

PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE



Vol. 5, No. 6
July, 1973

"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

Donation 5c

Support the Struggle of the Farmworkers

On Saturday, July 21, 4,000 farmworkers and supporters held a rally and march in Delano, California, the birthplace of the Farmworkers Movement. The demonstration marched through the conservative downtown section of Delano under the watchful eye of the Facts Finding Committee (John Birch Society Organization) and several Teamster officials. The march culminated in a nearby park where there were speakers representing the Los Angeles and Bay Area Teamsters for the Farmworkers, the United Auto Workers, the United Teachers of Los Angeles, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and at least a dozen other unions.

The CPUSA was clearly in evidence along with their allies and friends the Trotskyite dogs and several conciliator organizations.

The revisionist CPUSA is moving in the classical manner by uniting the petty-bourgeoisie and labor aristocracy which are mainly Anglo-American with the Farmworkers Movement. The People's Tribune has correctly pointed out:

"Throughout the history of the Left in the USNA, the Syndicalist intellectuals have seen to it that the division of labor is that the blacks fight, get their heads busted, go to jail or get killed while the white intellectuals do the thinking. They have seen to it that the concept of black-white unity actually means unity of the white petty bourgeois intellectuals in the leadership, with the black toilers. In this formulation

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Watergate:

Political Crisis Escalates

The latest events in the Watergate hearings indicate that the legislative and executive branches of the government are heading on a collision course. Both the Senate Watergate Committee and the special Watergate prosecutor have subpoenaed President Nixon to surrender tapes and papers related to the Watergate scandal. President Nixon refused to honor the subpoenas using the excuse of executive privilege, and now both the committee and the prosecutor are moving separately to have the courts order

Nixon to produce the tapes and papers.

The bourgeois press and the traitorous CPUSA would have us believe that this is a struggle between reaction and democracy, that Senator Sam Ervin has become the crusador of democracy in spearheading the exposures of the Watergate scandal. The stage has also been set for further exposures on secret bombings in Cambodia and North Vietnam. However, is there all of a

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Communist League Celebrates 5th Anniversary

August, 1973 marks the fifth anniversary of the founding of the Communist League. With the coming of this occasion and in light of the work ahead, we should seriously look at what has brought us in the Communist League to this point in history and what tasks are now ahead of us.

Starting out five years ago with only eleven comrades in Watts, California, we have now grown into a national organization of over 200 Marxist-Leninists. This has been possible for one reason: the consistent struggle for clarity on the line of Marxism-Leninism applied to the situation in the USNA. From our inception, this struggle has been waged both by the CL and by the "new left." The two lines on Party building have from the beginning been in opposition to one another. On the one hand, the line of the CL is the line of Lenin which states that the Party is built of conscious elements, and on the other hand, the line of the "new left" Mensheviks states that the party arises

from the mass spontaneous movement. The line of Marxism-Leninism, which five years ago was the line of the minority, is now beginning to emerge as the line of the majority.

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BREZHNEV BETRAYS SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Leonid Brezhnev, arch traitor to the Soviet Union, renegade from the world Communist movement, had his 47 moments of glory. On June 24, 1973 he spoke to the various classes and peoples of the USNA on television.

Just as Nixon, admittedly, would not dare to say to the peoples of the USNA the things he said to the Soviet people during his visit to the USSR, Brezhnev would not dare say to the Soviet peoples the things he said here. We cannot go deeply into the history of betrayal by the Khrushchev-Brezhnev gang, but we can refute a few of the lies and restate the reasons for those lies.

First of all, Brezhnev mentioned the "cold war" as if that were some political policy of madmen of the past. The cold war was the continuation of USNA imperialist politics that has ruled the foreign policy of this country since the late 1800's. The "cold war" was not simply simply a policy; it was the logical and inevitable extension of imperialist economics. The need of such economics was to block the rise of the working class in Europe after the defeat of Germany in World War II. If Brezhnev and any of his gang were Leninists, they would be able to see that the present "detente" phase of USNA imperialism is simply the opposite side of the "cold war." The goals are the same: first, the containment, and now the roll back of Communism in Europe, including the USSR.

Later, Brezhnev said, "We jointly won the war; today our joint efforts must help mankind with a durable peace." We would like to remind this renegade of a few facts of history. First of all, the average G.I. did indeed feel united with the Red Army. The affection of the average G.I. for "Uncle Joe" Stalin and the Red Army was enough to stop the carefully laid plans of the military and political leaders who intended to attack the extended Red Army with combined German, English, French and American troops. But do not be misled. It is the military, industrial, and political leaders that Brezhnev is praising, not the G.I. who upset their plans with the "bring the boys home" campaign. We would like to remind Brezhnev that the former president of the USNA, Truman, as a leading senator, outlined his policy as regards the war between the fascists and the peoples of the Soviet Union. Truman said, "We should help whoever is losing so as to let them bleed each other

white." As for who won the war - General MacArthur, an admitted arch reactionary, was forced to say, "The banner of civilization rests on the worthy shoulders of the Fed Army." Surely no one would equate the 342 divisions of the most savage fascist troops that Hitler could muster to hurl against the USSR with the 12 divisions that were used against the Americans in Europe. No one can deny that the Soviet Union lost more soldiers in any of a dozen battles than the USNA lost during the entire war. No, Mr. Brezhnev, the war was won by the 20,000,000 Soviet civilians, partisans, and uniformed fighting men who laid down their lives in the defense of the Soviet Union.

Brezhnev further stated, "The improvement of Soviet-American relations undoubtedly played its useful role in promoting the termination of the long drawn out war in Vietnam." This farce of the USSR leaders pretending that the war in Vietnam is over is simply a further sell-out of the anti-imperialist struggle. That war is far from over and cannot end until the correct slogan of the patriotic forces of Vietnam has become a reality. That slogan, "Defend the North, liberate the South and unite the motherland," is not idle political jargon, but a recognition of the basic and only possible context for ending the war. Lenin long ago proved and history has confirmed that imperialism and the imperialist wars that attend it are not the policy of this or that financier, but the inevitable outgrowth of capitalism. Yes, the revisionist clique in the USSR leadership did play a role in extracting USNA imperialism from its historic defeat in Vietnam. That role was played over a long period of time, a period that saw the Vietnamese fighting forces becoming more and more dependent on Soviet supplies for conventional warfare - and hence, more and more dependent upon Soviet policy. That policy cannot help but be a policy of capitulation and surrender of the interests of the working class.

Brezhnev's reference to Nixon as a man seeking peace is too much to bear. The truth is that Nixon is a thief: he stole over one million dollars from the Republican Party campaign fund to buy his estate in San Clemente. He is an extortionist as in demanding \$100,000 from American Airlines as a campaign contribution, in direct opposition to the election law. He is a conspirator as in the Watergate scandal. Above all he is a murderer and warmaker. How can Brezh-

nev call this butcher a peaceful man? Ask the residents of Hanoi. Ask the crucified peoples of Angola and Mozambique. Ask those who have survived the torture chambers of Brazil. They can tell you the truth. The truth is that Nixon is the imperialist chieftain of the most ruthless blood-thirsty, money gouging slave driving gang of bandits that ever swaggered on the face of the earth.

Brezhnev and his gang suffer from the same disease as Kautsky and the rest of the revisionists. They are subjectivists - they declare that imperialism is a policy, and as a policy, it can be changed. This is why Brezhnev's ugly stepchild, the CPUSA, declared, "Summit Charts Path to Firm World Peace." What kind of peace? Peace between slaves and masters? Peace between colonies and imperialists? It is obvious what Brezhnev, Nixon and the CPUSA are all saying. "This is the best of all possible worlds, so let's unite to preserve it." However, class struggle - including imperialist wars are an objective law of history and it will be the people who will chart a course toward peace by uniting to overthrow the imperialists, the revisionists and the rest of the pygmies who attempt to stand in the way of the masses who are marching toward Socialism.

LITERATURE

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Nationalization:

Bourgeois Attempt to Prevent Socialism

Nationalization is being presented to the workers and oppressed peoples of the world as being the road towards socialism, whether it be in an imperialist country, such as Great Britain, or in the colonies, as in the case of Chile. But, in actuality, nationalization is an attempt by the bourgeoisie to prevent an inevitable socialist revolution. However, we, as Communists, must view nationalization in a dialectical manner. Under certain conditions we support the process of nationalization and under other conditions we do not. Basically, nationalization is a question of state power, the fundamental question of all revolutions.

There are those who would tell the working class that it must unite with the leadership of the petty-bourgeoisie in a "New Peoples Party" (1) because "...the petty bourgeoisie is now subjected to nearly the same exploitation as the working class." (2) And moreover, "A regime dominated by members of the petty bourgeoisie accords with the transition stage, after which, apparently, elements committed to more consistent class positions will also come into the leadership....It would therefore be wrong to regard the progressive regimes, resulting from the successes of the liberation struggle, as petty bourgeois. Despite the absence of working class representatives in the government, nationalist revolutionaries took social, economic and political steps objectively in the interests of workers and peasants." (3) This program manifests itself in the conception that nationalization is a 'great victory' of the anti-imperialist struggle.

This conception is incorrect.

Nationalization under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is not an act which communists support as a step towards socialism as do the revisionists in their program of "peaceful transition to socialism," i.e., once the state has nationalized production, all that needs to be done is to get revisionists elected to government positions in order to 'take over' the state.

However, "politics is a concentrated expression of economics." The economic reasons for nationalization in capitalist countries were stated by Engels in 1892, "In the trusts, freedom of competition changes into its very opposite - into monopoly; and the production without any definite plan of capitalistic society capitulates to the

production upon a definite plan of the invading socialistic society. Certainly this is so far still to the benefit and advantage of the capitalists. But in this case the exploitation is so palpable that it must break down. No nation will put up with production conducted by trusts, with so barefaced an exploitation of the community by a small band of dividend mongers.

"In any case, with trusts or without, the official representative of capitalist society - the State - will ultimately have to undertake the direction of production. (*I say 'have to.' For only when the means of production and distribution have actually outgrown the form of management by joint-stock companies, and when, therefore, the taking them over by the State has become economically inevitable, only then - even if it is the State of today that effects this - is there an economic advance, the attainment of another step preliminary to the taking over of all productive forces by society itself.)" (4) From this statement we can see that ultimately the contradictions of capitalism will be brought to a head by nationalization.

However, immediately, it is a tactic of the bourgeoisie which is profitable and to their advantage. Coupled with bribery and the line of revisionism, this can result in the loss of independence of the proletarian politics by tying the proletariat to the coattails of the liberal bourgeoisie or the democratic petty bourgeoisie. Karl Marx, in speaking to the program of petty bourgeois democracy, says, "As to the working men - well, they should remain wage workers: for whom, however, the democratic party would procure higher wages, better labour conditions, and a secure existence. The democrats hope to achieve that partly through State and municipal management and through welfare institutions. In short they hope to bribe the working class in quiescence, and thus weaken their revolutionary spirit by momentary concessions and comforts." (5)

Britain, the first large imperialist country, has now nationalized most of its basic industry. Under the leadership of the Labor Party, oil companies, airline companies, steel companies, the coal industry, the railroads, the mail and telephone services, electricity, travel agencies, hotels, restaurants, and pubs have been nationalized. But Engels said, nationalization

National Guard Called Out In Puerto Rico

As the crisis of USNA imperialism gets worse, most of the burden of this crisis gets shifted to the backs of the colonial workers. Puerto Rico is no exception. In an earlier issue of the People's Tribune it was reported that in the first half of 1972, strikes or threatened strikes involved some 75,000 workers in Puerto Rico. This spontaneous fightback of the proletariat has not slackened, but is increasing.

In the early part of July, the Electrical Workers and Firemen went on strike. Picket lines had been set up in the vicinity of the Central Office of Firemen. In order to break the strike National Guardsmen were called out in full riot gear. Fighting broke out several times during the day with two firemen being very seriously wounded. Reinforcements of the National Guard were sent in during the evening and the whole area where the strikers were picketing was cordoned off so that the firemen could get no support.

A settlement was even reached by the Electrical Workers Union, but rejected by the workers in a mass meeting. On July 11th, a four hour general strike was called by several organizations to support the striking firemen and electrical workers.

We, the proletariat of the Anglo-American nation, must also support the struggle of these workers in Puerto Rico. One way is to call for the removal of all USNA troops. The bourgeois press has deliberately not been reporting on the situation in Puerto Rico to keep us in ignorance of the struggle of our class brothers and sisters. But in spite of all the bourgeoisie's tricks, our common struggle to overthrow USNA imperialism will unite us.

It is obvious that conditions for revolution in Puerto Rico are maturing. The one factor that is lacking, which would link the struggle of the Puerto Rican proletariat with those of the Anglo-American nation, the Negro Nation and the Southwest, is a multi-national Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO!

BUILD A MULTI-NATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY!

Capitalists Murder Workers

On March 2, 1973, in Virginia, a 24 story building collapsed crushing to death 14 workers and critically wounding 34 others. We ask the question - how could this catastrophe happen with all the advanced construction techniques available? The capitalists would have us believe that every time a worker gets hurt or killed it's because of carelessness. The revisionists, under the leadership of the CPUSA tell us we must put the blame on "faulty material" and not on the capitalist class' drive for maximum profits.

The Miller and Long Construction Company, who are part of the Associated Builders and Contractors (an anti-union organization), in their thirst for profits, removed stabilizing concrete forms from the 23rd floor of the unfinished building too soon. These forms are used to secure the wet concrete until it dries. After removing these forms, the Miller and Long Co. placed heavy machinery on the wet floors, causing the wet concrete to buckle under the weight and sending the machines crashing through 23 floors and totally destroying the building.

After the smoke and rubble were cleared, the death count began. The company had pushed the job too fast and did so at the cost of safety. This sent 14 workers plummeting to their deaths and destined 34 others to be broken and maimed.

This was not the first time that the Miller and Long Co. had created unsafe working conditions. They had been warned on other occasions by the U.S. Department of Labor to provide better and safer conditions for their employees, but they continued to ignore these warnings.

The capitalist class understands that the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie serves them and never has any intentions of "penalizing" "their" companies for injuring or even killing workers. The bourgeoisie and the revisionists would have us believe that the U.S. Department of Labor serves the workers and not the capitalists. But what did these "lovers of the working class" do about the 14 deaths? They fined the company \$13,000, about one day's profit! This disgusting pacification, a mere slap on the wrists, is not

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Gus Hall on Watergate and Brezhnev's Visit CPUSA Defends Imperialists

On June 30th of this year, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the CPUSA, delivered a dull, but significant speech in Chicago, Illinois, encompassing the Party's line on Watergate and the Brezhnev summit meeting with Nixon. The significance of this speech lies not in the correctness and analytical nature of the speech, but rather in the exposition of the CPUSA for what it is: a liberal, class collaborating, bourgeois party. The speech deserves comment solely because of the effect of the revisionists on the working class movement. The ideology of revisionism reaches far and wide and it must be exposed so we can unite the working class, build a real Communist Party and go on to a victorious socialist revolution.

Hall's analysis of the Watergate affair is very similar to that of the bourgeois press. He pointed to the scandalous nature of the affair, to the role of "big business" in the affair and the push that Watergate represents toward what Hall termed a "government within a government." In past People's Tribunes, we have stated the reasons for the Watergate scandal. It is not just an ordinary scandal, but rather is a result of the contradictions within the ruling class itself. The CPUSA's analysis of the Watergate affair is cursory and superficial and does not expose the contradictions in capitalism in order to raise the consciousness of the proletariat, but instead covers up the situation so as to paralyze the class from taking any real revolutionary action.

Hall said that "big business" is behind the Watergate affair, that Watergate is a ploy for big business to make more profits. How this is done, and exactly who big business is, was not explained. In fact, Hall had a hard time spitting out the word imperialists. He would much rather speak of "big business" which does not at all explain the social relations that exist under capitalism and "cleverly" disguises the class nature of the state.

What does a "government within a government" really mean? Why is this situation unique to the USNA? In the traditional CPUSA style of "American Exceptionalism" Hall declared that the push toward fascism in this country will take a different form than it has taken in the other countries that have had fascist governments. He said the state form is "na-

tional in form, but fascist in content." What does that mean? He never discussed that.

He blamed the Democratic Party for not taking a militant stand against Watergate, and warned the liberals in this country that their day of persecution would come. He spoke of the "invisible" government, for example, the National Security Commission, and said that Nixon has too much power; that obviously the Executive branch of the government has outstripped the other branches of the government. Hall's bomb shell was the thrilling and suspenseful "T-day." That is "take-over day," when the government will scrap the constitution and round-up all those "liberals" and "communists" who do not agree or accept the "new state form." Of course there will have been signs of this take-over: executive power allowing for creeping fascism. On and on he rambled without saying anything, and at the same time, saying a lot. He made it very clear that what we need is a broad peoples' movement. We need not a class party, but a labor based political party, a party that represents the interests of all classes, even "small business" who is being pushed out of the picture. He said that we need a party that will be a forum where the liberals can continue to control the working class. This is the same slogan that Hubert Humphrey has been pushing since 1948! Hall called for stripping the Executive branch of its power, in essence allowing Senator Fulbright to lead our class. Fulbright has been screaming about limiting Executive power for years. Hall called for doing away with loan sharks, racism and anti-communism.

One thing he advocated that had some validity was the impeachment of Nixon and new elections. One reason the CPUSA adopted this slogan was because of the work the CL has done around Watergate. For example, a Teamster local on the West Coast unanimously passed a CL sponsored resolution calling for Nixon's resignation and new elections. In addition organizing work in other unions from coast to coast and other working class organizations has been carried out. Sorry, General Secretary Hall, you stole it from us! But in stealing, Hall raised this slogan in such a manner that gave absolutely no direction to the working class.

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U.S.N.A. WORKERS:

Support Cambodian People

In the last six months the USNA imperialists have intensified their bombing attacks on Cambodia in an effort to destroy the revolutionary forces within the country. Fighter bombers and B-52's have been dropping hundreds of bombs each day on densely populated areas around Phnom Penh, the capital, along main highways and along the Mekong River. Despite this, the liberation forces have control of the major roads going into the city and also the Mekong River, making it difficult for USNA supply convoys to reach the capital. 90% of the territory of Cambodia remains liberated. This area contains 80% of the population. Some units of the Cambodian puppet Army have refused to fight, while others will not move without USNA air support. It has been said that the fascist Lon Nol puppet regime would be routed if it were not for the massive USNA bombings.

The Lon Nol regime is faced with a deepening military and political crisis. Mass arrests, purges in the government, torture and executions have taken place. Newspapers have been banned and inflation has risen sky high. On February 5, 1973 over 40,000 Phnom Penh workers went on strike against harsh exploitation and fascist rule, causing a shut down in all the big factories.

The USNA imperialists and the Lon Nol puppet regime are forced to deal with this revolutionary situation. It has recently come out in the bourgeois press that the imperialists carried out

massive bombings in Cambodia from March, 1969 til May of 1970 without the knowledge of the people of the USNA. In March 1970, a military coup by the Lon Nol gang, backed by the USNA, overthrew the government of Sihanouk and over 20,000 South Vietnamese puppet troops with USNA support invaded Cambodia. The question is how will the imperialists move now when they have not been able to and cannot win militarily and opposition is growing to the massive bombings.

First of all, we must understand that the USNA imperialists cannot live without continuing economic expansion, political intervention and military aggression against other countries. They exist at the expense of the sweat and blood of millions of toilers all over the world and by pursuing counter-revolutionary tactics. In the imperialists' drive for maximum profits, they continuously need new markets, sources of raw materials and cheap labor. Their involvement in S.E. Asia was for this and for using the countries of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos as a stepping stone and base to launch an attack against China - a country with one-fourth of the world's population, a huge market if the imperialists can only get their hands on it.

Secondly, the hegemony of the USNA imperialists, however much unstable and temporary, is presently conditioning world affairs. As we have pointed out, their hegemony is not due to internal strength, but external weakness, for the imperialist

structure itself is beset with shattering internal and external contradictions. Their hegemony is the result of the struggle between the opportunists of the USSR and Socialist China - where more and more troops are being amassed along the Sino-Soviet border for an invasion into China.

The danger of such an invasion is increasing, but the forces for preventing such an attack are also increasing more and more. China is becoming a military power and the Soviet Union may have waited too long to strike.

When we look at the situation in Cambodia and try to understand how the imperialists will maneuver, it is necessary to take the whole into account. The hegemony of the imperialists has put them in a position where they can put pressure on countries to do as the imperialists wish. In Cambodia, where the imperialists cannot win militarily and are becoming more and more isolated, they will try to effect some sort of compromise, in the meanwhile intensifying the bombing and putting pressure where they can. They will use their hegemony to effect a temporary stalemate. Kissinger's planned visit to China must be seen in this light.

The detente between the USSR and the USNA has opened up new markets for the USNA imperialists in the Soviet Union. Their collusion has strengthened counter-revolu-

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CPUSA

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Why doesn't Hall expose the real nature of fascism? Why doesn't he arm the working class with an understanding of the contradictions in capitalist society? Why does he hide the true nature of capitalism? Why? Because the CPUSA is a liberal, petty bourgeois, populist party. Because they do not want revolution, but rather want to help the fascists take power, by disarming the proletariat, by disorganizing the proletariat, by channeling the faith of the working class into the electoral system.

They say that all the working class has to do is vote into power some "good guys" like Gus Hall, for example, and all our problems will be solved. The CPUSA does not call for a Party of a New Type, a party that transforms "the spontaneous struggle of the workers against the oppressors, by means of the organization of the work-

ers, propaganda and agitation among them, into a struggle of the whole class, into the struggle of a definite political party for definite political and socialist ideals." (1)

Nor does the Party expose the true nature of fascism and what it means to the working class. As Dimitroff said, "Fascism in power is the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital." (2) What fascism really means to the working class is rabid chauvinism, war, reaction, counter-revolution, oppression, and misery for the working class. Hall also did not show the working class that there is a way to stop fascism. He spoke not of a united working class, but rather separated the national minorities from the rest of the working class. He pushed disunity of the class. As can be seen, the Party effectively sways the class away from revolution

and onto the path of reforming capitalism.

Lastly, just a few words on the Brezhnev-Nixon meeting. Hall's analysis was that Brezhnev came from a position of strength, that the USSR is taking advantage of the political crisis in the USNA. He said that Brezhnev came to smash the trade embargo imposed by the USNA. He assured us that Brezhnev has no illusions about blending socialism and capitalism. Nixon is the man in trouble, not Brezhnev. But what about the agricultural crisis in the USSR? The industry in the USSR is now being opened to USNA and European imperialist investment and exploitation and the Soviet working class, who once was the most advanced politically and economically in the world, is now suffering from the indignities of unemployment, piece rates on work and foreign exploitation. Hall did not at all point to the struggle that is going on in the USSR to consolidate the

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Seattle:

Overproduction Causes Mass Misery

Older workers still remember the "great depression" of the '30's. They remember the soup lines, the run on the banks, the months looking for jobs that did not exist. They remember people starving and having no place to stay. The ruling class did their best to explain away that depression. They promised it would never happen again. Capitalism, they said, is far too strong now. "The system has safeguards."

We wonder where these apologists for imperialism were in 1969. That's when the 5th economic crisis in the USNA since the end of World War II occurred. But the economy was hit especially hard in Seattle, Washington.

Seattle is the largest and most important city in the Pacific Northwest. To understand what happened, we must see that the crisis was part of the cyclical crisis which constantly breaks out in capitalism, due to inevitable overproduction. Seattle is basically a one industry town, aerospace, represented almost entirely by the Boeing Company. When the aerospace industry was forced to cut back after flooding the market, all of Seattle was affected.

Boeing is the largest single employer in Seattle and the surrounding communities in the state of Washington. It anchors the area's economy. Boeing started in 1916 manufacturing a twin engine passenger transport and the B-17 flying fortress which became a major bomber in the Air Force during World War II. Boeing employment went from 7,600 in 1940, representing 5% of the state's total manufacturing employment, to 44,000 in 1944, representing 15%. At the end of World War II employment at Boeing dropped to 10,000. In 1947 Boeing developed the first jet bomber, the B-47, and later the B-52 used in the Korean and Vietnam wars. Once again employment was on the rise. By 1965 Boeing was employing 50,000 workers. The buildup continued and in 1966 more than 25,000 workers were added mainly to support high delivery rates of 727 and 737 transports. (1) The surge continued into the middle of 1968 as the build-up for the 747 jumbo jet increased the total employment to 106,000. (2) At its peak Boeing accounted for 37% of all the manufacturing jobs in the state of Washington. In addition, each job at Boeing is responsible for creating another one in the area's local service industries. To fill all the jobs additional workers were drawn in from

out of state and from out of the country. This increased Seattle's and the surrounding area's population by 25%. In addition to Boeing's manufacturing commercial and war planes, it is also heavily funded by the federal government for military experiments and space projects.

Then the inevitable happened, the economic bust. The aerospace industry had saturated the market and the financial and monetary crisis forced the federal government to cut back on military defense projects.

By the end of 1968 Boeing began the process of laying off 1,000 workers per month. An attempt was made by business and banks to sooth the people's anxiety. They said the layoffs were only a passing phase and would not create economic havoc in the community. The press stated: "The economic outlook for 1969 in the Seattle-Tacoma-Everett area is for continued high rate of economic advance. Most of the economic rise in 1969 will again be based upon continued income and population growth in the regional market. Despite announcements that the Boeing Company will lower the work force about 5,000 - 9,000 in 1969, the aerospace industry should produce no serious drag on the local economy. In fact it will be a source of stability and possibly some capital expansion." (3)

The people were being lulled into believing that the capitalist system would not allow the masses to go jobless and hungry. But the capitalist system does not solve the problem of unemployment, instead, it sinks itself deeper into economic chaos. By the end of 1969 Boeing was lowering the work force by 3,000 to 4,000 per month and continued to fire workers at an even higher rate. By 1971 Boeing's work force was down to approximately 38,000. The entire Seattle area from the peak to the trough had lost 90,000 jobs - 68,000 from Boeing and 22,000 from other industries.

Seattle was in a depression worse than that of the 30's. As Boeing's payroll dropped, the state's unemployment and welfare rolls jumped skyhigh. \$20,000 a year engineers were rubbing shoulders on a \$2.50 an hour assembly line; the machinist with 18 years seniority found himself working swing shift in a gas station.

The newspapers carried bleeding heart stories about

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Oakland, Calif.

Death in the Projects - Why?

Damon Smith was six years old in March. Now he is dead. On May 18, 1973 he was on his way to school, crossing one of the busiest intersections in East Oakland, California next to the Havenscourt Projects. Eyewitnesses said that as he was being chased by one of the dogs that roam this densely populated area, he was cut down by a car. The driver of the car got out, looked at the boy and then sped away.

The people in the Havenscourt Projects have been saddened by this event, for the sake of Damon and his family, and for the sake of all the children. They know this isn't the first child to die because of the terrible conditions that exist wherever poor working class people, especially Negro national minorities, have to live - and they know too this won't be the last.

Children have no real place to play in the housing projects. They try to play ball between the buildings but the little ones have to compete for scarce space, and they usually lose out to the older children. There is a "play area" in the middle of the projects - full of broken glass, cement-lined, unsupervised. There are no swings. There is no grass. Even the roofs of the wash houses next to the play area are preferred by the children to conditions on the ground. And most children are left with the parking lots or the streets that don't even have speed bumps to slow down cars. This is certainly unsafe. Naturally, many mothers prefer to keep their children indoors, away from the extremely busy streets and the dangerous "play area." This is a hardship on the parents because the homes aren't big enough to have a play room.

In order to understand why the capitalists do not provide adequate housing for the working class we have to analyze the situation concretely. In his classic work on the housing question Engels states clearly that the capitalists will not provide an adequate amount of good housing for the working class. Why? Because they can make much more profit by maintaining a shortage of housing and charging outrageous rents for old, run-down rat and roach infested buildings. Building new housing is just not profitable when the capitalists

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Agricultural Crisis in Ethiopia

Before we discuss the present agricultural crisis in this semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, we would like to introduce the reader to the land and its peoples.

Ethiopia is the last remnant of the feudal empires. It lies on the northeastern coast of Africa sometimes referred to as the Horn of Africa. To the east of Ethiopia lies the Red Sea and the Territory of Afar and Isa, (the last French colonial outpost in Africa), to the south and southeast are Somalia and Kenya and to the west lies the Sudan. This geographical location makes Ethiopia an important and strategic outpost for the control of Middle East oil, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean in the struggle for hegemony over the region by the super-powers. The USNA has an intelligence gathering base at Kagnaw Station near Asmara, in northern Ethiopia, considered by many one of the most important stations of its kind in the world. The Illinois State Register (Jan. 12, 1964) reported,

"One of the most important showdowns between East and West is in the making in Ethiopia,... upon its outcome may depend whether the U.S. loses Africa. The U.S. must stand behind those who have supported it in the past...in this case, Emperor Haile Selassie."

Thus, over 25 million peoples of Ethiopia live under the yoke of feudalism and imperialism struggling with determination to overthrow their twin enemies.

The majority of these peasants and workers live at an altitude between 3000-8000 feet above sea level where, despite the proximity of the country to the Equator, it is not too hot. For example, Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, at 7800 feet above sea level, has an average high temperature of 75.4°F, low average of 46.4°F and average humidity of 62%. Still a large percentage of the population lives in areas where malaria is infested. Annually over 20,000 people die of malaria.

Yet the country has large potential mineral resources which are not explored and several large rivers that can be harnessed to provide all the country's needs in hydroelectric power for the foreseeable future. At present many American firms are exploiting the natural resources and the workers and have turned the country into a neo-colony. For example the New York Times (1/17/67) reported,

"Ralph Pearson Co. operates a \$45 million mining project in the Danakil Desert. Dozens of American businessmen have already discovered Ethiopia,

from a book store to a \$100 million Potash mining project, from a spice firm to two of the world's largest oil companies. More than 200 American companies also have agencies in Ethiopia. Among the reasons, one of Africa's most liberal investment policies, generous duty-free and tax exemption provisions, special laws protecting U.S. firms against expropriations and vast potential in agriculture, industry and mining."

To facilitate this exploitation, the Ethiopian feudal ruling class and imperialists sow discord among the nationalities by playing one nationality against another in much the same way the USNA oppresses and exploits the working class by opposing national minority sections of the working class to the Anglo-American section of the class. Because of the low development of commodity production in the country, the national question in Ethiopia manifests itself as regionalism and and sectarianism, making the creation of a single unified party difficult. The reader can appreciate what we mean by the lack of development of commodity production from the following.

The social division of labour in commodity production in large parts of the country is based primarily on three major physical features of the land. The peoples who live in the 0-3000 ft. zone (known locally as Quolla), where rainfall averages up to eight inches annually, grow Sorghum, tobacco, sugarcane, etc. Those who dwell in the range 5,000-8,000 ft. (Weyna-Dega), where rain is between 40-120 inches a year, grow crops such as wheat, barley, maize, oil seeds, pulses, banana and varieties of fruits. Coffee, the chief Ethiopian export product which contributes 60% of the total export, grows in this altitude. The people who live above 8,000 feet raise livestock, cereals and pulses.

In addition to the peasantry, the vast majority of whom are tenants, are the artisans. The artisans in Ethiopia, as in large parts of Africa, constitute a despised caste unworthy of any social esteem. However, with the growth of towns their status is changing fast as they engage in trade and organize into cooperatives to better their lives in much the same way as the artisans of Europe organized themselves into guilds. In these artisan cooperatives we see one of the first organizations not strictly based on region, religion or nationality.

The production thus carried out at different altitudes

by peasants and artisans for a large segment of the population is still the basis of the social division of labour and social intercourse as it has been for over three thousand years of feudal rule and exploitation.

During all these centuries the peasants were drawn into the squabbles of the feudal warlords. In all these struggles the peasantry bled in the name of local or regional patriotism and in defense of the orthodox church and Islam. In spite of the fact that it is possible today to absorb many aspects of the superstructure that are found in the industrial countries because of the law of uneven development, the national question manifests itself as regionalism and sectarianism in many people's minds. Local nationalism, the ideology of the mercantile, is just getting a hold on the petty bourgeoisie, as he begins to compete and try to control the market of his own nationality.

In spite of this backwardness, to many early Pan-Africanists and present day cultural nationalists Ethiopia stands as a 'symbol of freedom and the last stronghold against European colonial domination.' This historic reverence refers to the Ethiopian patriots who at the battle of Adawa in 1896 put an end to Italian colonial ambitions. However, little do these Pan-Africanists and cultural nationalists recall that the leader of this victorious army, Emperor Minilik, despite the peoples' victory, was forced to sign an unequal treaty with the Italian government, giving up Eritrea to Italy.

This same Emperor, who was the architect of the present feudal empire, expanded the territory to the South to more than double its former size. Between 1886-1909 the people in eight of the present 14 provinces were conquered by Minilik's army and they were turned into serfs (Gebar) to the Amhara Soldiers and the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. Thus, not only was the archaic land holding system of the North transplanted, but it was refined, so that the system could maximize the economic surplus to be robbed from the serfs by the new landlords. The peasantry both in the North, eg., Eritrea, Gojam, and in the South, eg., Bale, have risen in arms to end this feudal exploitation. In Eritrea, the fighting is still going on. However, the movement, because of sectarian and feudal - bourgeois leadership, is being dragged into blind alleys at the present time.

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Sterilization

BOURGEOISIE ATTACKS FUTURE GENERATION

Sterilization operations were performed on two young Negro girls in Montgomery, Alabama last June 13. As a result, Mary Alice Relf (12) and Minnie Relf (14) will not be able to bear children. Neither the girls nor their mother understood what was going to be done and so Mrs. Relf, who is unable to read or write, marked her X on the consent forms for the operations, thinking that her daughters were being hospitalized for birth control shots. Their father, Lonnie Relf, was not at home when the consent form was "authorized" by his wife, nor was he consulted by the Montgomery Family Planning Center, an agency funded by OEO, which sponsored the operations. The Relfs have filed a \$2 million law suit against the agencies and individuals who dictated these vicious acts.

These agencies decided these girls were retarded and, therefore, should be denied their right to bear children. Joseph Conklin, director of the Communist Action Agency Committee of OEO which administers the family planning program in Montgomery, when asked why some other alternatives were not taken, replied, "Both Black girls were mentally retarded and the clinic staff did not believe they could regiment themselves to the pill." (1)

Hitler had outlined his program for genocide by saying, "We will purify the country by ridding it of the unfit." In the Negro Nation this fascist process is already underway. Since the beginning of this fiscal year the Montgomery Family Planning Center alone has performed eleven sterilization operations, 13 counting Mary Alice and Minnie. According to an official of the OEO, all were minors and all of them were "involuntarily sterilized because the clinic either did not obtain the parental consent required by law or the parent did not fully understand the consequences." (2) And under the Alabama State Health Department's family planning programs, which are separate from those administered by OEO, "82 Alabamians were sterilized within the last year." (3)

We are outraged at this attack. The lackeys and predators of the Negro Nation express their "concern" for the helpless victims involved while out of the other side of their mouths they make statements like the one uttered by Georgia's Julian Bond in reference to the sterilizations of Mary Alice and Minnie:

"It may have been a well-meaning act." (4)

But we must recognize these vicious acts for what they are, fascist intimidation and terror towards the people of the Negro Nation. The Negro Nation is a colony of the USNA imperialists and the colonial oppression that the Negro people suffer is not unlike the brutality of the USNA imperialists wherever they are - from the bombings of hospitals in Cambodia to the USNA supported puppet military state in the Philippines to the USNA backed mines in South Africa.

It is no accident that the victims of this particular form of terror were Negro women. Within the Negro Nation Negro women suffer most from colonial oppression because they are attacked as workers, as Negroes and as women. Just as the USNA imperialists sterilized and deformed thousands of women in the Hiroshima bombing and have killed and maimed thousands of civilians in Southeast Asia, the attack against Minnie and Mary Alice Relf must be seen as part of the fascist nature of USNA imperialism.

We in the Anglo-American nation must expose the vicious oppression inflicted on our class brothers and sisters in the Negro Nation. It is in our interests to support the struggles of the Negro people for their freedom, for as long as the Negro people are in chains, the Anglo-American working class will not be free. We must raise the banner of proletarian internationalism and call for the Independence of the Negro Nation!

- 1) Muhammed Speaks, 7/13/73.
- 2) Atlanta Constitution, 7/5/73.
- 3) Jet, 7/19/73.
- 4) Newsweek, 7/16/73.

CPUSA

Cont. from p. 5

power of the bourgeoisie. Why didn't he speak to all this? Because Hall and the CPUSA are an appendage of the CPSU, a lackey of both the USSR social-imperialists and the USNA imperialists.

So we see that the position of the CPUSA on both Brezhnev and Watergate are significant because both these positions work against the interests of the working class and against the building of a real Communist Party and the inevitable socialist revolution. Revisionism opens the door to fascism. It weakens the working class and strengthens bourgeois ideology. Only with a relentless struggle

Housing

Cont. from p. 6

can make millions by maintaining the slums that exist across the USNA.

Even the new housing which has been built for so-called low-income people is designed to turn into a slum within a few years. Thousands of people are jammed together in concentration camps called 'projects' and 'housing developments' trying to live on the crumbs the capitalists pay the most oppressed and exploited workers. This coupled with almost no building maintenance makes it no accident that in a few years they look just like the housing they replaced.

There are projects like Havenscourt where little Demon was killed all over the USNA and we must see the struggle to fight for good housing as a fight against capitalism, for we cannot "reform" this rotten oppressive system. One woman from another housing project in Oakland, responding to the Communist League's leaflet about Demon, took the issue to both the Housing Authority and to the Oakland Chief of Police. The Chief laughed at her request for speed bumps in the projects to slow down cars. Instead, the city put up two signs that read Speed Limit 25 miles per hour. This woman knows now that we cannot fight by appealing to the decency of the capitalist government. As Engels says, "As long as the capitalist mode of production continues to exist it is folly to hope for an isolated settlement of the housing question or of any other social question affecting the lot of the workers. The solution lies in the abolition of the capitalist mode of production and the appropriation of all the means of subsistence and instruments of labour by the working class itself." (1)

This concretely means we have to build a party of the working class, a multi-national Marxist-Leninist Communist Party which can bring consciousness to the class struggle so that we can overthrow this rotten capitalist system and establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

FIGHT FOR DECENT HOUSING!

BUILD A MULTI-NATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY!

- 1) Engels, The Housing Question, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970, p. 71.

against revisionism can we defeat imperialism and have a socialist revolution.

- 1) Lenin, Revolutionary Party of a New Type, Peking, 1900.
- 2) Dimitroff, United Front Against Fascism, New Century Publishers, 1935, p. 7.

Seattle

Cont. from p. 6

these "new poor". Commissions were set up to deal with methods of finding employment for those "overqualified". All this was at the expense of the old poor - the most exploited and oppressed of the working class. For example, in Seattle the unemployment rate rose to 12% - twice the average for the USNA, and the highest in the country. But in the Central District, a Negro national minority working class community in the city, unemployment was as high as 35%. (4)

What was the initial response of the state government to the unemployment? Did it provide more funds for Welfare and Unemployment? Of course not. Instead there were across the board cuts in funds available, and further restrictions on eligibility. For example, a large number of service workers, such as waitresses who had worked part time, were ineligible for unemployment benefits.

Souplines, breadlines and free food centers sprang up all over the city. Most of these were started and run with private donations with no help from the state. 37 food centers were feeding over 15,000 people. While Seattle starved the Department of Agriculture refused to release surplus food rotting in government warehouses. The government's unwillingness to help feed the workers of Seattle finally reached ridiculous proportions when Seattle's sister city, Kobe, Japan, shipped half a ton of rice as emergency relief food to the city in August, 1971.

Stores advertised sales, but no one was buying. Newspapers carried coupons worth \$100 off towards buying a new car, but few responded. Brand new \$3,000 cars were selling for \$1,495 - and gathering dust on the lots. Business foreclosures doubled the first 5 months of 1970 as compared to the same period in 1969.

By 1971 even public officials had to admit that Seattle was in a depression. Newspaper editorials could only moan about the present and pray about the future. Seattle was developing into a modern ghost town. At the start of the depression housing construction was down 35% and in 1970 down another 40%. Apartment owners tried to lure renters with low rents, first month rent free, free stereo and color TV. Still, in parts of the city the vacancy rate for apartments was 40%. (5)

Thousands of families, unable to find work, packed up and left town in the middle of the night. 4,033 homes foreclosed during this relatively short period. 14% of all foreclosures on homes for the

CL

Cont. from p. 1

The tremendous success of the Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists this past May was further proof of this. That deeply theoretical meeting around the line of Marxism-Leninism marked a new stage in the development of a Marxist-Leninist party of a new type. That growing victory was due in part to the objective situation: the worsening economic situation and the political crisis as represented by Watergate. The "left" in the absence of a revolutionary political party is now being forced to defend the working class in these conditions. Every aspect of the class struggle, especially the unorganized workers, working class women and youth, is showing us the need for a revolutionary political party; a Marxist-Leninist party that can unite the class into a force powerful enough to overthrow the rotten and corrupt capitalist class.

This victory was also due in part to and clearly proved the correctness of the Communist League's line on Party Building. This line states that "education is the main political task in this period of Party Building." As Lenin states, "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary party." This is best represented in the theoretical contributions made by the CL. Some of the areas in which these contributions have been made are the National Colonial Question, Party Building, the Struggle against Revisionism, the Woman Question and the Question of Trade Unions. We do not take credit for discovering new theories, but for the resurrection of Leninism, especially in the aforementioned aspects of the class struggle.

entire USNA (excluding Puerto Rico) were in Seattle. (6)

The only business booming was the U-Haul rentals; but by July 1961 there were no trailers left to rent. And greeting those leaving the city was a billboard reading: "Will the last one to leave Seattle, please turn out the lights?"

What happened? Why? According to the bourgeois press, Boeing officials, senators, the mayor, the governor and the traitorous CPUSA, the blame was on Seattle - because Seattle was a one industry. And when that one industry folded, the town went with it. True, Seattle was and still is basically a one industry town. But what is Detroit? What would happen to Los Angeles if the electronics industry folded? What could the workers of Chi-

The Bolshevic fractional method of work has enabled the comrades in the CL to get into important areas of activity. It provided the necessary base for the conference in May to represent different sections of the class. It must now enable us to establish an even wider base before the Congress and to fulfill the task of the next period of time: "win the vanguard of the proletariat to the cause of Communism," the unemployed, unskilled and semi-skilled workers, that section that is most hit by the growing economic crisis and as a result being hurled into confrontation with the capitalist class. We can fulfill this task by getting our comrades into the political struggle, by influencing the movement of the working class.

We can master politics, the art of class struggle, only by revolutionary experience guided by revolutionary theory. The People's Tribune, as in the past, is an important weapon in the hands of the class. It provides political clarity to the most salient questions facing the working class. We must use the pages of the Tribune. As the masthead states, it is "the political paper of the Communist League" and must "react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression." It is our scaffolding for the building of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party that will unite all local issues and struggles into a national political struggle, linked with the international struggle against imperialism.

If the Communist League is going to continue its contribution in the building of a Party of a New Type, we must not slacken, but increase and tighten both our education and our activities. We must now begin to act as a political party of the class. Stalin in Foundations of Leninism clearly states how such a party of the working class acts. It must be "...a militant party, a revolution party, one bold enough to lead the proletarians in the struggle for power, sufficiently flexible to steer clear of all submerged rocks in the path to its goal." (1)

Comrades, our tasks are clear. The objective conditions continue to ripen; we must not falter. The working class in the USNA will have its Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, just as it is inevitable that they will have a dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism.

WIN THE VANGUARD OF THE PROLETARIAT TO THE CAUSE OF COMMUNISM!

BUILD A MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY!

1) Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, FLPP, P. 102-103

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Seattle

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cago expect if the foundries and steel mills closed down? If the stockyards suffered a slump; what shape would St. Louis workers be left in?

One industry towns are not the cause of crises. No, Mr. Bourgeoisie, all your lame excuses will not cover up one simple fact. The depression in Seattle was no exception. It was an inevitable capitalist crisis.

The basic contradiction of capitalism is the contradiction between the social character of production and the private character of appropriation, between the organized character of production in individual enterprises and the anarchic character of production in society as a whole.

Lenin tells us that, "Capitalist production cannot develop otherwise than in leaps - two steps forward and one step (and sometimes two) back. As we have already observed, capitalist production is production for sale, the production of commodities for the market. Production is

carried on by individual capitalists, each producing on his own, and none of them can say exactly what kind of commodities, and in what quantities, are required on the market. Production is carried on haphazardly; each producer is concerned only in excelling the others. Quite naturally, therefore, the quantity of commodities produced may not correspond to the demand on the market." (7)

And Engels adds, "In these crises, the contradiction between social production and capitalist appropriation comes to a violent explosion. The circulation of commodities is for the moment reduced to nothing; the means of circulation, money, becomes an obstacle to circulation; all the laws of commodity production and commodity circulation are turned upside down. The economic collision has reached its culminating point: the mode of production rebels against the mode of exchange." (8)

The CPUSA interprets these inevitable crises to mean that "the house of imperialism is crumbling."

Accidents

Cont. from p. 4

even \$1,000 per man, but it was the proposed payment for 14 workers' lives. It is clear from this farce of a fine who the state is serving - not the workers, but the capitalist butchers.

We must not look at this crime in isolation. There are thousands of companies like this one all over the world who thrive on the blood and muscle of the working class. The number of workers who die every year from industrial accidents is endless. On July 5th in Kingman, Arizona, a railroad tank car caught fire setting off an explosion in a butane plant, killing four persons and burning an estimated 75. On July 10th explosions ripped through an underground assembly bunker and a van loaded with hand grenades at the Gearhart-Owen Industries near Cleburne, Texas. Four women were killed and 35 others, most of them women, were injured. The USNA Labor Department has estimated that three-fourths of all workers suffer disabling injuries or loss of hearing due to excess noise levels in plants. More coal miners have "accidentally" died in the last 60 years than all the casualties suffered in the Korean and Vietnamese conflicts. In automobile stamping plants in Detroit an estimated 25% of the workers have lost fingers, arms, or other limbs due to accidents. According to the World Almanac, there is a worker injured every 14 seconds and one killed every 37 minutes. In actual figures, during 1971 2,300,000 workers were injured and 14,200 were killed.

From the tombed bodies of hundreds of coal miners in West Virginia, to the thousands of torn bodies of toilers at construction site explosions in South America, to the hundreds of thousands of workers to be crushed in the frequent "accidental" diamond mine disasters in Africa - these capitalist swine will continue to infest with their rotten, decaying imperialism until the world proletariat rises and smashes them. "The modern labourer...instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class....Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society." Karl Marx speaks quite clearly here of the inability of the proletariat of today to live with the bourgeoisie. Proletarian revolution and a Communist Party guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism is the only way out of the imperialists' hole. It is the duty of each revolutionary and all Marxist-Leninists to convey to the class the correct solution for the freedom of the working class. We of the Communist League call for the building of a genuine Marxist-Leninist Communist Party to be the vanguard of the working class in leading us to deal the death blow to USNA imperialism and all forces of reaction and on to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Socialism, and Communism!

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!

But "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." (our emphasis) (9)

The imperialists are quick to move when they spot a potential revolutionary situation. In Seattle they reversed their policy of holding back and cutting back aid. Over night Seattle - 'depression city' became Seattle - 'reform city.' Unemployment benefits were increased, extensions granted and again granted. The free food programs were increased and federally subsidized. Free dental and medical programs were set up. Over 10% of Seattle existed on welfare; more received food stamps.

But the response of the state would not have been so successful were it not for its agents and lackeys. The CPUSA stood forward in all its putrid glory. At a time when the working class demanded revolutionary political leadership, what did the CPUSA provide? - dribble such as this: "The anger against President Nixon welling up everywhere across the U.S. is especially sharp here. As state welfare funds run low, as Boeing's big 747 contracts near completion, as construction stagnates, as stores close and small businesses go bankrupt, the unions must begin to move if tragic hunger and suffering are to be held at a minimum." (10) Their newspaper carried article after article moaning about unemployment and carrying the latest reports on the government's programs for the needy. The line was clear, we don't need a revolution, just unions and welfare.

Today, Boeing is somewhat on the upswing, due mostly to increased jet sales, such as the 10 - 707's to the Peoples Republic of China, U.S. Navy orders for hydrofoil boats, and the manufacture of the revamped 727's. The 50,000 workers presently employed at Boeing are being played up in the press to give the impression that Seattle is now economically healthy, but the unemployment rate is still one of the highest - 7.7% to the national average of 5.1%.

The capitalist politicians ignore the tremendous hard-

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Ethiopia

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All attempts to reform the present land tenure through legal means have failed. Even the mildest bill to alleviate the exploitation of the peasants was not allowed to pass into law. The otherwise rubber stamp parliament members were ready to duel with guns inside the parliament hall over legislature that would legalize the eviction of peasants by a landlord after a year's notice and the robbing of the peasantry of up to 75% of his produce depending on the region. It is on such a volcano that Haile Selassie's feudal Empire rests.

This archaic land holding system discourages innovation and growth of productivity and has a general low technology in farm equipment. As a result, 87% of the labour force engaged in such subsistence farming produces only 53.2% of domestic products. On the other hand, the factory workers, who number only 48,903 (1971), produce 4.6% of the gross domestic product. These workers, however, get less than a tenth of their output as wages, a very high rate of exploitation. They cannot even afford to send their children to school. Out of a total population of 25 million, 60.44% are in the age bracket of 0-24 years and of those in the primary school age bracket of 5-14 years, less than 8% goes to school. It is clear to the reader that the children of the workers and peasantry have no chance to go to school at all.

In the last decade or so, a number of new phenomena affecting the lives of the peasantry has come to the fore. One of these is the introduction of tractors with duty-free gasoline license for the landlord class and foreign capitalists. In 1967-68 there were 1,986 of these new tractors and by 1970-71 their number rose to 2,913. The outcome of this program has increased the eviction of the peasants, turning them into rural proletariat and lumpens, thus quickly creating the grave diggers of this unjust and brutal social system.

A second factor is the acceleration of commodity exchange, the large rise of money in the countryside creating anarchy of production in agriculture. This is giving rise to big grain merchants.

As a result of the development of these new phenomena, coupled with the archaic land holding system which retards agricultural productivity, it has become impossible to meet the emergency needs of the peoples in times of crop failures or drought as has been experienced these last few years in the North Savanna belt of Africa.

According to eye witness reports by three professors from Haile Selassie first University at Addis Ababa, Northern Ethiopia is starving. Thousands of poor peasants are dying. School children of the middle peasants have stopped going to school because of lack of food supplies. Those who may survive have no seeds, no draft animals.

All this is happening in a country that is believed by experts to have the potential to feed the whole of the Middle East. Hundreds of thousands of peasants are starving to death. In the meantime the government entertains foreign dignitaries by squandering the peoples' resources on luxury items. Instead of helping the peasants, it continues to deny the existence of such a big famine through radio, TV, newspaper and all the other media at its disposal. At the same time the landlords are forcing the peasants to buy at extremely high prices from the stock collected from the peasants in the first place. At the time of Haile Selassie's visit in the USNA and at other occasions the bourgeois press made no mention of the existence of such famine in Northern Ethiopia. The identical interests of USNA imperialism and the feudal regime of Ethiopia are once again affirmed. The American people, the working class in particular, need to be informed of the criminal acts of this conspiracy and assume their historic role to overthrow their own bourgeoisie and come to the help of the workers and peasants in semi-colonial, semi-feudal Ethiopia and all other oppressed nations and peoples of the world.

DOWN WITH FEUDALISM AND IMPERIALISM!

Netsanet Betegel

Seattle

Cont. from p. 10

ships in Seattle. With many Boeing engineers on the payroll, the "good" politicians say everyone is back to work, so there is no need to continue the unemployment insurance extensions. Consequently, this was dropped June 30, 1973. The inevitable result of this action will be an increase in the number of people without any means of income, at a time when inflation is making it difficult for workers without jobs to survive.

There are those today, especially on the left, who preach "the worse, the better," or try to convince us that as conditions get worse the situation will eventually, spontaneously lead to Socialism. We would like to point out: In 1970 a potential revolutionary situation existed. But without a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, the working class was led up the blind alley of reformism.



If we learn nothing else from this experience, let it be that without a revolutionary party there will be no revolution. Without a party based on the science of Marxism-Leninism and rooted in the most exploited and oppressed of the working class, the bourgeoisie will continue to turn revolutionary situations to their advantage.

Are we doomed forever to a life of uncertainty? Must we sit by as prices rise, wages sink and the ruling class wages war against the people of this country, as well as, the rest of the world? Are the criminals running this government to continue their crimes at will? Is our only alternative the weak 'programs' of the snivelling 'leaders' we have now? NO!

We can do away with this rotten, useless system. The bright future of Socialism awaits us. Never again will the workers of Seattle see the sellouts of the CPUSA and others go unchallenged. The Communist League vows, no matter how small or large our forces, to work for the formation of the truly revolutionary Communist Party. We will use every act of the Capitalists against them; we stand on the shoulders of Marx and Engels and their brilliant teachings. "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win." (11)

- 1) Aerospace, 6/29/70, p. 15.
- 2) Daily Journal of Commerce, Seattle, 2/26/70.
- 3) Seattle Times, 1/1/69.
- 4) Ramparts Magazine, May, 1972.
- 5) Newsweek
- 6) Ramparts, Op. Cit.
- 7) Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. IV, Book I, Int. Pub., N.Y. 1929, pp. 171-72.
- 8) Engels, Anti-Duhring, pp. 309-310.
- 9) Leontiev, Political Economy, Int. Pub., p. 282.
- 10) World Magazine, 8/15/70.
- 11) The Communist Manifesto, FLPP, 1965, p. 76.

Nationalization

Cont. from p. 3

will bring the class contradictions to a head. Why has there not been a revolution in Britain? Because the "bourgeoisification" of the British workers and the victory of opportunism in the English labor movement has prevented the socialist revolution. In a letter to Marx, dated October 7, 1858, Engels wrote, "The English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so that this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat as well as a bourgeoisie. For a nation that exploits the whole this is of course to a certain extent justifiable." (6)

The conservative bourgeoisie perpetuates the idea that nationalization is socialism. Heath, Britain's conservative Prime Minister, blames the nation's present ills on the Labor Party who, according to him, was "hewing to socialist ideology" during the 25 years that it was in control of the government. But as Engels indicated, nationalization is the result of objective processes to which the bourgeoisie capitulates.

It must be noted that Hitler's 'national socialism' and Mussolini's 'corporate state' involved a degree of nationalization. R. Palme Dutt explains the parallel between revisionism and fascism: "The whole trend of postwar liberalism, Labourism and Social Democracy, in particular, is closely parallel to the fascist line and propaganda of the Corporate State - i.e., the general line of combination of state control and private enterprise, co-ordination through a network of regulating councils, class-collaboration and so-called workers' representation, in short, the whole myth of 'Organized Capitalism'." (7)

From these examples we can see that nationalization by the state where the class content is still capitalist is not socialism and can lead to fascism if the proletariat loses its independence because of opportunism, revisionism or reformism in the labour movement.

For quite a few years we have also witnessed nationalization in the semi-colonies. Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Cuba, Venezuela and Argentina in Latin America have done so. Libya, Iraq, Algeria, in the Middle East and North Africa, have nationalized oil companies. Fortune Magazine predicts that, "Barring an unexpected reversal of trend, it is a fair bet that almost all international oil companies' foreign subsidiaries in North Africa and the Middle East will face nationalization by the

late '70's or '80's." (8) This motion is a reflection of the deep anti-imperialist struggle throughout the colonial world which we fully support.

Here nationalization takes on another aspect. Nationalization still serves the interests of the national petty bourgeoisie, but in addition, in the national liberation movement it can be an anti-imperialist weapon. In this case the movement goes forward. At this point, if the proletariat has managed to maintain an independent position, the motion can be continued toward socialism and therefore negate the tendency of the petty bourgeoisie democrats to pause at this stage (i.e., when they have achieved state power).

Concretely, however, in many instances, the opposite has occurred. Lenin warns us, "that it is necessary to wage a determined struggle against painting the bourgeois-democratic liberation trend in backward countries in Communist colours; 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 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." (9)

In Latin America nationalization has meant counter-revolution. Argentina, under Peron, after World War II, suffered this fate. Communists, progressive workers and petty-bourgeois democrats were isolated and killed. Peron's "justicialismo" program was nothing but a fascist type of "national socialism" which managed to win a section of the working class by bribery. Nationalization there was equated to socialism. The capitalist relations of production went untouched and it was not until Peron was exiled in 1955 that British imperialism lost its foothold in Latin America. Today Peron has returned to Argentina to try to accomplish the same task, only this time in the service of USNA imperialism.

Bolivia is another country in which the consequences of pausing after the act of nationalization have resulted in counterrevolution. President Ovando nationalized

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NOTICE

The second part of the article, "United Farm Workers: Rural Proletariat Organizes" which appeared in Vol. 5, No. 5 will be continued in Vol. 5, No. 7.

Watergate

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sudden a democratic tendency in the Senate? Of course not.

This is not a struggle between reaction and democracy, but a struggle for the independence of the Senate, for a separation of powers. This independence has not been necessary since the Truman administration. What has changed? Again we must turn to the economic situation. Certain financial groupings are rising who do not like Nixon's policies. These groups are expressing themselves through the Senate in a bitter struggle for their "rights."

The only road open to the Senate is to win and mobilize the masses in their behalf. To do this they must call for progressive legislation. This can only further aggravate the split in the ruling class, leading to a polarization within that class. This polarization will create the conditions for a revolutionary situation for history has shown us that revolution is not possible unless the ruling class is polarized.

This impending crisis will arouse the masses of people and lead to a spontaneous uprising. We must capture this motion and expose the true nature of this struggle. Senator Ervin is no more fighting for the interests of the working class than is President Nixon. We must assert the independence of the working class. Marx tells us that the workers "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 bourgeois." (1)

We must use this opportunity given to us by the bourgeoisie to build an independent party of the working class that will give the working class class consciousness. Only in this way, can we channel the spontaneous energy of the masses to take state power away from the hands of the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

1) Marx, Selected Works, "Address to Central Committee of Communist League," pp. 166-67.

INDUSTRY

PRODUCTION UNDER GOVERNMENT CONTROL

	1970	1972
Agriculture	14%	26%
Autos	0	27
Foreign Banking	0	99
Chilean Banking	56	99
Electrical	0	75
Fishing	54	77
L.P.G.	0	54
Coalmining	17	94
Copper mining	46	85
Iron Ore Mining	14	100
Nitrate Mining	51	100
Petro-Chemicals	30	65
Steel	52	100
Telephone	0	100
Textiles	0	100
Tires	0	100

Nationalization

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Gulf Oil in 1969. Shortly thereafter General Torres, a "Marxist", engineered a coup. It was just a matter of time until the rightest counterrevolution occurred.

The "Chilean experiment" is bound to result in counter-revolution if the proletariat continues to follow the revisionist line of the Chilean Communist Party. As was pointed out in the People's Tribune (Vol. 5, No. 1) the right has already been preparing for a counterrevolution and has attempted several coups. Besides the vacillation of the Allende government, nationalization directly served to quell the upsurge of the Chilean workers. Before nationalization of Anaconda copper, the strike of the mine workers there had been the focal point of the anti-imperialist struggle in Chile. After nationalization this revolutionary motion was halted. The chart on this page indicates the degree to which the Chilean economy has been nationalized. (10) Capitalism cannot be developed any further in Chile. The only correct step now is to make the socialist revolution and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Nationalization in Cuba was a real blow to USNA imperialism. However, the petty bourgeois democrats who control the state have maintained capitalist relations of production, which has interrupted the revolutionary process. As a result, Cuba may fall once again into the clutches of the imperialists. It is our proletarian internationalist duty to point this out to Marxist-Leninists in Cuba.

Libya, unlike Cuba and Chile which have already passed this stage, shows a motion that is forward instead of backward. The motion in Cuba and Chile has stagnated and is beginning to turn around with possible fascist political consequences. Qaddafi and the national bourgeoisie of Libya, who he represents, appear to be anti-imperialist at this time. We support the anti-imperialist

motion of the people of Libya. However, we do not endorse Qaddafi as the leader of the Libyan revolutionary movement. Qaddafi is a brutal anti-communist who has ordered the assassinations of hundreds of communists and trade union leaders. The leadership of the revolutionary movement belongs to the Libyan proletariat. At this point the interests of the Libyan proletariat are temporarily coinciding with the interests of the national bourgeoisie. Therefore, the nationalization of Hunt oil on June 12, 1973, represents a step forward in the struggle for national liberation. However, the proletariat must maintain its political and organizational independence to insure that when the cleavage of these social classes comes, as it inevitably will, the proletariat is ready to move on to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In conclusion, Marxist-Leninist theory tells us that nationalization is most beneficial to the proletariat when the proletariat itself is in control of the state. In this case nationalization (i.e., under the dictatorship of the proletariat) is in fact building socialism. Nationalization under a petty bourgeois democratic state can, however, also advance the revolutionary movement against imperialism. But the proletariat has a certain role to play under this type of state. In his "Address to the Central Committee of the Communist League" Karl Marx explains this clearly.

"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." (11)

Carry out the Socialist revolution to its completion.

BUILD A MULTI-NATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY!

MAINTAIN THE POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE PROLETARIAT!

- 1) New Program of the CPUSA, adopted by the 19th National Convention, New Outlook Publishers, N.Y., 1970, p. 83.
- 2) "Arab National Liberation Movement," K. Mroue, World Marxist Review, Feb., 1973, Progress Books, Canada, p. 68.
- 3) Ibid., p. 69.
- 4) Engels, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, Charles H. Kerr and Co., Chicago, 1908, pp. 120-121.
- 5) Marx, Selected Works, "Address of Central Committee to Communist League", pp. 166-67.
- 6) Marx & Engels, Selected Correspondence, Int. Pub., 1942, pp. 115-16.
- 7) Dutt, R. Palme, Fascism & Social Revolution, Int. Pub., N.Y., 1934, p. 203.
- 8) Fortune Magazine, Aug., 1971.
- 9) Lenin, "Preliminary Theses on National-Colonial Question," Selected Works, Vol. X, Int. Pub., 1938, pp. 236-237.
- 10) "Chile: Economic Chaos in Allende Country," Business Week, August 12, 1972, p. 171.
- 11) "Address to Central Committee of Communist League," Op. Cit., pp. 166-67.

UFW

Cont. from p. 1

the ideals of unity of the working class are effectively set aside and the strength of the Negro masses is sapped in futile reformist struggles." (1)

It is no accident that the CPUSA did not muster together its cadre in the Negro Peoples Movement. For it would be a definite blow to the capitalists if the Negro Peoples Movement ever united with the Farmworkers which is

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UFW

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mainly Mexican National Minority. The CPUSA tactic has always been that the Farmworkers struggle is a Raza struggle; thereby isolating the Farmworkers from large sections of the urban proletariat.

With the increasing crisis of capitalism, the profit hungry ruling class will more and more resort to fascist methods in order to curb and destroy militant workers' organizations; such has been the case with the Farmworkers. First they used a pacifist and class collaborationist like Cesar Chavez, then the Church and their priests, and lastly a Fascist Labor Front like the Teamsters Union. It is apparent that the growers are out to destroy the UFWU and that is precisely why they have signed and are signing "sweetheart" contracts with the Mafia ridden Teamsters.

Since the strike began in late April, the Teamsters have done the following. They attacked a ranch foreman by accident, apparently thinking he was a United Farmworkers Union leader whereupon they beat and then stabbed him six times with an icepick. In Coachella they burned down the home of a Farmworker and his family. Also, in Coachella 150 Teamster "goons" attacked a peaceful group of Farmworkers pickets who were mainly old men, women, and children. They used lead pipes and sent several teenagers and a pregnant woman to the hospital while the Riverside County Sheriffs watched this slaughter. In the Bakersfield area 30 Teamster "goons" were arrested and had the charges dropped for wading into a UFWU picket line and badly hospitalizing four farmworkers. One elderly man was injured with a skull fracture.

But if armed thugs aren't enough, in the Arvin-Lamont area, the growers are using court injunctions. The injunctions limit UFWU use of bullhorns to one hour per day at each vineyard. The union is limited to one picket every 100 feet adjacent to a vineyard. According to United Press International about 1,700 pickets have been arrested in a week in Kern and Tulare counties. The UFWU has suffered 6,000 arrests since the grape strike began last April.

As the crisis of capitalism intensifies, the growers have had to escalate their methods against the UFWU and are increasingly using the state apparatus (the courts and police) along side of the Teamsters. Our great teacher Lenin stated that, "The State is a machine for the oppression of one class by another, a machine for holding in obedience to one class other, subordinated classes." (2)

But the Farmworkers who have been struggling against

the growers since 1961 are extremely high spirited and determined to fight the growers to the end. One can say that the Farmworkers have been politically educated for the last 12 years or as Comrade Lenin stated in On Strikes:

"A strike teaches workers to understand what the strength of the employers and what the strength of the workers consists in; it teaches them not to think of their own employer alone and not of their own immediate workmates alone but of all the employers, the whole class of capitalists and the whole class of workers."

Further, "Strikes, therefore, teach the workers to unite; they show them that they can struggle against the capitalists only when they are united; strikes teach the workers to think of the struggle of the whole working class against the whole class of factory owners and against the arbitrary, police government. This is the reason that socialists call strikes 'a school of war', a school in which the workers learn to make war on their enemies for the liberation of the whole people, of all who labour, from the yoke of government officials and from the yoke of capital." (3)

The duty of Communists is to whole heartedly struggle against the isolation of the farmworkers and link it with the working class movement in the cities, especially with the most exploited and oppressed workers in the urban slums. This will concretely unite the class around this struggle for democracy, and at the same time win over the advanced of these proletarians to communism. In this way we will proceed with our most urgent task - the building of an independent multi-national Communist Party. We must bring to life the words of our great teacher Lenin:

"Social-Democracy (Communism) is the combination of the working-class movement and socialism. Its task is not to serve the working-class movement passively at each of its separate stages, but to represent the interests of the movement as a whole, to point out to this movement its ultimate aim and its political tasks, and to safeguard its political and ideological independence. ...to imbue the masses of the proletariat with the ideas of socialism and political consciousness, and to organize a revolutionary party inseparably connected with the spontaneous working class movement." (4)

- 1) Peoples Tribune, Vol. 3, No. 10.
- 2) Lenin, The State, FLPP, 1965.
- 3) Ibid., "On Strikes," Collected Works, Moscow.
- 4) Ibid., "The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement," Collected Works, Moscow.

CAMBODIA

Cont. from p. 5

tion with the Soviet social imperialists helping to subvert revolutionary movements around the world and attacking the Socialist countries.

Comrade Stalin has pointed out that "To eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism." (1) The struggle of the Cambodian people for their national liberation is a just struggle and it is in the interests of the USNA working class to support it. While the Cambodian people have dealt one blow after another to the imperialists, it is only the USNA working class who can strike the final death blow and bring about the collapse of the imperialist state.

USNA workers, hold high the banner of proletarian internationalism! Do not ally with the imperialist in their aggressive and counter-revolutionary schemes. Unite with the workers and oppressed peoples all over the world who are struggling to overthrow imperialism!

(1) Stalin, Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR, FLPP, p. 30.

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 7) Dutt, R. Palme, Fascism &
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 6) Marx & Engels, Selected
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 a la Liga de los Comunistas;
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 5) Marx, Engels, Obras Escogidas
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 2) Arab National Liberation
 1) New Program of the CPUSA,
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MANTENAMOS LA INDEPENDENCIA POLITICA DEL PROLETARIADO!

CONSTRUYAMOS UN PARTIDO COM-
 UNISTA, MULTI-NACIONAL!

LISTA.

Llevaremos a cabo hasta el fin la revolución social-
 ista.

CONSTRUYAMOS UN PARTIDO COM-
 UNISTA, MULTI-NACIONAL!

MANTENAMOS LA INDEPENDENCIA POLITICA DEL PROLETARIADO!

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 7) Dutt, R. Palme, Fascism &
 Social Revolution, Int. Pub.,
 N.Y., 1934, p. 203.

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Nacionalización