. The imperialists control the drug market, and in spite of all the government sponsored "drug programs" they keep drugs readily available to the youth. Drugs are used by the imperialists as a means of control. "It was no accident that in the Watts uprising in 1965 the price of heroin went down by half. In Chicago in 1967 following the Detroit uprising and in 1968 following Martin Luther King's assassination, the price of heroin dropped 75% and grass was being handed out free. The capitalists knew that dope would keep people disorganized and helpless against the attacks of the fascists." (People's Tribune; Vol. 2 #6) And, in Vietnam, our youth are daily being hooked on heroin and then sent home with no realistic solution to their special problem.

Did Jimmy deserve to die? No, never. His death was needless. Was his mother, as many people have said, to blame for not "giving him a good upbringing." No! NOT ONE BIT! We all know how hard it is to raise a child in this decaying society. In Jimmy's family there are 5 other children, 4 boys and a girl, and Jimmy's mother has had to raise them alone, giving everything she has to these

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Drugs

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children. It's the imperialists who keep the streets full of drugs. They are responsible for Jimmy's death. They sit up laughing and making tremendous profits off drug sales, while youth like Jimmy are forced to suffer from the hell of drug addiction.

What is the solution to drug addiction? The imperialists and their allies in the working class, the CPUSA (Communist Party of the USA) would have us believe that by legalizing marijuana, or through the methadone program, or by stopping the flow of drugs into the USNA, the problem will be solved. But this will never work. The roots, the source of the drugs-is the imperialist ruling class. Jimmy and millions like him are dying needlessly-because we live in an imperialist country that thrives on the exploitation and oppression of the working class.

We must look to the youth for our future. "The young people are our future, our hope. The young people must take our place, the place of the old ones. They must carry on our banner until final victory is achieved...They are free from the burden of the past, and they can more easily assimilate Lenin's behest. And it is just because the youth can more assimilate Lenin's behest that it is their mission to lead the laggards and waverers forward. It is true that they lack knowledge. But knowledge is an acquirable thing. They have not got it today, but they will have it tomorrow. Hence the task is to learn and learn again the principles of Leninism. Young Communist Leaguers! Learn Bolshevism and lead the waverers forward! Talk less and work more-and your success will be assured." (The Tasks of the Youth League, J.V. Stalin, Int. Pub., 1940, p. 40)

The only solution to the drug market is to overthrow the imperialists and cast them on the garbage heap of history; to build a Communist Party, worthy of the name, that will lead us in our fight against imperialism. Where drugs and capitalist profit will be done away with forever.

"The world is yours as well as ours, but in the last analysis, it is yours. You young people full of vigor and vitality, are in the bloom of life, like the sun at eight or nine in the morning. Our hope is placed on you. The world belongs to you". (Mao Tsetung, Talk at a Meeting with Chinese Students and Trainees in Moscow)

LEARN AND LEARN AGAIN THE PRINCIPLES OF LENINISM!
BUILD A COMMUNIST PARTY WORTHY OF THE NAME!

New York: Medical Murder of Working Class

As I read the article "East China Provincial Hospital Saves Woman", reprinted in People's Tribune, vol. 4 no. 5, my own experiences from working in the murderous N.Y. City hospital system flashed an ugly comparison in my memory. In the spirit of learning by negative example, I would like to describe one of these experiences.

Charles O'Connel is a fifty year old, good-natured Anglo-American worker who was originally from Ireland. Before capitalist medical "care" drove him insane, he had a wealth of knowledge about his people's history, and could talk at length, in his thick brogue, about the great Connally, the Easter Rebellion, "that dreamer" William B. Yeats and his own experiences in the I.R.A..

For several years, he was troubled by episodes of fast, irregular heartbeat and blackouts. Having little money, he hesitated to visit his private physician, and because he had to work, he hesitated to spend the days which waiting in the city's clinics would involve. But the spells increased in frequency, and he was brought, unconscious, to a massively overcrowded city hospital emergency room, where two young interns tried to manage the crowd of sick workers. He regained consciousness over the eight-hour stay in the emergency room, and the source of his problem was easily discovered. The blood supply to his brain was being reduced by spells of irregular, rapid heart-beat, leading to the black-outs. The patient had to be hospitalized, but there were no beds! The city had been cutting back on staff by a hiring freeze, not replacing staff as they left or were fired, so that the number of sick workers that could be handled had to be cut.

Calls went out to other hospitals. At one hospital, a "tower of learning" the petty bourgeois doctor resented being awakened by this "non-emergency"; "The patient is able to walk. Why don't you send him to clinic!" he shouted angrily and hung up. Other hospitals had no beds, and so he was sent home to return to the clinic!

Two weeks later, O'Connel returned. His left side was completely paralyzed by another attack, and he was finally admitted to the hospital. His irregular heartbeat had caused blood clots to form in a chamber of the heart, pieces of which had flowed with the blood to his brain where they cut off the blood supply, causing the stroke. His heart problem was easily treated with medicine to slow the heart but

the hard work of rehabilitation had just begun!

Caring for a paralyzed patient requires patience, close attention, and hours of hard work. At times there were only two nurses and one doctor to tend to thirty deathly ill patients on a ward where some patients needed over fifteen minutes of care per hour. The capitalists, in their push to shift the economic crisis onto the backs of the workers had cut what little health care was available to workers; and so Charles O'Connel lay on his back and wasn't turned from side to side to prevent bed-sores, which patients get from lying in one place for days. (The air mattresses to prevent these sores, though common in rich, private hospitals, were not to be found here.) Large ulcers formed on his back, heels and ankles.

Because of his paralysis, O'Connel couldn't cough properly, and there weren't enough people around to make sure he kept his lungs clear, and he developed pneumonia. The workers in the hospital rallied around as best they could, and worked in shifts to keep his lungs clear, while the doctors poured in strong antibiotics. Two weeks later the pneumonia was gone.

But long hours by few people, without the necessary equipment, determined that more trouble was in store. During the second month in the hospital, the urine-collecting apparatus which sheathed his penis caused a severe inflammation, strangling the blood supply to his penis, and gangrene set in. A tube had to be inserted directly into his bladder and the tip of his penis had to be amputated. The insertion of the drainage tube was necessary at this point, but it resulted in repeated kidney infections.

During all of this time the staff of the hospital tried to have this man transferred to a special rehabilitation hospital where a medical team could exercise the weakened and contracted limbs, and he could have the skin grafts he needed. He was refused once because he had too many problems for that kind of hospital! Four months later, repeated efforts saw him put on the waiting list for the rehabilitation hospital.

Month after long month dragged on, and Charles O'Connel began losing track of where he was, and he began saying things out of context. Now, six months after his stroke, Charles O'Connel is still waiting, completely insane, rotting in one of the understaffed, ill-equipped butcher-shop hospitals that capitalism provides for its workers! (cont. on p. 10)

My Experiences in China's Pediatrics

by Professor Chu Fu-tang,
Peking Children's Hospital

(Editor's Note: Chu Fu-tang is a well-known Chinese pediatrician. He was a doctor for 22 years before 1949 and he has continued his work for the 22 years since liberation. Now at the age of 73, he tells what he has experienced in the two periods.)

As a pediatrician, I am very happy to have this opportunity to speak of my experience in the medical profession.

Many deplorable scenes from the old society are still vivid in my memory. It was the winter of 1929. There was a famine in northern China and countless refugees drifted into Peking. Masses of children were menaced by starvation and disease. Relapsing fever and typhus robbed many of their young lives. At that time, I was a young doctor out of college just two years. How I wished that my country might become strong and have a proper children's hospital to relieve the little ones of their sufferings. But my wish had no hope of materialising under the rule of the imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries.

In 1942, in cooperation with a few of my colleagues, we set up the one and only children's hospital in Peking. It was a very small affair with only six beds at first. Later, we barely managed to increase the number to 25. But we faced all sorts of difficulties and it was hard to keep it going. My patients were all from rich families. Serving the broad masses of the working people was out of the question. In those days, China could hardly produce any of the common drugs used in treatment. The price of imported drugs was so high that the poor could not afford them.

The dark old days finally came to an end with the founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1st, 1949. On that day I, as a representative of the medical workers, saw our great leader Chairman Mao



Tsetung at the inaugural ceremony on Tienanmen Square. I was overwhelmed.

Since then, I have witnessed with my own eyes the tremendous changes in the field of medicine and public health along with the rapid development of our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction. Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party have the greatest concern for the health of the people. Shortly after the liberation of Peking, the People's Government mobilised and organised the masses for large-scale health and sanitation work. Refuse, accumulated over four or five hundred years from the Ming and Ching dynasties were finally cleared away. The sewerage system was renovated and improved. I thought to myself then; this is indeed a reform in health work never seen before in China.

Old China left us with 600 thousand victims of kala-azar, a parasitic disease which had a death rate of 5%. Most of these patients were children. The People's Government sent large numbers of medical teams to the countryside for prevention and treatment of the disease. After a few years' efforts, kala-azar was virtually eliminated throughout the country.

What was particularly unexpected was that only two yrs. or so after the founding of New China, when the country's economy still faced difficulties, the Party and the Government decided to build a fairly large, up-to-date children's hospital in Peking. I was placed in charge of the preparatory work. I was astounded. It made me realise how deeply concerned Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party are for the next generation.

The new hospital has six hundred beds, four times the total number of children's hospital beds in China before liberation. It has nine depart-

ments, namely internal medicine, surgery, infectious diseases, Chinese traditional medicine, acupuncture, physiotherapy, ear, nose and throat, dentistry, and ophthalmology. Furthermore, it has ancillary departments such as X-ray and various clinical laboratories. The hospital is well equipped with modern medical apparatus and instruments. The hospital cares for sick children from the new-born up to the age of fourteen.

As in many other hospitals, registration fees in the Peking Children's Hospital are the same for all outpatients. Whether the patient comes for the initial visit, a re-examination or as an emergency case, or whether consultations are needed, the patient pays only the equivalent of four cents in terms of U.S. currency. In-patients need not pay a deposit for admission. The cost of hospital care is one yuan a day, or about 40 cents, and surgical fees are fairly low. A major operation on the chest for instance would cost only 30 yuan, equivalent to about 12 U.S. dollars. The prices of medicine have been reduced on a number of occasions. At present, medicine costs only about 20% of the price in the period shortly after liberation.

After we constructed this hospital, many provinces and municipalities in the country followed suit. At present, there are close to thirty children's hospitals in China. The general hospitals in various parts of the country have added or expanded pediatrics departments and wards.

Often when I see the children's happy faces in my daily ward rounds with the doctors and nurses, I recall the miserable conditions of the children of the working people in pre-liberation China. This has all the more deepened my love for the new society and my work.

Our hospital has made further progress since the great
(cont. on p. 11)

Medical Care

(cont. from p. 9)

It's clear that under capitalism, when health is an expensive luxury, it's the working class that rots while the capitalists lounge in their expensive medical centers bragging about the high level of technology in U.S.N.A. health care.

Only with the destruction of capitalism, under socialism, where health care isn't a question of money, where the health of each worker is of the utmost importance, will the medical murder of the working class be ended.

Regional Autonomy

(cont. from p. 5)

tee the equal rights of the national minorities, protect unity and mutual help among the nationalities and fully mobilize and give play to the initiative of people of all nationalities in taking part in political life and economic and cultural construction so that the people of all nationalities can jointly advance along the socialist road.

The policy of national regional autonomy is decided by our Party according to the Marxist-Leninist theory and principle on the national question and in the light of historical and actual conditions of China's nationalities. Marxism-Leninism holds that the national question must be correctly solved in accordance with the interests of the development of the whole society and the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat for socialism. National regional autonomy not only meets the demands of the national minorities to liberate themselves from the system of oppression of one nationality by another and from rule by the reactionaries of their own nationalities but also the demand to found a

unified multi-national state which helps economic development and promotes the interests of the masses. This type of autonomy is a basic principle for Marxists in solving the national question in a multi-national country.

Carrying out national regional autonomy is an inevitable trend in China's historical development. It also has been the long-time and urgent demand of the Mongolian people. China has long stood as a unified and multi-national state in the world. Diligent and courageous the Mongolian nationality, like all the other nationalities in our country, have made splendid contributions to the founding of our great motherland. However, in the past few centuries, especially in the 100 years up to the time of liberation, it was enslaved and divided under the cruel oppression by the reactionary ruling classes in the country, the feudal forces in the Mongolian nationality and foreign imperialism.

During the period of reactionary Kuomintang rule, the existence of the Mongolian nationality was negated and Inner Mongolia was deleted from the map and primary school textbooks. For a long time the Mongolian

nationality urgently demanded national liberation and regional autonomy. As early as the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-37), the Chinese Communist Party put forward the proposal that the Inner Mongolian people should carry out regional autonomy. During the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) and the War of Liberation (1945-49) the Party set up the Tachingshan Anti-Japanese Base Area in Inner Mongolia and led the Mongolian and other nationalities in the liberation struggle and the regional autonomy movement. Following nationwide victory in the revolutionary war and progress in national construction, Inner Mongolia carried out regional autonomy. The long-cherished ideal of the Mongolian people was finally realized.

The organs of self-government in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region not only exercise the functions and powers of ordinary local organs of state, but enjoy the rights of self-government invested by the Constitution. These rights are chiefly: (1) Administer the internal affairs of their nationalities. In the people's congresses at all levels in the autonomous region, there are delegates of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and herdsmen, revolutionary cadres revolutionary intellectuals of the Mongolian nationality and other national minorities as well as delegates of upper strata patriots of various nationalities. The autonomous region's state power at all levels relies on them to maintain links with the masses and administer the region's internal affairs in accordance with the wishes of the vast majority of people of various nationalities. (2) Train and use national minority cadres. Many Mongolian and other national minority cadres hold leading posts in the autonomous region's Party committees and revolutionary committees at all levels. Minority nationality cadres and scientific and technical personnel are all fully playing their role on the economic, cultural and educational, national defence and scientific research fronts and in various departments. (3) Use and develop the spoken and written languages of the national minorities. In the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, both the Mongolian and Han (Chinese) languages are used not only in government documents but in the press, broadcasting, education, publication and literature and art. (4) Adopt appropriate methods and steps to carry out social reform in the light of actual conditions in the region and according to the wishes of the various nationalities. (5) Under the unified state plan, draw up the regions's socialist economic construction plan and develop local economic construction. (6) Develop the cultural, education, art and public health of the various nationalities according to concrete conditions

China Medicine

(cont. from p. 10)

proletarian cultural revolution. In response to Chairman Mao's call for putting the stress on the rural areas in medical and health work, we have organised many medical teams which tour villages, factories and neighbourhoods.

The march of our times spurs me on. Despite my age, I repeatedly applied for going to the countryside. Eventually, I got the opportunity to stay several months in the Changhsichuang People's Commune of suburban Peking. I learned a good deal from the commune members' diligence and simplicity and their fine quality of putting the interest of others above their own. I treated sick commune members at home, took part in training "bare-foot doctors", that is, peasant doctors who are not divorced from productive labour and with them did educational work among the commune members on prevention of diseases. We were welcomed and trusted. This stay of several months, short but rich and colourful, left an indelible impression on me.

Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on medical and health work puts the stress on prevention of diseases. Socialist medicine calls for doing all we can for the health of the people and not for profit. The Peking Children's Hospital has a special health protection department for popularising hygiene among residents and in schools, nurseries and kindergartens in the district and for guiding mass health campaigns. Our hospital regularly gives

prophylactic inoculations to 16,000 children. Vaccines, including oral sugar-coated poliovirus vaccine are given free of charge. Smallpox and cholera were wiped out in China long ago. Measles and poliomyelitis have been in the main eliminated in the past decade in the district around our hospital, thanks to the popularisation of measles-virus and polio-virus vaccines made in China. And in the country as a whole, the incidence of these two diseases has also dropped remarkably.

Chairman Mao has said, "Chinese medicine and pharmacology are a great treasure house. Efforts should be made to explore them and raise them to a higher level." In developing pediatrics, we firmly take the road of combining western medicine and traditional Chinese medicine as pointed out by Chairman Mao. We conscientiously apply the theory and technique of modern medical science to sum up the rich experience in traditional Chinese medicine and pharmacology. Our emphasis in medical research is on common diseases frequently seen among children of the labouring people. The level of pediatrics in China is being constantly raised.

I feel very proud of the fact that I can still contribute my remaining years to the people's cause. Recently, my main work has been to sum up experience and compile a new book on children's diseases in collaboration with a number of pediatricians under the Party's leadership.

(cont. on p. 12)

Regional Autonomy

(cont. from p. 11)

Realization of the rights of national regional autonomy has fully mobilized the socialist enthusiasm of the various nationalities, strengthened unity among the people of Mongolian, Han and other nationalities, consolidated the unity of the motherland and safeguarded its northern frontiers.

Fitting the needs of the country's overthrown reactionary classes and echoing the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries abroad, the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi and his agents in Inner Mongolia did whatever they could to oppose the application of regional autonomy. They created contradictions and sowed dissension among the various nationalities in a vain attempt to undermine national unity and the unification of the motherland. However, the Party's policy of national regional autonomy fully conforms to the common aspirations and interests of the Mongolian nationality and the other national minorities in the region and therefore wins the whole-hearted support of the Mongolian, Han and other nationalities. Intrigues by the class enemies at home and abroad to sabotage national unity and split the unification of our country met a harsh defeat. From the long historical experience of carrying out national regional autonomy, we have arrived at the profound understanding that the unification of our motherland and the unity of our various nationalities are the basic guarantees for building socialism and for resisting subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism.

Socialist Road

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In the final analysis, national struggle is a matter of class struggle." In a class society, the national question is in essence a class question. The exploiting classes and systems built on the basis of the private ownership of the means of production are the social origin giving rise to oppression and conflicts between the various nationalities. It holds true for all nationalities that any revolutionary struggle detached from wiping out class oppression cannot solve the national question. Precisely as Lenin pointed out: "It is impossible to abolish national (or any other political) oppression under capitalism, since this requires the abolition of classes, i.e., the introduction of socialism."

Pre-liberation Inner Mongolia was a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society with slave system remnants in the pastoral areas. The major means of production in these areas, the vast majority of animals was owned by feudal exploiters. Although the princes and aristocrats, herd-owners and rich

herdsmen made up only 7 or 8 per cent of the population in the pastoral areas, they owned 75 per cent of the total number of animals. Accounting for 75 per cent of the population in these areas, the poor and lower-middle herdsmen had only 7 or 8 per cent of the total number. Princes, aristocrats and feudal herd-owners also enjoyed many privileges, such as inheritance of aristocratic titles, slaves and imposing corvee. The working herdsmen were not only deprived of political rights, but their personal freedom was not guaranteed. Princes, aristocrats and feudal herd-owners used the herdsmen as they would use draught animals and practised the most ruthless exploitation by taking away nearly all of what they produced. What the herdsmen got from their labor could hardly keep them at the lowest living standards. Under the rule of such a feudal exploitation system, Inner Mongolia was in a miserable state—a stagnated society, a run-down economy, backward culture and a dwindling population. The founding of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region in 1947 wiped out the system of nationality oppression. After nationwide liberation, democratic reform and socialist transformation were carried out and the system of feudal exploitation of the nationalities was completely eliminated. People of various nationalities set out on the socialist road.

Based on the complex class and national relations in the areas where national minorities live in closely knit communities, the Party and state in the course of the democratic reform and socialist transformation adopted an active and cautious principle, and a policy and measure suited to actual conditions. In the first place, by firmly relying on the poor and lower-middle peasants and herdsmen, solidly uniting with the middle peasants and herdsmen and uniting all the forces that could be united, the Party and state abolished the feudal privileges, gradually wiped out the system of exploitation by landlords, herd-owners, rich peasants and rich herdsmen and thus completed the democratic reform. The socialist transformation of agriculture and animal husbandry was then realized step by step and individual peasants and herdsmen were organized into different types of agricultural and livestock-breeding mutual-aid teams or producers' co-operatives. When people's communes were universally established in 1958, the people in Inner Mongolia took the road of socialist collectivization. In the social reform we firmly fostered the absolute superiority of the poor and lower-middle peasants and herdsmen and at the same time adopted the principle of unity, education and remoulding towards the upper-strata patriots of the national minorities who had contributed to the motherland's revolution and construction. The guidance of the Party's correct principle

and policy ensured the smooth progress of the democratic reform and socialist transformation in Inner Mongolia.

Liu Shao-chi and his agents in Inner Mongolia made maximum effort to spread the theory of "the dying out of class struggle," jettisoned the class essence of the national question, opposed class struggle, liquidated socialist revolution and protected the exploiting classes and systems in a futile effort to prevent the people of different nationalities from taking the socialist road and to restore capitalism. But this counter-revolutionary revisionist line ran counter to the objective law of China's social development and was firmly resisted by the Mongolian, Han and other nationalities. Persevering in taking the socialist road and correctly implementing the Party's national policy, we have liberated the productive forces to a great extent and united all the forces that can be united. This provided favourable conditions for rapidly transforming the backwardness in the whole region.

Support From the State

The completion of the democratic revolution and victory in socialist transformation, however, cannot immediately eliminate the legacy of economic and cultural backwardness left over from history in the national minority areas. To develop Inner Mongolia's economy and culture, the Party and state gave tremendous assistance. The development of the autonomous regions' socialist economy and culture in the last 25 years is inseparable from this aid. It mainly takes the following forms: (1) Special consideration in capital construction investments. The state has invested more than 7,120 million yuan in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region since liberation, ensuring the region's construction in different fields to go ahead at a rate faster than the national average. (2) Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, the state has given 2,200 million yuan in financial subsidies to Inner Mongolia, of which 200 million was specially allocated to the region's national minorities by the state since 1964. (3) The state gives priority to Inner Mongolia in supplying materials and in developing culture, education and public health. (4) By raising the purchasing prices of animal, farm and side-line products, the state has steadily increased the people's income and thereby improved their livelihood. At the same time, the state has also transferred large numbers of technical personnel and workers from provinces and municipalities in the rest of the country to help the autonomous region develop economic construction, science and culture.

Diligent work by people of various nationalities and
(cont. on p. 13)

CL Reply

(cont. from p. 3)

ty organisation in which general Social Democratic phrases predominate, behind which their special interests are concealed and in which the particular demands of the proletariat may not be brought forward for the sake of beloved peace. Such a union would turn out solely to their advantage and altogether to the disadvantage of the proletariat. The proletariat would lose its whole independent, laboriously obtained position and once more sink down to being an appendage of official bourgeois democracy. This union must, therefore be most decisively rejected. Instead of once again stooping to serve as the applauding chorus of the bourgeois democrats, the workers and above all the League must strive to establish an independent, secret and open, organisation of the Workers Party alongside the official democrats and make each local section the central point and nucleus of workers' associations in which the attitude and interests of the proletariat will be discussed independently of bourgeois influences."

Lenin also fought for the independence of the proletariat; the building of a proletarian organization with the emphasis on consciousness over spontaneity. The primary task of revolutionaries today is to build a Marxist-Leninist Party. This means an exhausting study and adherence to the science of Marxism. The strategic line of the Communist League is best expressed in the Introduction of the Constitution of the Communist League. It reads in part; "The Communist League was formed in 1968 by a group of Marxist-Leninists. The purpose of the CL is to organize and participate in the struggle of the working class against the US Capitalist class and in the struggle to establish a Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

"The CL is fully aware that 'If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary

(cont. from p. 12)

powerful support from the state have tremendously promoted the growth of industry, farming and livestock-breeding in Inner Mongolia. For many years now, the region has supplied the state with large amounts of animal, agricultural and side-line products and other capital and consumer goods, thereby contributing its share to building our great socialist motherland.

The revolution and production in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region today is unprecedentedly excellent and will get increasingly better. Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the Mongolian, Han and other nationalities in the region together with the people in the rest of our country are uniting to win still greater victories!

party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs.' At this point in US history there is no revolutionary party.

"The CL cannot and does not consider itself a party. We believe that a revolutionary party will be built by the merging of true Marxist-Leninist groupings out of their common struggle in theory and practice against the revisionist ideology which is presently holding back the working class movement.

"The source of this revisionist ideology is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and their faithful running dogs, the Communist Party of the USA. Only by a hard and constant struggle can Marxism-Leninism be put in its proper place as the theoretical beacon lighting our way."

Replying to the economists and anti-party elements, Lenin wrote in What Is To Be Done?, Lenin, the Iskra Period, Book II, International Pub. New York 1929, p. 181;

".....Both these tendencies, the opportunist and the 'revolutionary' bow to the prevailing primitiveness; neither believe that it can be eliminated, neither understand our primary and most imperative practical task, namely to establish an organization of revolutionists, capable of maintaining the energy, the stability and continuity of the political struggle."

The "new left" charlatans characterize the struggle for organization as "storybook" revolution. The CL stands by Lenin, that the struggle for proletarian organization is absolutely crucial. "They are prepared to justify our inability to organize secretly by the argument that with the spontaneous growth of the mass movement it is not at all important for us to fight against the political police!!!" (ibid. p. 185) and "...but the struggle against the political police requires special qualities, it can be conducted only by professional revolutionists." (ibid., p. 185) Lenin further states that not only is the forming of a party the primary task of the revolutionists, but that in this party formation consciousness must lead spontaneity, and that the larger the mass movement grows the more the party is needed.

"I assert: 1) That no movement can be durable without a stable organization of leaders to maintain continuity; 2) that the more widely the masses are drawn into the struggle and form the basis of the movement, the more necessary is it to have such an organization and the more stable must it be for

it is much easier then for demagogues to side-track the more backward sections of the masses; 3) that the organization must consist chiefly of persons engaged in revolution as a profession; 4) that in a country with a despotic government, the more we restrict the membership of this organization to persons who are engaged in revolution as a profession and who have been professionally trained in the art of combating the political police, the more difficult will it be to catch the organization; and 5) the wider other classes of society are able to join the movement and perform active work in it." (ibid. p. 198)

This is not the line of the revisionist sycophants. From the Revolutionary Union (RU) comes the strategic call for a united front against imperialism not a party. They clearly develop the line that the party will be built from the struggle of the united front.

"It is therefore the primary revolutionary duty of the people of the U.S. to build a militant united front against U.S. imperialism." (A selection from The Red Papers #1, 2 and 3, Revolutionary Union, Chicago, Ill., p. 3)

And further;

"Our organization does have such a strategy; the United Front against imperialism, led by the proletariat. This means developing and linking up mass struggle around five spearheads of opposition to US imperialism." (Red Papers #4, p. 16, RU Chicago, Ill.)

Further the RU clearly states that the proletarian Marxist-Leninist party will be built from the mass movement and the united front (Red Papers #1,2 and 3, p. 56);

"While the building of a Communist Party at the earliest possible time is key to building the united front, work to begin building the united front should not wait for the formation of a Communist Party; in fact building the United Front is dialectically related to building a real vanguard party of the proletariat. At present the Black and Brown proletarian organizations that do have real ties with the masses can take the lead in the united front, and to some extent they already are. But in order to forge the maximum unity of the proletariat the organizations playing a vanguard role must draw around them the largest numbers of proletarian fighters as well as basic allies from other classes and strata and unite with as many middle forces as possible on the basis of the united front program to isolate the monopoly capitalist ruling class. As the strength of the united front grows, so will the strength of the proletariat, as the more backward workers are drawn into motion by the gathering momentum of the movement. And, as the workers movement gains impetus and more and more workers

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CL REPLY

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are brought into active struggle the building of a vanguard party of the proletariat as a whole will be the order of the day. This party, firmly rooted among the masses of working people, will be able to consolidate the united front among the proletariat and its allies, win over still broader sections of the middle forces, and establish its leading role. This is not a magic formula...."



V. I. LENIN

In his work The United Front Against Fascism (p. 25) Dimitroff clearly states that one of the most important aspects to building a United Front against fascism is the party of the proletariat. "...it depends on the existence of a strong revolutionary party, correctly leading the struggle of the working people against fascism." Dimitroff makes it clear that there can be no united front against fascism without a party, not that the two can be built at the same time but that the party must be built first. How is the proletariat to be represented in the united front, by learned individuals, or does the "new left" want us to rely upon the petty bourgeoisie or the CPUSA to represent us? The program of these organizations is distinctly anti-proletarian. They have taken the old bourgeois ideology from SDS and SNCC and smeared it with Marxist phrases. This will never do, the proletariat will continue to suffer and labor under the rule of the capitalist class without organized resistance until it has an independent multi-national Marxist-Leninist party to lead them. There will be no united

front against fascism until this party is built.

It should surprise no one that these "new left" groupings dwell upon the unconscious and lowest common denominator aspects of the movement. They like the old party just fine. The CPUSA does not challenge them, it supports them in several ways. Their syndicalism is never challenged, their white chauvinism can remain unscathed, but even more important, they know full well that the formation of a proletarian communist party and the destruction of the CPUSA eventually means that the petty bourgeois will follow the lead of the workers. Their entire lease on life is their attempt to lead and influence the petty bourgeois democrats. They do not want a real communist party within the USNA (United States of North America) because its formation would immediately begin to polarize the left and eventually the entire class against the revisionists. These events would undoubtedly expose the sham revolution advocated by the "new left". For these reasons they do not attack the revisionists. They contend that "the revisionists are too weak" and "they aren't worth the trouble" and many other variations of the same line that preaches "ignore the revisionists". In turn the revisionists find them suitable bed partners.

What more could the revisionists ask for, in their attack on the CL the "new left" claimed to be "interested in building a Third World led anti-war, anti-imperialist, and pro-socialist movement within the United States..". The line of the CPUSA is, needless to say, not concerned with building a communist party either. Presently the CPUSA's masquerade as the proletarian vanguard does immeasurable harm to the working class movement. Their line is the line of a mass movement, an "anti-monopoly coalition". Hence we shall see how these "new left" groups not only oppose the line of Marx and Lenin, oppose fighting revisionism and building an independent proletarian organization, but openly support the counter-revolutionary program of the revisionists. Gus Hall states in The Erosion of U.S. Capitalism in the 70's (p. 70, New Outlook Pub., New York 1971);

".....what this country needs, and what is now possible is a massive people's movement, a coalition of peoples movements, a coalition geared to the problems and currents expressed by the working class, Black, Chicano and Puerto Rican movements working closely with students and other sections of the population."

And further from the Main Resolution of the CPUSA;

"...we observe a growing trend toward the expansion of united front actions and the formation of coalitions..... These represent important advances in the process of devel-

opment of the anti-monopoly coalition." (p. 25)

And from his speech Capitalism on the Skids to Oblivion, (p. 74), Hall writes;

"It is in this new context of the mass upsurge that we must see the need for a new united left sector in every mass formation. The new initiatives must come from a united left. There can be a meaningful united left only if it sees as its main task that of being an initiator and leading force within the broader mass trends and movements."

The Communist League is neither impressed nor intimidated by the super-revolutionist "new left". To us the anti-Leninist program stinks just as much coming from the lips of Gus Hall or those of the RU

The "new left" tried to disguise its revisionist program by calling for the "united front against imperialism". They managed only to show their ignorance of Marxism. The "united front against imperialism" is a program for the colonial and semi-colonial countries. Its aim is to make use of the split in the bourgeoisie and to unite all aspects of society against imperialist aggression. To the "new left" the Communist League would like to ask, where is the national and comprador bourgeoisie in the U.S. capitalist class? Dimitroff makes this point very clear on page sixty eight of the United Front Against Fascism (Int. Pub., New York 1938).

"The changed international and internal situation gives exceptional importance to the question of the anti-imperialist united front in all colonial and semi-colonial countries.

"In forming a wide anti-imperialist united front of struggle in the colonies and semi-colonies, it is necessary above all to recognize the variety of conditions in which the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses is proceeding, the varying degree of maturity of the national liberation movement, the role of the proletariat within it and the influence of the Communist Party over the masses."

One of the main points in Imperialism by Lenin was the consolidation of the bourgeoisie under imperialism. As for tactics the Communist League prefers the tactics of Lenin to those of Gus Hall. Lenin states

"And it is therefore our duty, if we wish to remain Socialists, to go down lower and deeper, to the real masses. That is the whole meaning and the whole substance of the struggle against opportunism." (Lenin on Britain, FLPH, Moscow, p. 327)

But the "new left" prefers the fantasies of the "heroic urban guerrilla". They see them-

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CL REPLY

(cont. from p. 14)

selves as the daring heroes of history and the CPUSA fosters and finances this thinking in order to divert the energy of the youth and the interests of the advanced sections of the working class.

In return the "new left" collaborates with the CPUSA's political program and attempts to reconcile all anti-revisionist elements under the wing of the old party. The proof of this is the "new left" themselves. Having a thieves falling out, the leadership of the Revolutionary Union had a split. Basically the split was between the terrorists and the economists, not a split in principles (for each group is still prostrate to the idol of spontaneity). Much hoop-la and excitement was generated over the "split". Yet when confronted by Marxism-Leninism, each of the "mortal enemies" joined forces to attack the Communist League. Further, each demonstration and conference finds them in each others arms. Yet when any real battle against revisionism, for instance the battle against the revisionist line of "racism", is mounted; these groups all scurry to form a "united front to protect the revisionist masters". This is the closest thing to a united front they have ever been in.

Though they may protest loudly and claim to have been misread, facts are stubborn things and the facts point clearly to their role as conciliators of revisionism. They claim to stand aside from the battle between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists. The Communist League stands by Lenin, when he pointed out in What Is To Be Done? (p. 122 & 123);

"Since there can be no talk of an independent ideology being developed by the masses of the workers in the process of their movement then the only choice is: Either bourgeois, or Socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for humanity has not created a 'third' ideology, and moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or above-class ideology). Hence, to belittle Socialist ideology in any way, to deviate from it in the slightest degree means strengthening bourgeois ideology."

Over the years the revisionists have perfected to an art the ability of taking rising groupings of advanced workers and bringing them under the wing of the bourgeoisie. Now that the revisionists are being challenged, as small as the challenge might be, there arises a real need for the role of the conciliators, those elements who attempt to bring the Marxists and revisionists together not under the banner of struggle but under the banner of cooperation. We say no. We will stand solidly opposed to revisionism even if we have to stand alone.

Now that the conciliators have opened the attack, we are more than ready to fight. "We are marching in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and are under their almost constant fire. We have combined voluntarily, especially for the purpose of fighting the enemy and not to retreat into the adjacent marsh, the inhabitants of which, right from the very outset, have reproached us with having separated ourselves into an exclusive group, and with having chosen the path of struggle instead of the path of conciliation. And now several in our crowd begin to cry out--let us go into this marsh! And when we begin to shame them they retort: How conservative you are! Are you not ashamed to deny us the right to invite you to take a better road!

Oh yes, gentlemen! You are free, not only to invite us, but to go yourselves wherever you will, even into the marsh. In fact, we think that the marsh is your proper place, and we are prepared to render you every assistance to get there. Only, let go of our hands, don't clutch at us, and don't besmirch the grand word "freedom"; for we too are "free" to go where we please, free, not only to fight against the marsh, but also those who are turning toward the marsh." (Lenin, op. cit. p. 97)

The Communist League again issues the invitation to all honest revolutionaries to struggle around the line of Marxism-Leninism and for unity, unity based upon principle and the desire to build a communist party of the proletariat which will lead the revolutionary movement of the working class.

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SEGURIDAD

(viene de la pagina 9)

sus crímenes en su propio país son poco comparado con la brutalidad feroz con que trata el mundo colonial. En vez de \$1.65 la hora el miembro de la tribu Ovambo que trabaja como esclavo en las minas de diamantes pertenecientes a E.U. en Namibia (suroeste de Africa) recibe... ¡5 centavos la hora! En vez de ser despedido por tratar de organizar una unión al obrero sudcoreano... ¡lo paran contra el paredón y lo fusilan! En vez de sobrevivir a base de "food stamps" y el pequeño cheque del desempleo o el "welfare"... ¡la familia campesina boliviana que se está muriendo de hambre mastica la coca para olvidar el hambre! En la mayor parte del mundo colonial si un obrero o campesino sufre una herida grave no tiene esperanza--¡no hay médicos!

La crisis general del imperialismo se intensifica de día a día. Como la liga Comunista ha señalado repetidamente esta crisis está obligando a los imperialistas de E.U. a lanzar nuevas guerras y a establecer el facismo en su propio país. Los imperialistas se ven obligados a darle otra vuelta la tornillo a la clase obrera angloamericana. Para las masas oprimidas ya sufriendo hoy, el facismo sólo puede significar nuevos horrores incontables.

Georgi Dimitrov, el gran comunista búlgaro y líder de la Internacional Comunista, dijo en El frente unido, "El facismo les prometió a los obreros 'un salario justo', pero en realidad les ha traído un estándar de vida aún más bajo, de indigencia. Les prometió trabajo a los desempleados pero en realidad les ha traído tormentos aun más dolorosos del hambre, del trabajo servil obligado. En la práctica convierte a los obreros y a los desempleados en los parias de la sociedad capitalista privados de sus derechos, destruye sus uniones, les priva de su derecho a la huelga y a su prensa obrera, los obliga a unirse a organizaciones facistas, saquea sus fondos de seguro social y transforma sus molinos y fábricas en cuarteles en que reina el desenfrenado dominio arbitrario del capitalista." (subrayado por nosotros) Y, "El facismo es el enemigo mas salvaje de la clase obrera y de toda la gente trabajadora."

La cuestión de las peligrosas condiciones en las fabricas de los E.I. hoy--como toda otra forma de opresión económica--no se puede entender aislada de la crisis del capitalismo. Igualmente la lucha contra estas condiciones asesinas debe ser transformada en una lucha contra el imperialismo. Como nos ha enseñado Lenin el imperialismo es la reacción en todo. No puede ser reformado. ¡Tenemos que unirnos para derrocarlo!

¡BAJO CON LA SANGUINARIA CLASE CAPITALISTA!