

PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE



March, 1973
Vol. 5 No. 2

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

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Regional Autonomy for the Indian People

On February, 28, about 200 Oglala Sioux Indians from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, led by the American Indian Movement (AIM), reclaimed the small town of Wounded Knee. They put forth several demands, including a US Senate investigation of the miserable living conditions on the reservation, a Senate review of 371 broken Indian treaties, and the removal of their tribal president, who is backed up and supported by the corrupt Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The USNA state responded to the demands and the seizure of the town with a force of more than 200 federal troops, US marshalls and FBI agents armed with tanks and machine guns. Recently, the tribal president, Dick Wilson, has shown his true colors as a lacky of the imperialists. He and a few of his followers have set up a road block to help insure that the Indian people in Wounded Knee will be without food and medical care.

The government's willingness to "negotiate" with, instead of massacre, the militant Indian people is partially a result of the political isolation that the USNA itself is in. They certainly recognize the "dangers" of the developing struggle of the Indian people for their land and rights; and the political repercussions which would sound nationally and internationally as a result of a massacre.

The confrontation at Wounded Knee is the latest and most serious in the recent struggles of the Indian peoples to free themselves from the strangling grip of imperialist subjugation. The struggle of the Indian people has been and is an integral part of the growth

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LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY

March 8th marked the 63rd anniversary of International Women's Day. We celebrate this day, which was first proclaimed at the Second International Conference of Women Socialists in order to fight for the unity of the working class. On March 8, 1908 in New York City thousands of women workers went out on strike and this day was chosen as International Women's Day in honor of all working class women.

In celebrating International Women's Day, we should learn from the experience of the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union which Comrade Stalin led for over 30 years. Stalin wrote in Pravda on March 8, 1925:

"The working women, the female industrial workers and peasants, constitute one of the biggest reserves of the working class, a reserve that represents a good half of the population. Whether this female reserve goes with the working class or against it will determine the fate of the proletarian movement, the victory or defeat of the proletarian revolution, the victory or defeat of the proletarian government. The first task of the proletariat and its vanguard the Communist Party, therefore is to wage a resolute struggle to wrest women, the women workers and peasants from the influence of the bourgeoisie, politically to educate and organize the women workers and peasants under the banner of the proletariat." (1)

It is clear from the historical experience of the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union as well as the Communist Party of China, the Vietnam Workers Party and the Party of Labor of Albania that the struggle for the complete emancipation of women must be one of the primary tasks of Communists. Without this "resolute struggle" that Stalin spoke of, it will be impossible

to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism within the USNA. And it is with these experiences of the international proletariat in mind that we must celebrate International Women's Day.

Within the USNA today the demand for women's rights is being heard more and more. In order to understand these demands we have to make a dialectical analysis of the bourgeoisie's response to them and then clearly show the role that Marxist-Leninists must play in giving class consciousness to this spontaneous movement.

Historically, working women in the USNA have waged heroic struggles against slavery against inhuman working conditions and for the right to vote. Harriet Tubman was one of many women who fought for the freedom of the slaves. During the late 1800's working women participated in the strike of pullman car workers in Chicago and in many other strikes. In the early 1900's working women, especially in the garment industries, staged many strikes to demand better wages and working conditions, and the women's suffrage movement involved large numbers of working class women in demanding the right to vote.

Today, working class women
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INTERNATIONAL REPORT

Dialectics of the Financial Crisis

In order to justify their policy of liberal reformism, the CPUSA has offered the working class an interpretation of the international situation which is designed to 1) exaggerate the weakness of USNA imperialism, 2) project that USNA imperialism is falling of its own weight and does not need to be overthrown, and 3) project that the Soviet Union and the semi-colonies are the real revolutionary bulwark while China and the other socialist countries are agents of imperialism. This line, especially the first two aspects, is echoed directly by the "new left." However, the source of this line is the CPUSA in general and in particular, Gus Hall. This line can best be seen in Hall's latest book, Imperialism, and in his last speech to the Central Committee, A Lame Duck in Turbulent Waters. Space does not allow us to tackle every projection in these works, but we would like to take the opportunity to investigate two of Hall's projections in the light of the current international situation. These projections are 1) that imperialism is a policy of monopoly capitalism and not the highest and final stage of capitalism, and 2) that on the one hand, world trade will eliminate the contradictions of imperialism, while on the other hand, the current dollar crisis is primarily a defeat for USNA imperialism.

Throughout his book and speech Gus Hall maintains that the 'cold war' was a period of aggressive USNA policy. Now that it has failed, it is time to change the policy with the cooperation of the Soviet Union. Hall states in Imperialism, "A reversal of cold war policies is in the most fundamental interest of our people. Such a change could result in a large scale cut in taxes, could divert billions from wasteful expenditures on war production to useful peacetime, job providing construction. 'Let the cold war fade and the world will trade,' has been suggested as a slogan, and its very simplicity makes it apt." (1) And further in Lame Duck, "The cold war had its roots in the period of the policy of containment and roll-back. It was a policy of world wide aggression, for molding a worldwide capitalist block with the aim of rolling back the borders of socialism and containing the movements of national liberation....Nixon's trip to the Soviet Union and to People's China were steps of retreat from the cold war positions..." (2)

The line is clear. First, take an obvious fact, that for

the last twenty-five years the USNA has been the center of counter-revolution. Then attempt to use this fact to prove a lie, that now the USNA is turning away from the bankrupt policy of aggression. This is no mistake, Gus Hall, in the glorious tradition of Kautsky, is attempting to revise the nature of imperialism. Lenin stated long ago and history has proven again and again that imperialism is reaction all down the line, that the essence of imperialism is murder, pillage, maximization of profits at the world's expense, the suppression and annexation of nations and the enslavement of peoples.

"Kautsky in 1915, and even in November, 1914, very emphatically attacked the fundamental ideas expressed in our definition of imperialism. Kautsky said that imperialism must not be regarded as a 'phase' or stage of economy, but as a policy; a definite policy 'preferred' by finance capital; that imperialism cannot be 'identified' with 'contemporary capitalism'; that if imperialism is to be understood to mean 'all the phenomena of contemporary capitalism' - cartels, protection, the domination of the financiers and colonial policy - then the question as to whether imperialism is necessary to capitalism becomes reduced to the 'flattest tautology' because in that case, 'imperialism is naturally a vital necessity for capitalism', and so on....for politically, imperialism is, in general, a striving towards violence and reaction.

"...Kautsky detaches the politics of imperialism from its economics, speaks of annexations as being a policy 'preferred' by finance capital and opposes to it another bourgeois policy which, he alleges, is possible on this very basis of finance capital. According to his argument, monopolies in economics are compatible with non-monopolistic, non-violent, non-annexationist methods in politics." (3)

Gus Hall is attempting exactly this classical Kautskyite position, to separate the economics of imperialism from its political program. He expresses the yearnings of his constituency, the petty bourgeoisie, to overthrow the reign of monopoly capital, but to retain capitalism. Gus Hall rants against the war mongers in the Pentagon and the right wing in the FBI, but "do away with private property?" Heaven forbid!! Lenin went to great lengths to provide concrete analysis

of the development of capitalism from laissez-faire to monopoly showing that imperialism was the final stage of capitalism. Lenin points out, "Imperialism is the epoch of finance capital and of monopolies, which introduce everywhere the striving for domination, not for freedom. The result of these tendencies is reaction all along the line, whatever the political system, and an extreme intensification of existing antagonism in this domain also." (4)

What does Gus Hall want? Capitalism without imperialism would put our society back into the horse and buggy days of the 1850's; a population of 70 percent peasantry, outdoor toilets, wide spread disease, no public education, etc. Once its concrete features are exposed, this is an absurd projection of the revisionists.

The point is that USNA imperialism is the most powerful capitalist power on earth and is a long way from falling apart. To understand the enormous power and wealth accumulated by the USNA imperialists, it is necessary to briefly look at the history of this century.

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LITERATURE

The following publications are available from the CL:

	<u>Donation</u>
Negro National	
Colonial Question	\$1.00
Dialectics of the	
Development of the	
Communist League	\$.50
Lenin and Stalin on the	
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Women's Day Cont. from p. 1

still still suffer from the oppression of the capitalist system. The bourgeoisie uses the fascist ideology of male supremacy to divide the class and force women workers into the lowest paying and most unskilled jobs - work that is literally sickening for 8 or more hours a day. For the national minority women their oppression is tripled because they suffer as workers, as women, and from the white chauvinism which the bourgeoisie uses to oppress all national minority workers in order to keep the class divided. There is no end to the proletarian woman's working day because she has to come home, care for her family and try to get some rest so she can go back to work the next day. In short, her life is a continual struggle just to get by.

Working class women have struggled and will continue to struggle against this oppression. But today the women's movement is led primarily by petty bourgeois women who have channeled the struggle for women's rights into a syndicalist movement that says men are the enemy and not the capitalist class. This syndicalist line of separating the working class by putting forward demands only for women will not solve the problems of working class women. Capitalism is the source of oppression of the working class, both men and women, and it is only when we violently overthrow the capitalist system and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism and ultimately communism that working class women will have genuine freedom.

But we cannot look at the struggle for the emancipation of women solely as the domain of the women alone. Male supremacy hurts the entire working class and men have to wage a determined struggle against this bourgeois ideology. The bourgeoisie gives men a privileged position over women in the form of higher wages, more educational opportunities, treating women as the inferior and weaker sex and keeping women tied to the bedroom, kitchen and nursery. But the lower wages women receive in order to enforce male supremacy keep the wages of the whole working class low, and most important is the fact that all the privileges of male supremacy keep the working class divided.

As Marxist-Leninists we believe men have to struggle against male supremacy, not merely by helping with the housework, but primarily by giving women the opportunity to develop theoretically and politically so that they can participate fully in the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat. In the

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Reply to Attacks by October League (ML) Part 2

We are moving forward in carrying out the task of building a Communist Party of a New Type in the USNA. The rapidly approaching Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists in May is a sign that Marxist-Leninists and honest revolutionaries are responding to the need for consciousness and principled unity in the Communist movement. As a result, a split is taking place in the Left. On the one hand, there are elements in the Left that are determined to take on the true role of the conscious elements in history and unite the struggle of the working class with the theories of Communism. These revolutionaries are attempting to break with the history of revisionism in the USNA, i.e., the CPUSA, and unite with Marxism-Leninism. On the other hand, there are elements who are attempting to reconcile the interests of the imperialists and the working class. These revisionists and conciliators are more and more openly exposing themselves.

History has shown that every true Bolshevik party was built on and steeled in the struggle against revisionism. The CL welcomes the chance to point out what the disguises of the revisionists and their conciliators are; how they hide behind revolutionary sounding phrases, and how their actions bespeak the designs of traitors to the class.

In Los Angeles, the OL(M-L) leadership has played just such a role. They have rapidly moved from a position where in words they united with the line of Marxism-Leninism to a position where they now attack the M-L and honest revolutionary forces and openly unite with both the Trotskyites and the CPUSA.

The OL(M-L) leadership accuses us of being Trotskyites, slanderously charging that we "refuse to support" and "damn" the 9 point peace treaty.

In upholding our proletarian internationalist duty, the Communist League gives firm and determined support to the Vietnamese people, the Provisional Revolutionary Government and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. It is USNA imperialism and Soviet social imperialism that we refuse to support and shield. Comrade Lenin guided us long ago when he made the distinction between real fighters against imperialism and mealy mouthed pacifists: "It is not he who repeats the general, meaningless, non-committal, goody-goody desires of pacifism who really works for a democratic peace but it is he

who exposes the imperialist character of the present war and of the imperialist peace that is being prepared, he who calls upon the peoples to rise in revolt against the criminal governments." (1) It is the duty of all Marxist-Leninists to consistently and uncompromisingly expose and isolate USNA imperialism and Soviet social imperialism.

With the signing of the "peace treaty" it is clear that there is not now nor has there been peace in Vietnam. The USNA imperialists have attempted and still are attempting to impose an imperialist peace, a robber's peace, upon the Vietnamese people. But the militant and courageous Vietnamese will not allow this. Therefore, the imperialists are continuing their aggressions. As one bourgeois commentator put it, "It would be hard to prove that even a cease-fire has been established." (2) Since the cease fire was declared, around 16,700 Vietnamese have been reported killed and nearly 13,000 wounded. (3) President Nixon is preparing to return the full 7th Fleet complement of aircraft carriers to waters off N. Vietnam. (4) And now he is carrying out the political groundwork for the restoration of open war with the Vietnamese. The President threatened, "We have informed the N. Vietnamese of our concern about this infiltration and what we believe it to be - a violation of the cease fire....I would only suggest that based on my actions over the past four years, that the N. Vietnamese should not lightly disregard such expressions of concern." (5)

The USSR has colluded with the USNA in their continuing aggression. Growing pressure from the Soviet people forced Kosygin and Brezhnev to publicly plead with Nixon to end the war in order to carry through the huge Soviet-USNA wheat deals. But the wheat deals have been finalized with no abatement in the war.

The communists in the oppressor nation have an even heavier responsibility to expose the imperialists. Stalin clearly lays out the essential role that the proletariat of an imperialist country has to play in the defeat of that country's imperialist aggressors internationally: "e) The interests of the proletarian movement in the developed countries and of the national liberation movement in the colonies call for the amalgamation of these two forms

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Call For A Conference Of North American Marxist-Leninists

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

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

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

Proletarian revolutions and wars of national liberation are raging, and the struggle for socialism is being waged all over the world. While revolution is the main trend in the world today, we see throughout the whole world that fascism is increasing its attacks against the revolutionary class and the revolutionary movement in general. Internationally, we see this in the growing collusion of the U.S. imperialists and the U.S.S.R. social-imperialists in an attempt to crush the proletarian revolution and increase their aggression against the peoples of the world. Within the U.S. we recognize the seriousness of the situation

that the imperialists are developing through their propaganda about the re-election of Nixon: the imperialists are carrying out a steady vicious advance toward an organized fascist drive against the working class of the U.S. In light of these conditions we view it as a very serious matter that the revolutionary movement in the U.S. is disunited and its forces are not monolithic but instead dispersed and scattered in the form of many different individuals, groups, organizations throughout the U.S.

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

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

It is out of this struggle for scientific socialism, for correct line, that the real unity of the revolutionary movement will develop in its highest form, a single organization that fights for the whole working class to overthrow imperialism. Lenin pointed out and his-

and bomb craters, the USNA productive capacity more than doubled. Further, it allowed the USNA to invest over 5 billion dollars in European industry. In short, the center of gravity of capitalism was shifted from Europe to the USNA.

Twenty years later, the conflict amongst the capitalists over the redivision of the world erupted again. It took the German bourgeoisie twenty years to rebuild their industry in a concentrated form and to rearm. But when this process took place, they had to have a fascist dictatorship to carry out their designs on the world's markets. World War I had left England

tory has confirmed that the Party of a New Type can only be built on the basis of the struggle against revisionism and opportunism (incorrect line). We don't want to unite purely for the sake of uniting, but for the sake of struggling for the correct line for the working class in the struggle against the U.S. monopoly capitalist class.

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

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

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

still in a fairly strong position. Before World War II she controlled over half of the world's loans, controlled an empire known as the Commonwealth, had the largest merchant marine, etc. In fact, just the interest from her \$16 billion in world loans paid for over one third of her imports. At the end of the war, her industry was racked, her navy and merchant marine were reduced and she was in debt \$14 billion, mainly to the USNA. World War II left the USNA imperialists in undisputed hegemony of the capitalist world. This also meant that they became the leaders of the counter-revolution.

The term 'cold war' was invented by the imperialists

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Int'l. Report Cont. from p. 2

At the turn of the century the contradictions within capitalism were growing intense. One of the most obvious contradictions was the fact that German imperialism, arriving late on the scene, found a world that was almost all divided amongst the French, Belgian, English and USNA capitalists. The war that began in 1914 was a war amongst the imperialists for the redivision of the world. This war consumed half of the wealth of Europe and destroyed 9 percent of her population. The most important point is that this war left the United States as the richest country in the world. During the war, while the industries of Europe were destroyed, and the French fields were laced with trenches

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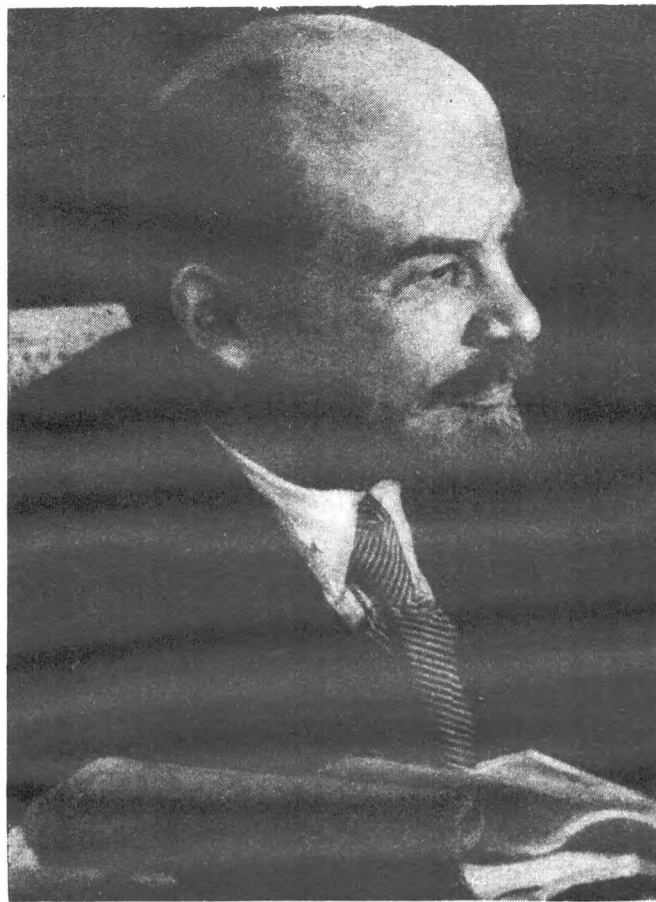
to project that they were only going to struggle politically and economically, not through world war. They said this in an attempt to fool the revolutionary peoples. But the Soviet Union, under the leadership of J. Stalin, was not fooled. Stalin stated in Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR that, "To eliminate the inevitability of war it is necessary to abolish imperialism." (5) The last 25 years have witnessed the most vicious counter-revolutionary slaughter in history.

The USNA began its reign by helping crush the revolutionary movements in Greece, Turkey and Iran in 1948-49. The next three years they invaded Korea and aided the British against the people of Kenya. In 1954 the USNA overthrew the democratically elected Arbenz government of Guatemala and began to help the French imperialists against Algeria, Vietnam and Laos. The next three years saw the USNA aid the French against Tunisia, the British against Cyprus and France and Israel against Egypt (1956). In 1958 the USNA invaded Lebanon and attacked the Peoples Republic of China. In 1959 and again in 1964 the USNA invaded Panama. In 1960 the USNA and Belgium crushed the Congolese revolution (with Kruschov's blessing). The USNA has attacked Cuba since the revolution, including the invasion of 1963. The USNA has fought against Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and Burma. In 1964 the USNA led the counter-revolution in Indonesia where almost 2 million have died over the last fifteen years. The USNA invaded the Dominican Republic in 1965. Over the past three decades, but especially since 1963, the USNA has aided Israel, who has lead the counter-revolution against the Palestinian people and who in 1971 aided Jordan in the slaughter of Palestinian refugees.

USNA 'foreign aid' is merely a guise to support the most reactionary fascist dogs on the face of the earth. This can be seen in the list of the 10 biggest receivers: the puppet governments of Vietnam, S. Korea, India, Iran, Cambodia, Laos, Turkey, Indonesia, Brazil and Taiwan (listed in order of amount received). These amounts ranged from \$2 and a half billion to the Saigon puppets to \$150 million to the Chiang Kai-check gang. But in every case the amount of 'foreign aid' spent on arms and military hardware ranged from 55 percent to 77 percent. The USNA has a stranglehold on the capitalist world. Over \$4.7 billion of the \$10.9 billion the USNA loaned to 33 other countries last year was used to pay back previous loans. USNA investment exceeds \$72 billion in Britain, \$43 billion in W. Germany, and \$20

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A SALUTE TO LENIN AND STALIN



V.I. LENIN

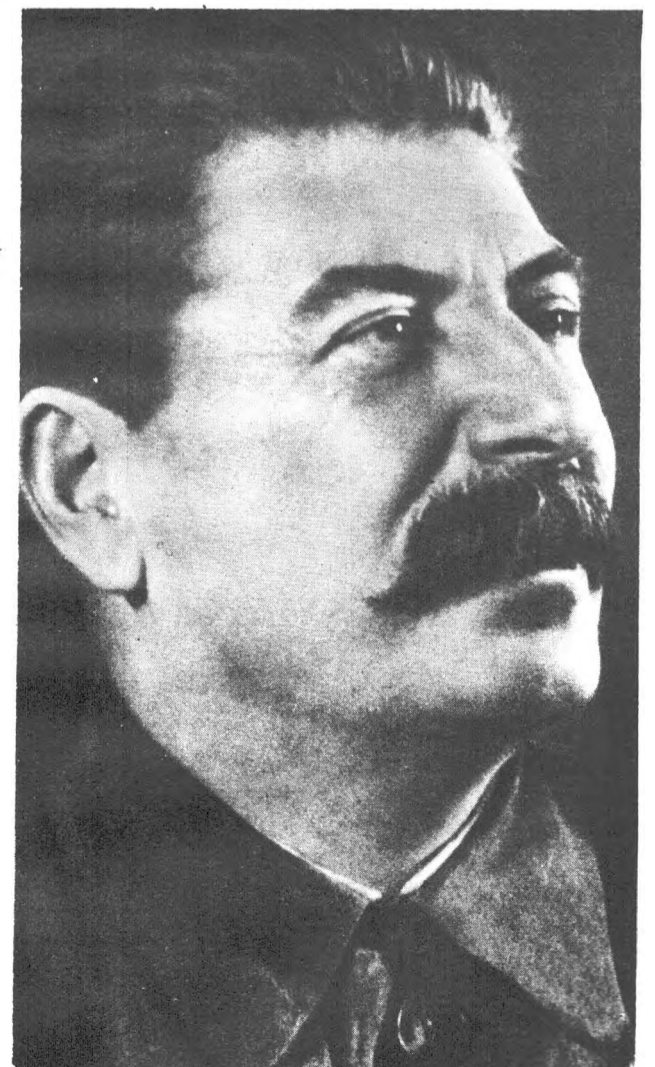
Twenty years have passed since the death of J.V. Stalin who died on March 5, 1953. In memory of him and in commemoration of the 103rd anniversary of the birth of V.I. Lenin (on April 22, 1870), the Communist League would like to review some of the basic teachings of these leaders of the international proletariat. We have witnessed that the onslaught of revisionism in the world political situation was signaled by the death of Stalin. The attacks on Stalin by the Kruschevite revisionists were in actuality attacks on Leninism, on the dictatorship of the proletariat and were part of their plan to restore capitalism in the USSR. We must defend Leninism from the distortions of the revisionists and expose all attempts being made to subvert the worldwide revolutionary movement. For revolutionaries in the USNA, particularly important at this time are the Leninist teachings on the question of building a Party of a New Type and the National Question.

Like any army going into battle, the army of the working class needs leadership. It needs a political party capable of uniting, training and organizing its fight for state power. This party can only fulfill its role if it sticks tightly to the Leninist conception of a Party of a New Type. In his Foundations of Leninism, Stalin laid out the specific features of such a party. That the party must be the vanguard of the working class, an organized detachment and the highest form of class organization of the proletariat. But this party can only perform the role of leader of its class, by having mastered the advanced theory of the working class movement, Marxism-Leninism. Lenin fought hard for the build-

ing of such a party in Russia. In his work What is to be Done? Lenin laid out the theoretical basis for such a Party. This work stands as a beacon to the Communist League who is dedicated to following the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on party building.

The struggle which Lenin waged in building a party is generally the struggle which must be waged in the USNA. Lenin fought relentlessly against those who maintained that the task of the communists was to follow behind the spontaneous working class movement, saying that the "movement is everything and the final aim is nothing." He battled for the building of an organization of professional revolutionaries for the political education and training of the working class. Within the USNA there are very concrete developments which are laying the basis for the foundation of a Party of a New Type. The Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists is a concrete step in the unity of revolutionaries around the line of Marxism-Leninism.

Quite naturally this struggle has come under attack by the revisionists and conciliators. These groups of opportunists are doing everything possible to prevent the formation of a party. What has been the actions of these groups? On every question they attempt to drag the revolutionaries down to the political con-



J.V. STALIN

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Detroit: POLICE REPRESSION INCREASES

As reported in the *People's Tribune*, Vol. 5, No.1, the most exploited and oppressed sections of the Detroit working class have been attacked by an open police terror campaign called "Stop the Robberies; Enjoy Safe Streets (STRESS)". This so-called anti-crime program launched in January, 1971 became a vicious "search and destroy" campaign in the mainly Negro national minority communities following the shooting of three STRESS officers.

In the events following the above mentioned article, the three young Negro national minority men accused of the shootings have been either killed or captured by the authorities. 19 year old Haywood Brown was arrested in Detroit on Jan. 12, 1973 and faces several charges, including murder. 23 year old John Percy Boyd and 22 year old Mark Clyde Bethune were shot and killed by police in Atlanta, Georgia.

In Detroit, a city where certain sections of the working class are among the most highly bribed in the USNA, there is a long history of keeping the least bribed sections in line with the gun and the club. It was in this context that the three "suspects" had become the symbol of resistance to the fascist terror in the national minority communities.

The anger and outrage against the police campaign has been at a high pitch since the Sept. 17, 1971 slayings of Ricardo Buck, 15, and Craig Mitchell, 14, at the hands of STRESS officers. The outrage of the community against these blatant murders was channeled into a long series of reform campaigns, beginning with the State of Emergency Committee which was later taken over by the Labor Defense Coalition (LDC). The reform campaign attempted to tie up the militant workers in petition drives aimed at impeaching Mayor Gribbs, and replacing him with a "sympathetic" leader who would in turn get rid of STRESS. This plan had the smell of the CPUSA reeking from every line. Simply replace a "bad" leader with a "progressive" one. Thus, the dialectics of counter-revolution were formed: attack the militant workers with guns and smother their response with the ballot.

Over a period of time it became more and more obvious to the most militant workers that petitions and court appearances were not going to protect the communities from police violence. As the STRESS campaign

was stepped up to the point where uniformed officers were kicking down doors, and terrorizing the community under the guise of "looking for suspects", many workers began to reject the strangling reformist programs and to fight back in a heroic, but unorganized way. This was expressed in the popular slogan, "Do unto STRESS as STRESS does unto you!".

These developments in Detroit are not isolated incidents, but are indicative of the state of the general struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat throughout the USNA. In response to the many questions received concerning the significance of these events and the many like them that take place every day in all corners of the USNA, we are reprinting a section of "Build a Class Party; Build a Mass Struggle":

"As the capitalists intensify the exploitation here at home, the workers are going to fight back. That fight-back today, has to take the form of social consciousness...The reason for this is that the workers cannot develop class consciousness. This is the task and role of the Communist Parties.

"In this country there is no communist party worthy of the name. There is no conscious vanguard of the workers in a period of militancy and rebellions. The only possible result is disorganized, unplanned spontaneous struggles. The only road open to the masses is the road of heroic but unorganized mass uprisings and brave but individualistic armed resistance to the police and fascist gangs.

"How are we to approach this situation where the capitalists are launching an offensive and the masses of the people are fighting back without an organized leadership, that is to say, the masses are fighting defensively. In the Communist League we believe that it is our duty to take all the necessary steps to change this spontaneous defensive fighting into organized offensive revolutionary struggles as soon as possible." (Vol.3 No.3)

Int'l. Report Cont. from p. 5
billion in France, etc.

Progressing from the point that imperialism is merely a policy of monopoly capital, Hall projects that the imperialist aggression can be curtailed by disarmament and that "With such changes,

friendly relations and trade the world over could be established and war tensions would subside. Colonial and underdeveloped countries would continue along the path of independence and liberation, and with realistic programs of aid, could begin to reap some of the benefits of the scientific-technological revolution." (6)

Here again we see that Hall's opposition to Leninism is nothing new, but a combination of Kautsky's ultra-imperialism and Kruschov's peaceful transition. In short, Kautsky's position was the joint exploitation of the world by the imperialists which means no war; Kruschov's position was 'peaceful' national liberation which means the domination of the comprador bourgeoisie. This is exactly the line of the bourgeoisie, that there is no longer any need for the cold war, just expanded trade. But is trade the solution to imperialism? No, it is not. Again a review of history will bear this out.

At the end of World War II the USNA rulers were faced with a dilemma. On the one hand, they had the European bourgeoisie on their knees, but on the other hand, they had to strengthen the European bourgeoisie dictatorship over the proletariat and peasant masses. "The Americans, mindful of their own security, wanted a free Europe that would be a bulwark against any westward expansion of Communism." (7) The USNA imperialists sent massive capital exports to Europe to buy up and rebuild industry, industry that was strong, but tightly controlled by USNA capital. In this light the USNA backed to the hilt the early efforts of the struggling European bourgeoisie for a united Europe.

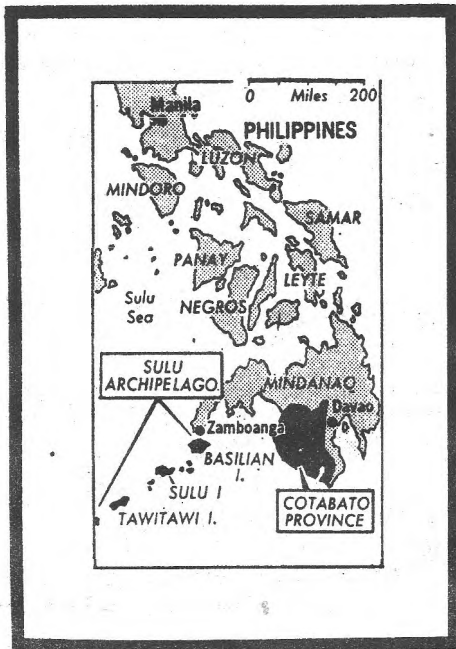
Further, for years the French bourgeoisie have dreamed of being the leaders of Europe and over the past two decades have skillfully attempted to regain this position. In 1950 M. Schulman, the foreign minister of France, proposed a common pool of the coal and steel industries of France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Holland and Belgium. This proposal most benefitted France, although it included provisions which were lucrative to each country. For instance, the coal and steel industries of Belgium and W. Germany are both much greater than France, but France offered money to rebuild Belgium's industry and offered to lift the political restrictions of the Rhur industrial complex imposed on W. Germany at the end of the war. Further moves lessened tariffs, cancelled intra-European debts, began joint atomic energy studies, etc. In 1958 the countries formed a common economic market, known as the European Economic Commonmarket (EEC).

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Communist Party of the Philippines

Part III

"New Society" Means Nothing But the Worsening of the Old Society



The following is part III of a statement issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines. This statement was taken from a public document which was given to us with the request to distribute it as widely as possible. The Philippines has long been under the heel of US imperialism. It currently represents a strong reserve for the imperialists. However, there is a tremendous upsurge amongst the Philippine people and it is absolutely imperative that the proletariat of the USNA support this just struggle. This statement reveals the concrete aspects of the life of the Philippine people under the martial law imposed by the U.S.-Marcos rulers. This will be the third of four sections published consecutively, representing the document in full.

Since the publication of this statement of principles of the Communist Party of the Philippines, much revolutionary struggle has taken place in the Philippines in general and on the large island of Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago in particular. In the last four days revolutionary struggle has risen to the level of open warfare. The bourgeoisie tries to deny the class question of this struggle, saying that it is only a religious disruption. But the struggle is a class struggle, a united front effort of many workers, peasants and urban petit bourgeoisie against imperialism and their henchman, the Marcos clique. A New York Times report of March 26 characterized the military situation as becoming "a striking resemblance to the early days of Vietnam."

The Communist League fully supports the struggles of the Philippine people and the program of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is not satisfied with pretending "to save the republic" in attacking the national and democratic rights of the sovereign people. It wants to remain in power for as long as it can through sheer armed force by pretending "to form a new society". The "new society" means the perpetuation of the fascist dictatorship. It means nothing but the worsening of the old society. The old basic evils that are U.S. imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism shall continue to afflict semi-colonial and semi-feudal Philippines and shall aggravate the political and economic crisis of the ruling system and likewise the suffering of the broad masses of the people through unmitigated puppetry, bankruptcy, brutality, corruption and mendacity of the Marcos fascist puppet dictatorship.

As confirmed by the statement of the U.S. State Department soon after Proclamation No. 1081, the instalment of the fascist dictatorship in the Philippines does not conflict with the interests of U.S. imperialism. In fact, U.S. imperialism is confidently behind the Marcos puppet dictatorship at the moment. The direct conspirators in the setting up of the fascist dictatorship have been the U.S. "country team" (which includes the U.S. ambassador, the C.I.A. chief of station, the A.I.D. director, the U.S.I.A. director, and the board of directors and other top members of the American Chamber of Commerce of the Philippines on the master side and the "internal security council" composed of Marcos, Melcher, Earile, Generals Espino and Ramos of the general staff of the reactionary armed forces and a few others on the puppet side.

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship is the product of the vicious exploitation and oppression of the Filipino people by U.S. imperialism and its local running dogs for the last seven decades. It is the result of the rapid process of militarization and fascistization directed by U.S. imperialism during the Marcos puppet regime to preserve and enlarge its political and economic interests in the country. By trying to draw more superprofits and make up for the losses that they have incurred elsewhere in the world, the U.S. imperialist masters of the Marcos puppet gang have only exacerbated the suffering of the broad masses of the people and have thereby engendered popular resistance and a strong

revolutionary mass movement. So powerful has the anti-imperialist and anti-puppet movement become that such a desperate measure as the instalment of a fascist dictatorship is resorted to. U.S. imperialism has always had the illusion that such fascist dictatorships as those of the Thieu regime in South Vietnam, Lon Nol regime in Cambodia, Sukarto regime in Indonesia, Chiang regime in Taiwan and Pak regime in South Korea are more reliable and stable tools of imperialist rule.

The U.S.-Marcos dictatorship falls in with the "Nixon doctrine" that the Philippines must be kept no matter at what cost as a stronghold of counterrevolution in the determined bid of U.S. imperialism to remain a "Pacific power." From such an imperialist viewpoint, the most despicable measures must be taken in order to keep this archipelago in the Pacific a vassel state. A fascist gang like this of Marcos would just be too willing to implement these measures in exchange for an indefinite tenure of power in order to pile up more loot for itself. The fascist dictatorship is basically a desperate effort of U.S. imperialism to protect \$2.0 billion of U.S. investments (in anticipation of the end of "parity rights") and to maintain the Philippines as a strategic post in Asia.

U.S. imperialism is today extremely unsettled by the people's outcry for the confiscation of U.S.-owned lands including the improvements thereon (like buildings, factories, equipment and other installations) and also for the immediate dismantling of U.S. military bases which occupy large tracts of public lands. Even in the realm of the legal anti-imperialist struggle, U.S. imperialism has lately suffered so many big reverses that it has decided to resort to the use of extraordinary measures with the use of the Marcos fascist gang. Just before Proclamation No. 1081, it was very clear that the bombing incidents and the corresponding "psy-war" campaign were being staged by the U.S.-Marcos clique in order to distract public attention from the strong legal grounds demanding the immediate end of U.S. imperialist domination. It dawned upon the U.S. imperialists that even in the realm of the legal anti-imperialist struggle they were being hopelessly isolated. They had to hurry making use of the Marcos fascist gang which prated about "fairness" and "justice" for them against the popular demands for national emancipation.

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Women's Day Cont. from p. 3

final analysis it is men and women both who are hurt by male supremacy. As proletarian women acquire the theoretical and political understanding of their oppression and actively fight against male supremacy, men will be forced to make one of the "radical ruptures with traditional ideas" that Marx and Engels wrote of in the Communist Manifesto:

"The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas." (4)

Just as the demand for independence for the Negro Nation and the struggle against white chauvinism is an integral part of proletarian revolution, the fight against male supremacy cannot be isolated from the proletarian revolution as a whole.

As Marxist-Leninists we have to give theoretical, political and ideological leadership to the class on the women question. We have to show concretely how male supremacy hurts women and men workers with as much vigor as we show how white chauvinism oppresses and divides the entire working class. Though our political and ideological development must come from a

thorough theoretical understanding of the woman question, we have to combine this understanding with a concrete fight against male supremacy in our personal family relations as well as in our political work.

In the struggle for the emancipation of women we support the just demands of working class women for democratic rights and reforms; but we also have to pose the Marxist-Leninist position on reforms in opposition to the line of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists. Lenin states that Marxism, "subordinates the struggle for reforms to the revolutionary struggle for liberty and Socialism, in the same way as the part is subordinate to the whole." (5) We support only those reforms which will contribute in a positive way to the revolutionary struggle of the working class.

Recently, various states and the federal government have passed and proposed laws which are supposed to increase the rights of women. One of these is the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). However, the ERA does not provide the basis for equality between men and women, but rather defines equality as sameness. Sameness does not recognize the differences that obviously exist between men and women. There exists a unity of opposites between men and women, that is, men are men only because there are women and vice versa. So

that, obviously the abilities and capabilities of women and men are different. For example, women bear children and for a period of time during and after their pregnancy, they are unable to lift heavy boxes or pipes or fight on the front lines. But the ERA insists that women should be not women, but men. Marxist-Leninists, however, start from the concrete facts and that is that men and women are different and in all class societies, unequal. Thus, we fight not for the sameness of men and women, but the equality of men and women. That means creating conditions for women to develop politically, socially, intellectually as well as physically.

Equality means freeing women from the household drudgery and incorporating her into social production; not making her lift the heaviest equipment, but allowing her to participate in the creation of the wealth of society which in turn determines the ideas of society, the way people think. By bringing women into production, she also participates in the social and political life of society. This real freedom can only be achieved under the dictatorship of the proletariat as has been demonstrated by Socialist China, Albania, N. Vietnam and N. Korea where women have not only legal equality, but social equality as well.

Lenin says on this point, "the struggle for women's rights must also be linked with our principal aim - the conquest of power and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat....But the broad masses of working women will not feel irresistably drawn to the struggle for state power if we harp on just this one demand, even though we may blare it forth on the trumpets of Jericho. No, a thousand times no! We must combine our appeal politically in the minds of the female masses with the suffering, the needs and the wishes of working women. They should all know what the proletarian dictatorship will mean to them - complete equality of rights with men, both legal and in practice, in the family, the state and in society, and that it also spells the annihilation of the power of the bourgeoisie." (6)

Lenin points out what Communists must do to politically educate working class women, but the revisionist CPUSA, as agents for the bourgeoisie, tell the working class that reforms, not revolution, should be the primary goal. In the New Program of the Communist Party USA, published in 1970, the struggle of women is limited to demands for "equality of women with men in employment and pay.... paid maternity leaves....dependency grants....free child care

Cont. on p. 9

A Tribute to Revolutionary Women

POEM BY A COMRADE

A warrior was born today,
She has a debt to pay-
She was born a girl, in this capitalist world,
and so
She caught hell each day.
A national minority too,
Plus a worker tried and true,
In the labor force, working like a horse,
'til the day
She found out who it was that forced her to
Drive the wages down of the men
she once despised -
The enemy in her eyes;
A pawn no more, she now fights
for the 'death'
Of the bourgeoisie, determined for -
victory!
The working class has got to fight -
Fight for women's rights,
For us to be free, from the bourgeoisie, we've
Got to study to see the light.
Marxism is the key,
For a proletarian victory,
For only the, can the women win, and be
Equal to the man, because the history of this
Capitalist state is one of male supremacy,
Against the women - you see
Tied to apron strings, beds and other things,
So she fights to see this end, determined for -
victory!
And so our armies grow -
The dialectics told us so -
That wherever there's resistance, you can look for
Some assistance, from the women in our class
The leaders of the fight they'll be
And take their place in history
At the front of the line, with that theory in mind
They'll defend the class, courageously - determined for -
victory!



Women's Day Cont. from p. 8

under community control.... to end the degrading and insulting of women in the mass communications media." (7) Clearly this line does nothing but limit the struggle of working class women to a reformist movement. By placing the just demands of working class women for better living conditions as the primary goal, in isolation from the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for state power, the CPUSA objectively divides the class and says working class women can reform the capitalists and thereby gain "equality."

As Marxist-Leninists, we must adhere to the line of scientific socialism. Lenin said that "There cannot be nor will there ever be, 'equality' between the oppressed and the oppressors, between the exploited and the exploiter." (8) We must expose the CPUSA as agents for the bourgeoisie and build an independent multi-national Marxist-Leninist Communist Party that truly represents the interests of the proletariat as a whole and working class women in particular. Without this revolutionary Party of a New Type it will be impossible to overthrow the bourgeoisie, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism and communism so that working class women will be emancipated from all exploitation.

The Communist League has resolutely fought for the line of Marxism-Leninism on the question of the emancipation of women, but we must work ever more diligently to teach working class women the science of Marxism-Leninism so that they can take their rightful place as leaders in the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism.

LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL
WOMEN'S DAY!

- 1) Stalin, A Political Biography, Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute, Int. Pub., N.Y., 1949, p. 66.
- 2) Boyer and Morais, Labor's Untold Story, United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers, N.Y., 1972, p. 124.
- 3) Ibid., p. 33.
- 4) Marx and Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, Int. Pub., N.Y., 1932, p. 29.
- 5) Lenin, "What Is to be Done?", Collected Works, Int. Pub., N.Y., 1929, pp. 143-144.
- 6) Lenin, The Emancipation of Women, Int. Pub., N.Y., 1969, p. 113.
- 7) New Program of the Communist Party USA, New Outlook Pub., N.Y., 1970, p. 78.
- 8) Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, The Woman Question, Int. Pub., N.Y., 1972, p. 58.



C.P.P. Cont. from p. 7

The puppetry of the Marcos fascist gang is well proven. This gang has adopted and implemented to the latter every "recommendation" made by U.S. imperialism through such direct agents as the components of the U.S. "country team" and such other agents as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, U.S. monopoly firms, Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation and the like. The dictates of U.S. imperialism have always become the basic policies and projects of the Marcos fascist puppet regime. Some of the most notorious policies and projects are the "floating rate" or the unabated rapid devaluation of the peso in relation to the U.S. dollar; sham negotiations on the unequal U.S.-R.P. treaties to achieve more "adjustments"; "national treatment", "joint ventures" and "incentives" - special privileges for U.S. investments (nonappropriation, investment insurance, unlimited dollar remittances, tax exemptions, drying up local credit sources etc.); increasing local public debts and heavy foreign borrowings from the U.S. and "consortium" banks for nonproductive projects; increasing taxes to raise counterpart funds for foreign loans and to support a military buildup; fascist training of the reactionary troops and police; the five-year programme for a "self-reliant defence posture"; special privileges for U.S. oil firms in oil exploration

and in price-hiking; the "car manufacturing" scheme; free trade zones; and the reorganization plan of the Presidential Committee for the Survey of Philippine Education (P.C.S.P.E.) for the educational system.

Enjoying absolute powers vis-a-vis the Philippine people, the Marcos fascist gang knows no bounds for its puppetry. It will throw the door wider open for U.S. imperialism and other imperialist powers, especially Japanese militarism and Soviet social-imperialism. The substance of old unequal treaties with the United States will stay either through retention, minor revision or drafting of new ones. The Philippines will continue to suffer violation of national sovereignty and territorial integrity and will remain a victim of superprofit remittances by the imperialist firms and banks. Because a civil war of a national scale is now on hand and the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship will subsequently resort to the use of U.S. aggressor troops, despite the hypocritical claim of the "Nixon doctrine" about supplying war material rather than U.S. manpower, the colonial domination of the Philippines will become more direct and conspicuous in the years to come unless other drastically different conditions arise.

To be continued in next issue.

Int'l. Report Cont. from p. 6

The idea of a united Europe has been present for a hundred and fifty years and has been popular every time there has been an economic crisis. This is based on the premise that trade will solve the contradictions within imperialism. Lenin speaks of this idea in the essay, The United States of Europe Slogan, "Of course, temporary agreements between capitalists and powers are possible. In this sense the United States of Europe as the result of an agreement between the European capitalists is possible, but what kind of an agreement would that be? An agreement jointly to suppress Socialism in Europe, jointly to guard colonial booty against Japan and America, which feel slighted by the present division of colonies, and which, for the last half century, have grown....under capitalism the United States of Europe would mean an organization of reaction for thwarting the more rapid development of America. The days when the cause of democracy and Socialism was associated with Europe alone have passed forever." (8)

And so it has been with the Common Market, whose purpose has been to strengthen the European bourgeoisie, primarily against the proletariat of Europe. This attempt at a united Europe meant the further

concentration of production and the greater tendency for over-production. It thus laid the conditions for an even greater crisis in capitalism. Albania Today reports that "Thus in the European Common Market, an increase in the proportions of two typical problems of capitalism-failure to utilize the capacity of the productive apparatus, and the growth of unemployment can be seen. Utilization of productive capacity of the processing industries of the EEC countries fell from 91% in 1960 to 79% in 1965 to 78% in 1970...industrial output of Western European countries fell by 1.5 percent in 1970 compared with 1969...unemployed...amounts to some 2 million persons...The average rise of prices in the EEC countries is 6% per year...the income of the peasantry have diminished by 10%." (9)

Therefore, what is Hall really saying with his projections? He is saying that if the masses of people in the USNA vote out the reactionary government officials, quit spending money on the monstrous defense budget and begin spending it on the public welfare and trade, that the world would be safe. Lenin answered this line of Kautsky in Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism,

Cont. on p. 11

Lenin & Stalin

Cont. from p. 5

consciousness of the masses, instead of struggling to raise the masses to the political consciousness of the revolutionaries. They say the exact same thing that the opportunists of Lenin's day said that the movement is everything, that it is not the time to build an organization of professional revolutionaries.

We see that a struggle is taking place for unity amongst Marxist-Leninist forces. Throughout the Left there are also calls for unity. As regards the question of unity, we must be clear on with whom and for what. There are those who preach that the unity of the Left is the key; they would have us unite with the revisionists and even with police agents. But the only basis for unity in the revolutionary movement is around the science of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin and Stalin put the question of unity in its proper perspective, that is, unity as long as it strengthens the proletariat. The proletariat is strengthened when the Marxist-Leninists consolidate their activity into a common party, when the theories of scientific socialism are united with the proletariat and when the proletariat itself is united. It is the proletariat that makes the revolution; it is the duty of those conscious elements to politically educate and organize the proletariat so as to break the hold of the bourgeoisie.

Within the USNA there is no independent working class movement as there is no political party to organize and fight for the interests of the working class. All social struggles are led by the bourgeois and petty bourgeois political parties who appeal to the working class to support their reform programs. In light of this, when the petty bourgeois opportunists issue the call to join in a united front with the opportunists in order to build a mass struggle, what they are really saying is keep the situation the way it is - that is, keep the working class under the domination of the bourgeois parties and not allow it to have an independent party.

Of the party, Lenin said that it is "the highest form of the class organization of the proletariat, it should lead all the other forms of proletarian organizations and take a most active part in their struggles. This it does through Communist fractions." He spoke to the need of forming closer connections with the mass working class movement and of giving it political leadership, of passing from the propaganda

among the few politically advanced workers who gathered in the propaganda circles to political agitation among the broad masses of the working class on the issues of the day. This involved the fractional method of work - the bringing to the working class the science of Marxism-Leninism, the seeking out of advanced workers to try to win them to the cause of communism, the working towards the building of an organization of professional revolutionaries and the setting up of a network of agents. When you compare the teachings of Lenin to the yelps of the opportunists, the treachery of these so-called "revolutionaries" is obvious.

Let us look at this situation in the light of the national colonial question. The national colonial question is a specific part of Leninism. It is the theories and practice which attack the oppression of nations by imperialism and the discrimination and enslavement of oppressed people. It is one of the key questions concerning the unity of the working class.

In his "Critical Remarks on the National Question," Lenin points out, "The national programme of working class democracy is; absolutely no privileges for any one nation or any one language; the solution of the problem of the political self-determination of nations, that is, their separation as states by completely free, democratic methods....Working class democracy contraposes to the nationalist wrangling of the various bourgeois parties over questions of language, etc., the demand for the unconditional unity and complete amalgamation of workers of all nationalities in all working class organizations....in contradistinction to any kind of bourgeois nationalism. Only this type of unity and amalgamation can uphold democracy and defend the interests of the workers against capital - which is already international and is becoming more so - and promote the development of mankind towards a new way of life that is alien to all privileges and all exploitation." (2)

Lenin here speaks to the need for the unity of the working class. While capitalism has created the material basis for the unity of the class, it can only be united politically around a Marxist-Leninist program which must be taken to the class and fought for. As regards the national colonial question, the proletariat of the oppressor nation must demand the independence of those nations which are oppressed by that imperialist power.

If this is not done, what basis is there for the workers of the oppressed nations to unite with the proletariat of the oppressor nation.

Within the USNA there are those who oppose our raising the slogan "Independence for the Negro Nation." These conciliators distort what Leninism puts forth on what a nation is, that is, "a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture." (3) As can be seen, they fail to use as a guide the Leninist teachings on the national colonial question in examining the concrete conditions in the USNA.

The petty bourgeois opportunists can talk about unity all they want. But they disregard the most pressing task at this time, that of building a multi-national Communist Party. They are in fact trying to hinder it. The Communist League takes offense at those opportunists who attempt to attack Stalin and undermine Lenin. Lenin and Stalin created the first party of a new type which led the working class in forming the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. Their teachings have been the basis of every successful proletarian party. We intend to grasp these teachings firmly and use them as a guide to building a Party of a New Type in the USNA.

- 1) Lenin, "Infantile Disease of Leftism," quoted in Lenin on Organization, Daily Worker Publishing Co., Chicago, 1926, p. 40.
- 2) Lenin, "Critical Remarks on the National Question," Questions of National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism, Progress Pub., Moscow, 1967, p. 15.
- 3) Stalin, "Marxism and the National Question," Works, FLPH, Moscow, 1953, p. 307.

CORRECTION TO VOL. 5 NO. 1

The last sentence on page 18, column 1 should read, In short, from the first moment of victory we must no longer direct our distrust against the beaten reactionary enemy, but against our former allies, against the party who are now about to exploit the common victory for their own ends only.

Int'l. Report

Cont. from p. 9

"The bourgeois reformists, and among them particularly the present-day adherents of Kautsky, of course, try to belittle the importance of facts of this kind by arguing that it 'would be possible' to obtain raw materials in the open market without a 'costly and dangerous' colonial policy; and that it would be 'possible' to increase the supply of raw materials to an enormous extent 'simply' by improving agriculture. But these arguments are merely an apology for imperialism, an attempt to embellish it, because they ignore the principal feature of modern capitalism: monopoly... Where, except in the imagination of the sentimental reformists, are there any trusts capable of interesting themselves in the condition of the masses instead of the conquest of colonies?" (10)

Thus the world problems will not be solved with disarmament and trade. Imperialism is the stage of capitalism in which production is concentrated to the extreme and monopolized by a few capitalists. It is the stage where finance capital merges with and dominates industrial capital, where the export of capital is more important than the export of commodities, the stage where the division of the world is complete and the quest for world markets means a steady drive toward war and annexation. Imperialism's political features cannot be separated from its economic features.

In 1971 Hall signaled the line for the revisionists and new left with his speech "House of Imperialism is Crumbling". One of his major points was that the dollar devaluation was a terrible blow against US imperialism. (11) This line is echoed in his book Imperialism and latest central committee address. We must ask ourselves, what is the real situation? And does the position of Gus Hall help the bourgeoisie or the proletariat?

The Common Market and Japan represent, along with the Soviet Union and the USNA, the largest capitalist powers. The Common Market and Japan have both been carefully developed by USNA imperialism over the last twenty five years. This development has produced a contradiction between the bourgeoisies of Japan and Europe vs. the bourgeoisie of the USNA concerning who will control production and world markets. In other words, the bourgeoisies of Europe and Japan are beginning to stand on their own two feet for the first time in twenty five years. Does this represent a challenge to US imperialism? It certainly does, a serious one. But to determine how serious, we must examine the facts and determine whether resistance or submission is the primary aspect?

Japan has had a steady industrial growth of over 10% a year for the last 15 years. The Japanese bourgeoisie have become the second largest producing nation in the world and have constructed many barriers and tariffs against foreign commodities. Yet there still remain 180 USNA military bases on the Japanese islands. USNA nuclear submarines circle off the coast of Japan. During the last eighteen months the Japanese have been forced to revalue their currency 35% merely at the request of the US government.

Europe, or the enlarged Common Market, represents a similar situation. The EEC has twice the export capacity of the USNA and almost twice the automobile production. There is no doubt that the European bourgeoisie, and especially the French, would like to curtail USNA investment and presence not only in their national market, but especially in their old colonial possessions in Africa and Asia. But what is the situation again? During the international monetary crisis the European bourgeoisie was forced to back down and accept the USNA inflation on their backs. USNA short term assets overseas represent 250 billion dollars. The common European fund which is being gathered to protect European currencies is now at 1.4 billion and projected to be 10 billion by June. Further, what real say do the Europeans have with 300,000 USNA troops stationed in Europe, and the USNA advisors in control of the nuclear warheads for the NATO missiles?

The international monetary crisis has its roots in the law of value. In order for a commodity or medium of exchange to have value it must represent some socially necessary labor time. The USNA imperialists ignore this basic fact of political economy. They emerged from WWII the undisputed leader of the capitalist world. The dollar was the only stable currency (in other words each dollar represented a uniform amount of socially necessary labor). In order to maintain its position of domination of much of the world the USNA government was forced to spend large sums of money on military arms and bases. But the military outlay of the government, its massive debts to the banks, and its governmental spending within the USNA outstripped its intake through taxes, tariffs, loans, etc. Therefore, to make up for this deficit the government merely printed extra dollars. These bogus dollars lessened the worth of all dollars because there was a fixed amount of value and an expanding amount of dollars. In the last three years the government has printed fifty billion bogus dollars to pay its debts. For many years no one in the capitalist world could say anything about this because their entire

industrial and monetary situation was completely tied to the USNA. However, over the last five or ten years the bourgeoisies of Japan and Europe have reached a certain economic strength and independence and have begun to dream of their own place in the imperialist sun. Though they can now challenge the ability of the USNA to print these dollars at will, they still have to carefully guard that their currency is backed with value. In the meantime the USNA can merrily print its way to the domination of the world market.

The first challenge to the domination of the capitalist world market by the USNA imperialists came from the French. The entire Gaullist political movement had one overriding political direction, the development of the French bourgeoisie as a world imperialist leader. First deGaulle expelled the NATO troops. This was a must before they could make any serious challenge. Secondly, the French quietly accumulated gold of their own in Paris. (After WWII, all the European gold was seized by the USNA and shipped to Fort Knox, where it is still held by the USNA government; in this way the USNA government controls over half of the world's gold.) Finally, the French said that they wanted a halt of USNA capital coming into and buying up the photo chemical and the computer industries. They were being left with no industry of their own and a bank full of bogus dollars. The French finally demanded gold for their dollars. The USNA said 'no' and instead offered to print some special certificates or 'paper gold'. The French refused the 'paper gold'. The USNA then gave the French about \$100,000 worth of gold against a five billion dollar debt. The French had to back down, but this was the first major challenge to the USNA. Later the USNA completely removed the dollar from the gold standard.

The current money crisis stems from the fact that the dollar is not represented by gold, which is the international equivalent of socially necessary labor time. The reason there is a crisis is that the dollar is a medium of exchange in the circulation of commodities, yet when it does not represent the value it claims to represent, it cannot act as a medium of exchange. In spite of this the USNA imperialists are attempting to force the world to accept (with a gun at their head) the dollar as a medium of exchange when it actually represents only about 60% of the value it is supposed to represent.

The USNA imperialists are now trying to force the world market to pay for the bogus dollars through various finan-

Cont. on p. 15

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of the revolutionary movement into a common front against the common enemy, against imperialism....g) The formation of a common revolutionary front is impossible unless the proletariat of the oppressor nations renders direct and determined support to the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples against the imperialism of its 'own country' for 'no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations.'" (6)

Failure to expose the imperialists would be a flagrant chauvinist betrayal of the Vietnamese people's struggle against USNA imperialism. By shielding imperialism, it is in fact not the Communist League, but the October League that is refusing to support the Vietnamese people.

The October League calls us Trotskyites, but with calls of "unite all that can be united," and "unity of action," who is really joining with the Trots against the working class?

Let us analyze the meaning of the "unity" slogan. For Marxist-Leninists, the call for unity is the call for Communists 1) to unite the theories of Socialism with the working class, and 2) to build unity within the class. The OL confuses and distorts this line by advocating that the theories of Socialism be taken to the movement and not to the working class. They call for a united front of every trend in the movement, not for a united proletarian struggle. In short, they misrepresent the role of the conscious element, which is not to make the revolution, but to bring Socialist theories to the masses and to lead the insurrection. Revolution will be carried through by the working class.

Dimitroff shows that the proletarian can only be united by a proletarian Communist Party, "The united front of the proletariat brings to the fore an army of workers which will be able to carry out its mission if this army is headed by a leading force which will point out its aims and paths. This leading force can only be a strong proletarian, revolutionary party." (7)

The Communist League will unite with all Marxist-Leninists and honest revolutionary forces who want to build a Communist Party of a New Type that will take the theories of Socialism to the most advanced of the advanced sections of the USNA working class. But before there can be any unity, a clear delineation must be made of all differences. For as Lenin guides us, "Unity of the proletarian struggle for a

Socialist revolution demands now....an unconditional struggle between the worker's parties and the party of the opportunists." (8)

The Communist League will not unite with the revisionists and their conciliators who want to separate the Communist movement from the working class and sell out the revolution to the bourgeoisie.

Engels spoke of these people who in their loud cries of unity try to draw us away from the working class: "One must not allow oneself to be misled by the cry for 'unity.' Those who have this word most often on their lips are those who sow the most dissension.... Those unity fanatics are either people of limited intelligence who want to stir everything up together into one nondescript brew, which, the moment it is left to settle, throws up the difference again in much more acute opposition because they are now all together in one pot (you have a fine example of this in Germany with the people who preach the reconciliation of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie) - or else they are people who consciously or unconsciously.... want to adulterate the movement. For this reason the greatest sectarians and the biggest brawlers and rogues are at certain moments the loudest shouters for unity. Nobody in our lifetime has given us more trouble and been more treacherous than the unity shouters." (9)

What is the Marxist-Leninist position on Trotskyism? We have always held that the Trotskyites are counter-revolutionary agents whose role is to be the center and rallying point for the enemies of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Trotsky himself was an agent of the German fascists, actively trying to destroy the Socialist Revolution in the USSR. Trotskyism is not some incorrect trend within the Communist movement to be bargained with or argued with. Stalin makes clear that: "Trotskyism is not a political trend in the working class but a gang: without principle, without ideas, of wreckers, diversionists, intelligence service agents, spies, murderers, a gang of sworn enemies of the working class, working in the pay of intelligence services of foreign states." (10)

But apparently the OL does not agree with this. Wanting to unite the movement, they consider these agents part of "all those who can be united" against imperialism. In words they are against the Trotskyites, but in deeds they find them a viable force to argue, bargain and finally unite with.

Last spring in the Los Angeles Anti-Imperialist Coalition for the April 22

demonstration, the OL leadership took a fairly militant stand around the Trotskyites and united with other honest revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists on this question. Thus, the Anti-Imperialist Coalition refused to have anything to do with the Trots. But in this last "anti-war" action on January 20th, the OL(M-L), who were the leaders of the Anti-Imperialist Coalition, took a different stand. At one preparatory meeting, the chair (OL) raised the question of whether or not the Coalition should unite with the Trotskyites "for the sake of a larger, higher impact demonstration." The OL leadership present put up a militant fuss about how the Trots are sell-outs to the Vietnamese struggle, etc. However, despite their protestations, the OL leadership refused to oppose the proposal. Further, the CPUSA, bastion of world wide revisionism in the USNA, raised the point that in order to fight the "sectarianism" that has been dividing the Left movement, we should bury the hatchet for the sake of unity and unite with the Trotskyites (and quit attacking the CPUSA). The OL also refused to oppose or expose that line. They did not join with the honest revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists who exposed it as nothing but sheer trickery that would drag honest revolutionaries into the arms of the revisionist traitors. By not opposing the incorrect line, the OL effectively sided with the CPUSA and the Trots against the honest forces. Through struggle by the honest forces, the AIC decided not to deal with the Trots.

But that is not the half of it. As leadership of the Temporary Steering Committee, the OL called a meeting to further carry out the work of the AIC. But when comrades went to the designated place, it had been moved. And, it was not at the place to where it was supposed to have been moved either. Thus, by these underhanded methods, the OL succeeded in isolating the CL and other honest elements who had opposed uniting with the Trots and the CPUSA.

Up to this point the OL had united with the Trots and CPUSA by refusing to oppose them, but at a subsequent meeting, they, together with the RU, the CPUSA and others, arrived with a plan that flatly contradicted the earlier decision of the AIC. They had met with the Trots and had decided: 1) To share the final rallying point of the march and the speakers platform with the Trotskyites, 2) Not to attack the Trotskyites if the Trots would not attack the 9 point peace plan, and 3) Courteously to advertise the Trots' march route and meeting place on the Anti-Imperialist January 20th Committee's leaflet.

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The OL, the RU, and their godparent, the CPUSA, had blocked with the Trots against the honest revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninist forces in the Anti-Imperialist Coalition. Everywhere, the goal of the Trotskyites is counter-revolution. Thus, objectively this bloc was an attack on the struggles of the Vietnamese people and on the revolution in the USNA. It was a bloc with the agents of USNA imperialism and of Soviet social imperialism to bolster the fascist attacks of the USNA imperialists and to aid in the defeat of the world revolutionary struggles.

As can be seen, the OL does not agree with the Marxist-Leninist line on Trotskyism, but prefers to side with the revisionist CPUSA, seeing Trotskyism as a legitimate trend and not as a gang of murderers and spies. In discussing the Trots, all the CPUSA can say is: "Sectarianism, however, is clearly on the wane in the anti-war movement. The most serious difficulty we face in this regard is the stubborn opposition of the SWP-NPAC (Socialist Workers Party-National Peace Action Coalition) forces to the struggle to force Nixon to sign the peace accords." (11)

How can the OL oppose the revisionism of the CPUSA when they have chosen to be their conciliators?

Last spring in the Anti-Imperialist Coalition the OL mouthed the words of "anti-revisionist" and united with

the M-L forces in opposing the CPUSA when they wanted to join the AIC's contingent at the April 22 march. But in actual practice, when the CPUSA barged in with their banners flying it was the honest Marxist-Leninist forces who had to go over the OL leadership to kick out the CPUSA. The OL later criticized themselves for their liberalism. But this fall in the Anti-Imperialist Coalition meetings, the OL(M-L) openly accepted the CPUSA as a force to be united with. When the Marxist-Leninists and honest forces raised objection to the CPUSA, the OL sided with the CPUSA by ignoring the struggle. Their leadership even went so far as to chide a CL member for refusing to unite with the CPUSA.

Failing to draw a clear line of clear demarcation between revolution and counter-revolution, the line of the OL and that of the CPUSA of "unite all who can be united," even the Trotskyites, is identical. The CPUSA says, "Our job is to throw every force we can into this struggle to complement the strength of the Vietnamese people..." and "While we Communists are fighting for united action by all peace forces, and recognize the necessity of certain kinds of compromises in the interests of unity....This position of (of the Trots, ed.) seriously jeopardizes any continuing unity between NPAC and other peace forces." (12)

The OL paper says, "Secondly, we must take advantage of the present favorable conditions which exist in the

world today and unite all those that can be united into a broad united front directed against the system of imperialism and its policies." (13) And "For revolution to be successful in the U.S.,...the three weapons of revolution must be taken to oppose imperialism and its policies of war and fascism." (14)

The OL starts by considering the revisionists to be weak and harmless and the Trotskyites to be merely wrong Marxist-Leninists, rather than counter-revolutionary agents outside of the Communist movement. From this position the OL has moved to a position of alliance and collusion with them. The OL leadership balks at exposing the Trotskyites and revisionists; they call for unity with them. Lenin described this state of affairs in a similar situation:

"The attempt of the conciliators to unite at all costs with the Liquidators (the August Conference, 1912) proved fruitless, and the unifiers themselves became ideologically and politically dependent on the Liquidators." (15)

As Marxist-Leninists we carry out our proletarian internationalist duty by seeking the unity of all the Marxist-Leninist and honest revolutionary forces on the principled basis of Marxism-Leninism and the struggle against revisionism. Despite the efforts of the OL (M-L) to drag us away from the working class into the marsh of the movement, the motion

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and consolidation of the USNA state. The need to slaughter and subdue the Indian people was excused by the ideology of white supremacy, which later, with the consolidation of imperialism, became the ideology of white chauvinism.

"...white supremacy grew with Anglo-American expansionism. So long as there was no real economic use for white supremacy in the English colonies, it did not develop. As a matter of fact, leading Indians were presented to the courts of England and France as well as the Netherlands and Spain. It was only with the need to clear the western parts of the original colonies that the concept of white supremacy arose. 'Those sober virtuosos of Protestantism, the Puritans of New England, in 1703, by decrees of their assembly set a premium of 40 lbs. on every Indian scalp and every captured red-skin; in 172 a premium of 100 lbs. on every scalp; in 1744, after Massachusetts-Bay had proclaimed a certain tribe as rebels, the following prices: for a male prisoner 12 years and upwards 100 lbs. (new currency), for a male prisoner 105 lbs., women and children prisoners

50 lbs., for scalps of women and children 50 lbs... (Karl Marx)'. Now this is in the context of an economy where \$1 per week was considered a fairly good wage. Needless to say, in a relatively short time, the colonies were cleared of Indians. The scum of the earth had amassed fortunes that they invested in the new cheap lands and the saying, 'The only good Indian' became part of the Anglo-America language." (1)

And further,

"...the basis of the gigantic strength of USNA capitalism lies in the fact that the land was acquired by the slaughter of the Indians, that the primitive accumulation was provided by the slaves. Hence, the oppression and exploitation of Indians and African slaves became a matter of the utmost national economic importance." (2)

As the USNA capitalists set out to conquer the rich resources and potential producing capacity of western Anglo-America, they used the USNA cavalry and thousands of peasant immigrants from Europe to clear the way of all opposition. The primary resistance in vast regions of the western lands came from the Indian

peoples. An example of such resistance was the heroic victory of the Oglala Sioux in 1876 when they captured General George Custer and destroyed his forces of 267 cavalymen at the battle of the Little Bighorn River. Custer himself was later tried and executed by the survivors of the Indian camps he and his men had pillaged and burned. However, in 1890 the USNA military massacred over 200 Oglala Sioux at Wounded Knee. The military lay in wait until the men of the tribe had left, then came in and slaughtered the women and children. After the massacre the Indian people were driven from their land onto the Pine Ridge Reservation in Southwestern South Dakota.

The Oglala Sioux were allowed 4 million acres in reservation land. However, because of severe economic conditions and pressure by the capitalist state, the tribe was forced to "sell" its best farm land. At the moment, there are only 1.5 million acres of reservation land, which has little value other than scenic beauty and produces no income for the Indian people. Of the 115,000 acres of farm land that re-

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to oppose the forces of fascism and the disunity of the working class is growing daily. That motion is expressed in the Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists:

"It is out of this struggle for scientific socialism, for correct line, that the real unity of the revolutionary movement will develop in its highest form, a single organization that fights for the whole working class to overthrow imperialism. Lenin pointed out and history has confirmed that the Party of a New Type can only be built on the basis of the struggle against revisionism and opportunism (incorrect line). We don't want to unite purely for the sake of uniting, but for the sake of struggling for the correct line for the working class in the struggle against the U.S. monopoly capitalist class." (16)

On its own initiative the OL(M-L) has placed itself in the line of fire of the true Marxist-Leninists as we battle against revisionism to build a real Bolshevik Communist Party in the USNA. The OL leadership must bear the responsibility for becoming the target of assault instead of part of the firing squad. The Marxist-Leninists and honest revolutionaries in the USNA will not flinch in the face of their duty to fight for principle and clarity and victory for the dictatorship of the proletariat. "There is and can be no middle road."

.....

We should sum up our critique of the position of the October League (M-L). For those who watched the maturing of this "New Left" on the campuses during the 1960's, this is no difficult problem. Now, as then, they bubble forth in the vacuum created by the collapse of the Communist Party USA. At that time, they came forth with an open rejection of Marxism-Leninism. Now it is thinly veiled - a tactic demanded by the historically inevitable development of a multi-national Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

The essence of the policy of the "New Left," when they were opposing the construction of a Marxist-Leninist party from the confines of their campuses, was the unqualified support of the petty bourgeoisie who controlled the national liberation movement both within and without the USNA. Today that policy is couched in pseudo Marxist terms, but the content is exactly the same. These people - without history and indeed without social roots in the proletariat - see only the oppression of nations without seeing the classes and class struggle that is the generating force. We

Marxist-Leninists are duty bound to build a class party that is independent of and in opposition to all the bourgeois political parties.

Communists have a special role to play in history. We Communists have never taken credit for discovering the class struggle. We have never taken credit for being the only fighters against oppression. Lenin is clear when he points out that recognition of the class struggle is not enough to make a person a Communist. A Communist is distinct from other anti-capitalist fighters by recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is obvious that to tie the proletariat to the tail of the national bourgeoisie of the colonies is to render that strategy impossible. Hence, the tactic of the communist is not simply to support the petty bourgeoisie in their struggle against imperialism.

In his Preliminary Thesis on National-Colonial Question Lenin wrote: "...it is necessary to wage a determined struggle against painting the bourgeois-democratic liberation trend in backward countries in Communist colors; the Communist International must support the bourgeois-democratic national movements in colonial and backward countries only on the condition that the elements of future proletarian parties existing in all backward countries, which are not merely Communist in name, shall be grouped together and trained to appreciate their special tasks, viz., the tasks of fighting the bourgeois-democratic movements within their own nations; the Communist International must enter into a temporary alliance with bourgeois democracy in colonial and backward countries, but must not merge with it, and must unconditionally preserve the independence of the proletarian movement even in its most rudimentary form." (17)

Further Lenin points out, "A certain rapprochement has been brought about between the bourgeoisie of the exploiting countries and those of the colonial countries, so that very often, even in the majority of cases, perhaps, where the bourgeoisie of the oppressed countries does support the national movement, it simultaneously works in harmony with the imperialist bourgeoisie, i.e. it joins the latter in fighting against all revolutionary movements and revolutionary classes." (18)

Despite the fact that the Panama government is challenging the USNA imperialist occupation of the Canal Zone, the USNA imperialists find it in their favor to continue to send millions of dollars worth of tanks and guns to that country. This is true throughout all of Latin America except Chile, where military aid was only recently temporarily suspended.

The issue at hand is simply this - Should we support this developing flunky socialism of the rising national bourgeoisie, or should we struggle against the ravages of Khrushchev's revisionism and build a party of the class?

The following quote is the one time in their editorial that the OL (M-L) quoted from Lenin:

"To imagine that social revolution is conceivable without revolts by the small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without revolutionary outbursts by a section of the petty bourgeoisie with all its prejudices, without a movement of the politically non-conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against oppression by the landowners, the church and the monarchy, against national oppression, etc...to imagine all this is to repudiate social revolution!...Whoever expects a 'pure' social revolution will never live to see it. Such a person pays lip service to revolution without understanding what revolution is." ("The Discussion of Self-determination Summed up" Selection from V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin on the National and Colonial Question, Calcutta Book House p. 52) (19)

It is unfortunate for them that there are quite a few books of Lenin around and quite a few people to read them. Actually, Lenin was polemicizing against the Zimmerwald "Lefts" who characterized the Irish rebellion as a "purely urban petty bourgeois movement which, not withstanding the sensation it caused, had not much social backing." (20) Lenin was a revolutionary and the armed blow of a section of the "petty bourgeoisie and a section of the workers" (21) against the British imperialists naturally received his support and the support of all communists. It is unlikely that today Lenin would support a Jack Lynch, former Premier of Ireland, who is still trying to ride the coattails of that rebellion. Leninists support the "bourgeois liberation movements in the colonial countries only when these movements are really revolutionary." (22)

The leadership of the OL (ML) find common cause with the petty bourgeoisie of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. However, any revolutionary who understands the necessity of studying scientific socialism is hardly intimidated by their burps. If we could paraphrase Marx, "On the level plain, simple mounds look like hills; and the imbecile flatness of the present 'new left' is to be measured by the attitude of its great intellects!"

In the interest of clarity we would like to present the concluding paragraphs of Marx's Address to the Communist League.

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cial manipulations. One of these is called revaluation. Revaluation means that the other countries reduce the amount of their currency which can be exchanged for the dollar or in other words, 'revalue' upward their currency. This means that these governments would absorb USNA inflation. For instance, after a year of trading and investment, let us say that the W. Germans hold one billion dollars (which have been spent in W. Germany) and the USNA imperialists hold 3 billion marks. The dollars, due to their continuous inflation, are only worth about 60 percent of their official exchange rate. The Germans know this and insist that the USNA buy back its dollars with gold. The USNA laughs at this proposal as it would mean that they would absorb their own inflation and have to pay for all the bogus dollars. Instead, the USNA government insists that the German government change the official exchange rate from the original four marks to the dollar to three marks to the dollar. The other countries do not want to revalue their currency because in effect it makes their medium of exchange represent more socially necessary labor time than it really holds. This greatly hurts trade on the international market.

For example, let us take a clock made in Germany. After the capitalists pay out their constant and variable capital and collect their surplus value, the clock sells for 8 marks. When the clock is sold in the USNA it sells for 2 dollars, on the exchange rate of 4 marks to the dollar. One week the USNA imperialists force the German bourgeoisie to revalue their currency at 3 marks to one dollar. Now this revaluation generally pertains to international trade and is not representative of the real world because the German bourgeoisie has not added 25% more value to their gold reserves, but have merely adopted a new exchange rate. The German bourgeoisie cannot go before their workers and say "Last night we revalued the currency and so everyone will take a 25% wage cut in the medium of exchange, i.e. money." Therefore, they either have to reduce the amount of surplus value they get or exploit the workers harder. For the clocks which are continuing to be made at 8 marks expense (including surplus value) in Germany, are sold in the USNA, they are sold at almost three dollars, or a rise of one dollar in price with no rise in value. Thus, the clocks are overpriced and not competitive with other clocks whose prices generally correspond with their value.

Of course, this revaluation is not at all popular with the

bourgeoisies of the other countries. In 1971 during the first of the recent dollar crises, the bourgeoisies all met and at USNA insistence promised that if they did not have to revalue their currency on a large percentage, they would guarantee the exchange rate of the dollar. In other words to use our example of Germany, they would always give 4 marks for the dollar no matter how many dollars entered the money exchange offices.

The USNA imperialists are constantly trying to create value at the printing press. So far, they are successfully passing their economic crisis onto the backs of the rest of the capitalist world. Another way they do this is through devaluation.

Devaluation means to lower the rate at which dollars are exchanged for foreign currency. Once again, the root of the problem is that USNA currency is printed at a higher rate than value is gathered to back it up and, therefore, its role as the representative of commodities is questionable. This is represented in inflated prices of USNA goods on the world market. Devaluation is a stop gap measure to correct this situation. A clock made in the USNA for \$2.00 and selling in Germany for 8 marks is suddenly made for \$2.00 and sold for 6 marks. This puts the bogus dollars in a stronger position because USNA commodities are all under the price of the European and Japanese goods. This produces the same effect as if the other countries were to revalue. Now who pays for the devaluation?

The bankers know months ahead of time when the devaluation will take place. Therefore, before the devaluation they exchange their dollars for some currency which will not be devalued, which is strongly backed by gold, for instance Swiss francs or German marks. They exchange at the normal rate, converting billions of dollars into the stable currency. This is referred to as "the run on the dollar." After the devaluation the bankers turn their francs or marks back into dollars, thus ending up with more dollars than ever before.

For example, 100 dollars is converted into 400 marks before devaluation. The dollar is then devalued 25 percent. The marks are then converted back into dollars, yielding \$125. Therefore, the devaluation does not hurt the bankers one bit. The weight of the devaluation falls on the backs of the proletarian and peasant masses in the form of higher taxes, higher prices and lower real wages.

The main question for revolutionaries is what does this money crisis mean? Certainly it indicates a serious weakness in the financial

circles of the capitalist world. This financial crisis is following on the heels of an agricultural crisis. But the primary aspect remains that the USNA imperialists can still throw their crisis onto the backs of the lesser imperialists and onto the backs of the colonies. The revisionists maintain a line that says the contradictions of capitalism are bringing capitalism down. It is the naivete of the younger revolutionaries which the opportunists prey on. Wanting to see the defeat of USNA imperialism, and unclear of the real current world situation or history, they fall into subjective wishes, grasping every straw that indicates imperialism's weakness.

Gus Hall has a special interest in overestimating the dollar crisis and that is to lull the proletariat to sleep, to make them think the revolution is around the corner. This money situation, along with the entire world situation, is serious for the USNA imperialists. But USNA imperialism rules the non-socialist world. They control over half the oil and gold reserves, retain all of South and Central America as their reserves, along with much of Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

Now the question must be asked, why does Gus Hall present the picture in a different way? First of all, the revisionists represent the strength of imperialism as the weakness of imperialism. There is no denying that there are certain internal contradictions which are ripping capitalism apart, but will it collapse automatically of its own weight? No, as Leontiev says, "We already know that capitalism will not go off the stage on its own initiative, that it will not collapse automatically. We know that all the theories of the automatic collapse of capitalism only bring untold harm to the cause of the working class, lulling its will to the long persistent struggle which is necessary in order to triumph over the exploiters. No sharpening of the contradictions of capitalism creates a situation where the bourgeoisie can find absolutely no way out. Only a persistent struggle will decide the collapse of the capitalist system." (12)

And as Stalin points out, "The victory of the revolution never comes by itself. It has to be prepared for and won. Only a strong proletarian revolutionary party can prepare for and win victory." (13)

This is precisely the question. When the imperialists are strong, the revisionists say they are weak. When the imperialists are weak, the revisionists say they are

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strong, continually attempting to confuse and disorient the revolutionary proletariat. USNA imperialism can and will be defeated, but the preliminary battle is the exposure and defeat of the opportunist defenders of imperialism and the creation of a party of the proletariat.

The fact that the Communist League has never given one inch to the opportunists has brought us a great deal of abuse and hatred from them. This does not bother us in the slightest. Why is it that these fellows oppose building the Party in the manner in which Lenin and Stalin did? Instead of trying to construct a network of agents around a national newspaper, they are proposing a united front of the Left. Instead of setting up factory circles and teaching the principles of scientific socialism to the most advanced workers, they prefer to make movies of themselves and announce the insurrection from a news conference. The opportunists do not want to push forward to build a Communist Party. They yearn for the good old days of a giant student movement complete with privileges for the leadership.

They call us 'sectarian.' But, it is not the Communist League who is sectarian. 'Sectarian' means to keep away from the working class, to isolate oneself from the working class. No serious person could accuse the Communist League of this. We have done more to take the opportunist's line to the class (through the polemics in the People's Tribune) than they have. They use these words without knowing their meaning, just Marxist phrases smeared on SDS and SNCC. The opportunists

yelp that we do not spend more time in the 'movement.' They consider the revolution to be made by the movement. We do not. Leninism teaches that the masses are the makers of history. We work in the movement, but only as a part of the overall class struggle. It is in no way sectarian to refuse to work with the Trotskyites. The Trotskyites are not the working class. But to those who have no real idea of what the working class is or what proletarian revolution means, these basic concepts become muddled.

For revolutionaries to overestimate the strength of the imperialists is dangerous, to underestimate the strength of the imperialists is just as dangerous.

- 1) Hall, Imperialism, Int. Pub., N.Y., 1972, p. 88.
- 2) Hall, Lame Duck in Troubled Waters, Int. Pub., N.Y., 1972, p. 12.
- 3) Lenin, "Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism," Ten Classics, Int. Pub., N.Y., 1940, pp. 40-42.
- 4) Ibid., p. 40.
- 5) Stalin, Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR, Int. Pub., N.Y., 1953, p. 52.
- 6) Hall, Op. Cit., p. 89.
- 7) Jenson, The Common Market, London, 1967, p. 24.
- 8) Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 18, Int. Pub., N.Y., 1930, pp. 270-71.
- 9) Albania Today, #2, 1972, Tirana, p. 53.
- 10) Ten Classics, Op. Cit., p. p.83.
- 11) Hall, House of Imperialism is Crumbling, Int. Pub., N.Y., 1972, p. 8.
- 12) Leontiev, Political Economy, Moscow, 1934, p. 285.
- 13) Stalin, Report on the Work of the Central Committee of the CPSU 17th Congress, Moscow, p. 17.

the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The BIA is that part of the state apparatus which oversees the severe exploitation and oppression of the Indian peoples.

Upon examining the concrete history of the slaughter and domination of the Indian peoples and their denial of even the minimal democratic rights and freedoms at the hands of the USNA imperialists we see clearly that the Indian question is an integral part of the national colonial question. From the point of view of the revolutionary proletariat, in order for the unity of the class to be achieved, the demand for full democracy and equality for the Indian people must be raised. In opposition to the "cultural freedoms" being offered by the bourgeoisie and echoed by its adjunct the CPUSA, the battle for the democratic rights of the Indian peoples is fundamentally a question of land, of territory. Concretely, it is a question of regional autonomy. The correctness of regional autonomy as a method for insuring de-

mocracy 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 nations, 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 national 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 an essential element in the solution of the national problem." (3)

From this point of view, the Communist League fully supports the just demands put forth by the Indian peoples. It is obvious that the abolishment of the fascist Bureau of Indian Affairs and a review of the series of broken treaties are essential in the battle for democratic rights.

The revolutionary demand for regional autonomy as part of the general struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat entails the full exposure of the imperialist's kind of "regional autonomy", which in essence means the perpetuation of the evil reservation system and the further enslavement of the Indian peoples.

In the battle for the unity of our class, there is the added danger of chauvinism cloaked in "revolutionary" slogans. This line puts forth the position that as long as imperialism exists there is no point in fighting for the immediate demand of regional autonomy for the Indian peoples. In opposition to this treacherous line, the Communist League stands with the position of Lenin who clearly stated the correct position of communists on the national colonial question in general:

"In the international education of the workers of the oppressor countries, emphasis must necessarily be laid on their advocating freedom for the oppressed countries to recede and their fighting for it. Without this there can be no internationalism. It is our right and duty to treat every

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main, 83 percent is leased to non-Indians and another 40 percent of the grazing land on the reservation is leased to big ranchers. So while the Oglala Sioux live destitute on a worthless piece of land, they are surrounded by wealthy corporation farms and ranches that used to be held by the tribe.

Of the 13,000 Indian people who live on the reservation, 54 percent are unemployed. Even those who are employed receive so little that nearly all families are forced to live on welfare. The average yearly family income is \$1,900. There is only one factory on the reservation, a roccasin factory owned by Sunbell Corporation of Albuquerque, New Mexico. The factory employs about 300 people full-time and a few on a part-time and piece work basis. These miserable conditions under which the Indian people are forced to live are consciously controlled by

Reply

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"The first point on which the bourgeois democrats will come into conflict with the workers will be the abolition of feudalism. As in the first French Revolution, the petty bourgeois will give the feudal lands to the peasants as free property, that is to say, try to leave the rural proletariat in existence and form a petty bourgeois peasant class which will go through the same cycle of impoverishment and indebtedness which the French peasant is now going through.

"The workers must oppose this plan in the interests of the rural proletariat and in their own interests. They must demand that the confiscated feudal property remain state property and be converted into labour colonies cultivated by the associated rural proletariat with all the advantages of large scale agriculture, through which the principle of common property immediately obtains a firm basis in the midst of the tottering bourgeois property relations. Just as the democrats combine with the peasants so must the workers combine with the rural proletariat. Further, the democrats will work either directly for the federated republic or, at least, if they cannot avoid the single and indivisible republic, they will attempt to cripple the central government by the utmost possible autonomy and independence on the part of the municipalities and provinces. The workers, in opposition to this plan, must not only strive for the single and indivisible German republic, but also strive in it for the most decisive centralization of power in the hands of the state authority. They must not allow themselves to be led astray by the democratic talk of freedom for the municipalities, of self-government, etc. In a country like Germany where there are so many relics of the Middle Ages to be abolished, where there is so much local and provincial obstinacy to be broken, it must under no circumstances be permitted that every village, every town, and every province should put a new obstacle in the path of revolutionary activity, which can proceed in all its force only from the centre. It is not to be tolerated that the present state of things should be renewed, whereby Germans must fight separately for one and the same advance in every town and in every province. Least of all is it to be tolerated that there should be perpetuated by a so-called free municipal constitution a form of property, namely municipal property, which still lags behind modern private property and which everywhere is necessarily passing

into the latter, together with the quarrels resulting from it between poor and rich municipalities, as well as the municipal civil law, with its trickery against the workers, that exists alongside of state civil law. As in France in 1793 so today in Germany the carrying through of the strictest centralization is the task of the really revolutionary party.

"We have seen how the democrats will come to power with the next movement, how they will be compelled to propose more or less socialist measures. It will be asked what measures the workers ought to propose in reply. At the beginning of the movement, of course, the workers cannot yet propose any directly communist measures. But they can:

"Compel the democrats to interfere in as many spheres as possible of the existing social order, to disturb its regular course and to compromise themselves, as well as to concentrate the utmost possible productive forces, means of transport, factories, railways, etc., in the hands of the state;

"They must drive the proposals of the democrats, who in any case will not act in a revolutionary but in a merely reformist manner, to the extreme and transform them into direct attacks against private property; thus, for example, if the petty bourgeois propose purchase of the railways and factories shall be simply confiscated by the state without compensation as being the property of reactionaries. If the democrats propose proportional taxes, the workers must demand progressive taxes; if the democrats themselves put forward a moderate progressive tax, the workers must insist on a tax with rates which rise so steeply that large-scale capital is ruined by it; if the democrats demand the regulation of state debts, the workers demand state bankruptcy. Thus, the demands of the workers must everywhere be governed by the concessions and measures of the democrats.

"If the German workers are not able to attain power and achieve their own class interests without completely going through a lengthy revolutionary development, they have at least the certainty this time that the first act of this approaching revolutionary drama coincides with the direct victory of their own class in France and will be very much accelerated by it.

"But they themselves will have to do the most for their final victory by becoming enlightened as to their class interests, by taking up their own independent party position as soon as possible and by not allowing themselves for a single moment to be led astray from the independent organizations of the party of the proletariat

by the hypocritical phrases of the democratic petty bourgeois. Their battle-cry must be: permanent revolution." (23)

- 1) Lenin, "Bourgeois Pacifism and Socialist Pacifism," Lenin on War and Peace, FLPP, 1966, pp. 85-86.
- 2) Chicago Tribune, Section 2, 3/4/73.
- 3) Newsweek, 3/26/73, p. 17.
- 4) Chicago Sun Times, 3/18/73.
- 5) Newsweek, 3/26/73, p. 16
- 6) Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, Int. Pub., 1939, pp. 82-3.
- 7) Dimitroff, United Front Against Fascism, New Century Publishers, 1935, p. 83.
- 8) Lenin, "And Now What?: Tasks of the Workers Parties Relative to Opportunism and Social Chauvinism," Works, Vol. XVIII, Int. Pub., N.Y., 1930, p. 106.
- 9) Marx, Sel. Works, Vol. II, "F. Engels to August Bebel," London, June 20, 1873.
- 10) Stalin, Mastering Bolshevism, New Century Pub., 1946, p. 12.
- 11) Dynamite Hallinan, "Build the Pressure for Peace," Peoples World, 1/20/73, p. M-2.
- 12) Ibid.
- 13) "Building a New Communist Party in the US, Part I, The Call."
- 14) Ibid.
- 15) Lenin, "Disruption of Unity Under Cover of Outcries for Unity," Lenin Against Revisionism, FLPH, Moscow, 1959, p. 200.
- 16) "Call for a Conference, Conference Preparatory Committee, 11/19/72.
- 17) Lenin, Works, Int. Pub., 1943, p. 236.
- 18) Ibid., p. 241.
- 19) Peoples Tribune, Vol 5 #7.
- 20) Lenin, Works, Int. Pub., Vol. 5, p. 302.
- 21) Ibid., p. 303.
- 22) Lenin, Works, "Commission Report on National Colonial Question," Vol. X, p. 241.
- 23) Marx, Sel. Works, "Address of Central Committee to Communist League," pp. 166-67.

Wounded Knee

Cont. from p. 16

Social-Democrat of an oppressor nation who fails to conduct such propaganda as a scoundrel and an imperialist. This is an absolute demand, even where the chance of secession being possible and "practicable" before the introduction of socialism is only one in a thousand." (4)

- (1) Negro National Colonial Question, Communist League, p. 70.
- (2) ibid., p. 71.
- (3) Stalin, J., Marxism and The National Question, Intl. Pub., New York, 1942, p. 64.
- (4) "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up", Selections From V.I. Lenin & J.V. Stalin on the National Colonial Question, Calcutta Book House, 1970, p. 46.