

# PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE



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

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## Detroit

# Auto Plants Shut Down!

## DETROIT FORGE

During the stormy month of August the "Motor City" has been the scene of three major class engagements between embattled, militant workers and an assortment of lackeys for the capitalist class. Over the past month the working class in Detroit has been forced to wage desperate battle, without the leadership of a true Communist Party, against a combined furious attack by the police, the courts, the union mis-leaders, and the 'company' of imperialists. We have experienced this past month a "take-over" which lasted one day at the Jefferson Avenue plant, a successful 6 day total work stoppage at the Detroit

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## JEFFERSON ASSEMBLY

Chrysler Corporation has 35 plants in the Detroit area, employing more than 100,000 workers. Chrysler's net profits for the first quarter of 1973 were up 150% over the same period in 1972, that is from \$35,800,000 to \$89,800,000.(1)

"The profit rises in the same measure in which wages fall...." (2) "The power of the capitalist class over the working class has grown, the social position of the worker has become worse, has been depressed another degree below that of the capitalist."(3)

One of the many ways

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## S.E. Asia Imperialists Plot; War Continues

On August 15, 1973 all official funds to support the full scale air bombardment campaigns centered recently on the Cambodian people were halted by an act of Congress. Emerging from his cocoon for the first time in months to speak before a carefully chosen audience at the national convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in New Orleans, President Nixon struck his now familiar stance and attacked the Congress even while admitting that he had ordered the "secret" full scale bombing raids that had been carried on over Cambodia since 1969. Defending the rapacious actions of USNA imperialism with unabashed chauvinism, Nixon stated, "No future President should ever send Americans into battle with one hand tied behind their backs.... Don't listen to the unilateral disarmers....the hope of peace rests with a strong America, military strength and the strength of vision and will to act like a great nation." (1)

In marked contrast to the "fighting stance" of Nixon concerning USNA imperialism's rule of the Southeast Asian colonies, his chief advisor and next Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, underplayed the Indochina situa-

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# STRIKES IN PUERTO RICO

"THE SO-CALLED WEEK IN JULY AND THE PETTY-BOURGEOIS SELF-DECEPTION"

Submitted by the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Puerto Rico\*

After exhausting all attempts at peaceful negotiation, the workers affiliated to the Union of Electrical Industry and Irrigation Workers (UTIER) as well as the firemen of Puerto Rico went on strike in the early part of July. Simultaneously, 20 other small strikes were taking place elsewhere in the country.

The colonial government of Puerto Rico mobilized and activated some 3,000 U.S. National Guard troops in Puerto Rico. Using military force, the colonial government took over the main fire stations and the vital electrical energy plants. With bared bayonets and police aggression the government attempted to destroy the right to strike of these workers in government agencies.

Why did the government mobilize and activate the U.S. National Guard in Puerto Rico and hurl them against the firemen and the UTIER workers and not against other workers

who were likewise on strike?

The government (or the State) is an organ for the domination of one class by another. In Puerto Rico the ruling class is the bourgeoisie (the rich) and the classes ruled are the workers and the toiling masses. The government uses the repressive apparatus (i.e., the police, national guard, army, etc.) to dominate, by repression, the masses of people exploited by the capitalist system who constitute a menace to its very existence. We can conclude, then, that one of the reasons for which the government mobilized the U.S. National Guard is due to its repressive nature. But this is not enough. Why were these workers and not all the striking workers attacked?

The government did not repress all of the workers who were on strike simply because some of the strikes did not threaten the economic stability of the exploitative

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# Phase IV: IMPERIALISTS WIN MARKETS - WORKERS LOSE SHIRTS

What is the purpose of the "Phase IV" program? Why are the imperialists attacking the living standards of the class? Why are there "shortages" of such varied things as beef, gasoline, cotton, wheat, wool, copper scrap, newsprint, etc. at a time when production is at its highest levels? Why are prices rising so fast (30% to 40% in a month for some foodstuffs)? What does all this mean to the working class? What is the connection to the political crisis of Watergate?

Let us look closely at the facts:

1. Rapidly rising prices and a decline in real wages in the USNA.

The prices of almost every commodity have been rising, some at the rate of 40%. This is especially true of food prices, clothing and the rest of the necessities of life. These price increases follow from the increases in the prices of the raw basic commodities. For example, wool is up 86% from last year, hogs are up 42%, natural rubber is up 136%, corn is up 69% and steel scrap is up 43%. (1) This rise in prices, now legalized by Phase IV, coupled with the still in effect 5.5% limit on wage increases, amounts to a decline in real wages, the amount of commodities you can actually buy with your wage regardless of its dollar value, and to an attack on the living standard of the working class in the USNA. Almost the only effective limit of the "Phase" programs has been the limit on wages. The average union wage and benefit package settlement first year changes have gone down from a 9.5% increase in 1971 to 7.3% in 1972 to a 5.8% increase so far this year - and this is only the unionized, most bribed workers who make up less than 40% of the work force. (2)

2. "Shortages" of many commodities here and an expanding "surplus" of goods to export.

There are "shortages" of beef, gasoline, cotton, wool, copper scrap, wheat, corn, soy beans, etc. This is in a year of record production. The basis for the "shortages" is the rapidly expanding export market. The price of beef is 2½ times higher in Europe than here (3) and the price of soda ash, an important industrial chemical, is \$36 a ton here and the world price is between \$50 and \$60. (4) As for wheat, the current estimate is that 1.1 billion to 1½ billion bushels will be exported this year as compared with only 540 million bushels in 1970, only three years ago. (5) Wheat prices have risen 40% since July 18, 1973. (6) Similarly with corn.

This season, beginning with Oct. 1, 1972, 975 million bushels of corn have already been exported, as compared with only 580 million bushels in all of the previous year (Oct. to Oct.). (7) From Aug. 1, 1972 to April of this year more than 1 million bales of cotton were exported to Japan, compared to only 678,000 bales the previous entire year. (8) Clothing prices here will be up 8 to 10% as a minimum. (9) The price of copper scrap here is 60¢ a pound, but in London the same scrap is selling for as much as \$1.20 a pound. Exports of copper scrap hit record levels this June. (10) Not only are the prices higher abroad, but payments in international trade are made in gold, a barter of commodities, or some stable currency, while payment here is made in the still shrinking dollar.

The pattern is clear - the USNA imperialists' share of the world market is rising dramatically based on the relatively low prices of its commodities abroad and this increase in exports means "shortage" and higher prices at home. As an article in the New York Times points out: "Across the nation exports are booming, and in Washington last week, the monetary experts who have fashioned two devaluations of the dollar since 1971 - thereby lowering the cost of American-made goods in foreign countries and making them more competitive in world markets - were smiling." (11)

3. In addition to these factors, the USNA imperialists have forced an increase in productivity of 15½% over 1967 (12) and the interest rate on loans has skyrocketed to a 9½% prime rate (the rate at which banks loan money to the largest corporations). This, however, has not kept total debts from rising from \$120 billion in Jan., 1972 to \$150 billion in June, 1973. (13)

4. Finally, the profits of the biggest corporations were up an average of 30% from last year in the 2nd quarter of this year. For the oil industry, with all the talk about a gasoline shortage, profits were up 52%. (14)

As we have discussed in previous articles (see "Price Freeze Guarantees Profits," People's Tribune Vol. 5 No. 5 and "High Prices Bring Maximum Profits," Vol. 5 No. 3), and as is further proved by the facts we have just cited, the main aspect of the current economic situation is the fight of the biggest USNA imperialists to regain and extend their markets at home and especially abroad. Along with the increase in exports has gone a decrease in imports, for example, the Japanese

share of the USNA color TV market has dropped from 30% in 1972 to 15% of current sales. (15) It is this drive for the market that lies behind the Phase I, II, III, and IV price "freezes" (which generally froze prices at their highest level - the inflation rate has doubled under these programs). These freezes create the "shortages" at home and provide the "surpluses" for export that the imperialists want. They must have the commodities to sell now that they have created the opportunity to sell through the dollar devaluations. (See "International Report, Dialectics of the Financial Crisis," People's Tribune, Vol. 5 No. 2.) The drive to increase USNA exports is not just a simple economic move - it is a drive to use the economic muscle of the USNA for political purposes, as with the wheat sale to the Soviet Union.

In this new situation of competition among the imperialist powers, the USNA imperialists must force the wages of the workers in the USNA down in order to try to maintain their new increased share in the world market once the temporary effects of the dollar devaluation subside. They cannot do this through direct wage cuts, as this would have the danger of arousing the working class. Therefore, they use the indirect method of inflation - leaving the amount of dollars in the paycheck the same, but reducing the amount of commodities that those dollars can buy - thus reducing the real wages of the working class. We have all felt the effects of this attack on the living standard of the workers here - chicken is again a "Sunday dinner" and oranges again a Christmas stocking treat. While the imperialists dare not force the wage level down to the level of the world's proletariat, they must lessen the bribe - especially for the unskilled and semi-skilled sections of the Anglo-American working class. However, the current situation is not all peaches and cream for the USNA imperialists. While things are good now for those imperialists who want to sell in foreign markets, they are bad for those that must buy. While things are good for debtors (they pay their debts in money that is worth less than the money they borrowed), they are bad for creditors. The effects of the dollar devaluations and of the many temporary factors that have decreased production in other countries (crop failures in Argentina, an importer of wheat, for the first time this year, and crop failures in the Soviet Union, the disappearance of the anchovies and other fish

# Watergate: Platform for Political Exposure

Watergate is still the biggest and most foul political scandal in USNA history. All of the court proceedings necessary to complete the case are expected to last throughout Nixon's turn of office - 'til 1976. The government and the press know this, but they are participating in a new cover-up. That is, Nixon asked us to put Watergate behind us and to move on to more important issues. And the press spends many column yards of editorials telling us how tired the public is of reading about Watergate and seeing Watergate on TV. They try to convince us that everyone wants daytime TV to stick to soap operas and not broadcast the political struggle. And even the Senate Watergate Committee is talking about changes in the hearing procedures that can carefully remove Watergate from the public eye.

But, try as they may, the Watergate issue is hardly a thing that can disappear. Roughly three-fourths of the population is very dissatisfied with Nixon and about one out of every four thinks he should resign or be removed from office. But in the face of such public opposition, Nixon now seems to be moving from a defensive position to an offensive position in the work of his administration. This is most clearly shown by his recent appointments of William Colby, Henry Kissinger and James Schlesinger respectively to the offices of head of the CIA, Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense. Colby, a vicious mass murderer, was head of the pacification program, Operation Phoenix, in South Vietnam and was directly responsible for the deaths of at least 30,000 innocent men, women and children. Kissinger has been the main spokesman for the USNA imperialists in their moves to take advantage of the stalemate between the Soviet Union and China, allowing the USNA to consolidate its position of world hegemony. And finally, Schlesinger is the former head of the CIA. How is it that Nixon is now able to move to the offensive?

The main reason that the administration seems to be able to breeze along unopposed is that the leadership of the opposition is in the hands of the bourgeoisie and this "opposition" has no fundamental differences with Nixon. Sam Ervin is being put before us as the "grass roots" hero, but is this man who has consistently opposed civil rights legislation and who supported USNA aggression in Indochina

speaking for the working class? Of course not!

We must take this leadership away from the bourgeoisie and place it in the hands of the proletariat. The working class is outraged at the bold, contemptuous arrogance of Nixon and his gang, but it has no channel through which to express itself. We must provide this channel and present a clear alternative to the likes of the Sam Ervin's and the Democratic and Republican parties. That alternative is a working class party, a Communist party.

It is through this party that we will be able to raise the consciousness of the working class so that they will be able to see the vital connection the Watergate scandal has to their general conditions. Lenin describes the role of just such political exposures: "We must 'arouse in every section of the population that is at all enlightened a passion for political exposure'." (1)

"Political exposures are as much a declaration of war

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## LITERATURE

The following publications are available from the CL:

	<u>Donation</u>
Negro National Colonial Question	\$1.00
Dialectics of the Development of the Communist League	\$ .50
Lenin and Stalin on the Party	\$ .50
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system and neither did they economically affect all of the capitalist class: only a very small minority of workers were on strike, and it was not the strikes in themselves that were worrying the government and the bourgeoisie, but the immediate economic results which two of these strikes meant to the bourgeoisie as a class and the long-range impact they might bring, not to mention the immediate panic which the bourgeoisie was thrown into at the possibility that without light in the streets and without firemen to put out fires, the so-called "armed branches" of the liberation movement would have a field day planting bombs and burning North American and Cuban businesses, hotels and other concerns.

The strike of the UPIER employees was, by itself, paralyzing all the economic activities of the country. The losses to North American investors, who control 85% of our industry and almost 60% of commerce not to speak of nearly 100% of the tourist industry, were going to be, as in fact they were, sizeable. If to this one adds the wave of sabotage (feared by Hernández Colón), the material losses would have been enormous, and the attempt to establish the superport and other petrochemical enterprises in Puerto Rico would have been dealt its death blow. The political impact would have been equally unfortunate for the government (nationally thousands jailed and arrested, and internationally the colony and imperialism denounced and condemned).

Luckily the wave of sabotage feared by Hernández Colón did not materialize, for while internationally it would have succeeded in exposing the colony of Puerto Rico, nationally it would have thrown the struggle back to the "diaper" level. It is not with explosive bombs that the masses are politicized. It is with ideological bombs, with political work, and with militant and constant solidarity that the working class can be politicized, won over and organized under the banner of its own proletarian party to struggle for socialism and for the final assault on and capture of the capitalist fortress on whose ruins a Communist society will be built.

Panic and brutal repression disguised as "defense of the public interest" were the dominant note in all of the colonial government's actions in dealing with the strike of the firemen and employees of Electrical Energy.

Surprise, dismay, verbal radicalism and the pseudo-

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## PHASE IV

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off the coast of Peru this season, etc.) will inevitably come to an end and the specter of a much more severe crisis of overproduction is on the horizon. In fact the main debate among bourgeois economists today is not "whether" we will have a recession, but "when" and "how bad." These factors have spurred on the split in the imperialist class that is expressed in the Watergate political crisis, and are the reasons for the urgency of the imperialists' drive towards fascism.

The response of the revisionist CPUSA has been first of all to go along with and encourage the chauvinism that the imperialists are trying to spread. These crude appeals that the rising prices and shortages are to be blamed on "the voracious Japanese appetite for beef" and on the Soviet wheat purchases are now commonly heard from those spokesmen that the CPUSA are fond of calling the "people's advocates," such as, Ted Kennedy of Massachusetts and Fred Harris of Oklahoma.

The CPUSA participates directly in this in a slightly more subtle way. In an article entitled, "How to Fight Phase IV, III, II, I" in the August 11, 1973 edition of the Daily World, their economic "expert", Victor Perlo, says that, "There is less reason than ever for U.S. workers to be gulled into a position of increasingly inferior conditions in comparison with workers in other industrialized countries." The revisionism comes out most clearly in the concluding program which we quote in full: "Here is what I would recommend as an immediate program of struggle to be advanced by people's organizations, unions, consumer groups, community organizations, etc.: On Wages: 15% per year increases, plus full cost of living escalator: \$5 per hour minimum to be increased with cost of living. No government restriction of wage increases. On prices: Roll back of all prices, rent and interest rates to August 1971 levels. Specification of dollars and cents levels for all items, including consumer items at the store. Government takeover and operation of all facilities that close down or slow down following price rollbacks. Use of subsidies to get prices of essential imported materials down to August 1971 levels. On agriculture: Takeover of agribusiness properties that fail to produce at capacity. End all farm subsidy payments of price support types. Direct income subsidies to small and medium farmers who do most of their own work. Offering land to workers who wish to become farmers (!) with the

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## REPLY TO OCTOBER LEAGUE (M.L.)

## "Young Communist Movement"

The August issue of the Call, the political newspaper of the October League (Marxist-Leninist), carried an article discussing their July "congress." The report of this "congress" carried a number of pronouncements against Marxism-Leninism which were specifically directed against the Communist League. Unfortunately, we again feel compelled to set aside important work and answer these statements lest some of the friends of Marxism should, temporarily, be led astray.

First, the article makes many references to the "young" Communist movement which they claim to represent and be a part of. We assume that they refer to a "young" communist movement apart from an "old" communist movement. We are forced to admit that the Communist League is a part of the "old" Communist movement - the one founded by Marx and Engels and given further direction by Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-tung. It is precisely on the question of an "old" or "young" communist movement that our differences with the OL (M-L) arise.

It is obvious that the "young" communist movement is simply the face of the "new Left". This trend within the revolutionary movement arose supposedly in opposition to the revisionism and belly-crawling of the CPUSA. The first announcements of the "new Left" were that they did not need Marxism-Leninism and their first attacks were directed against everything Soviet and Communist. They made no distinction between the great Soviet proletariat and the handful of revisionists who have seized power in the USSR. Within the USNA, they denied all the glorious history and struggles of the CPUSA. And in general, they ignored the history and struggles of the world's proletarian fighters.

Their conception that the CPUSA is and always has been a bourgeois party naturally suggested that they, the "new Left", would have to rely on their own practice. This line denied the Marxist concept that socialism is a science and as such it must be studied. The rejection of the theoretical struggle compelled them to unite with the then popular phrase: "the duty of the Communist is to hurl the masses into combat." The Communist League long ago rejected the idea of relying on the quicksand that the "new Left" calls practice. We rely on the historical experience of the world revolution and especially the experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The lessons of this history can only be found by diligently studying the works of the great teachers: Marx,

Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao-Tse-tung.

The article also spoke of the "excellent revolutionary situation in the world today." If they are talking about the world we live in, we would suggest that they adhere closely to Lenin's teachings that "truth is always concrete." The facts of our situation are these: War between the USSR and China is an immediate and practical possibility. We have said this for over a year. Today every news analysis, as well as the report of the 10th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, confirms this. The inevitable result of such a danger is that the Chinese Communist Party must at all costs safeguard socialism which means defending China. Such defense necessarily includes compromises with its historic imperialist enemy - the State of the USNA. The collusion between the USSR and the USNA has resulted in the momentary containment of communism and its "roll back" in Eastern Europe. The Communist Parties of Latin America have been thoroughly disoriented by the CIA and the Khrushchev gang. Throughout the colonial and semi-colonial world the treacherous national bourgeoisie are tightening their hold over the national movements. This is uniting with the real world.

But, we are Marxists and, therefore, we are optimists. In a historical sense the bourgeoisie is being defeated and the proletariat is bound to lead the toiling masses to socialism. However, we do not confuse historical inevitabilities with immediate tasks. In fact it is only the objective activities of the revolutionaries today that make socialism inevitable tomorrow. There have been and there shall be some great successes, but the coming period indicates that a long and arduous march lies ahead for those willing to defend the revolution and struggle to lead our class to socialism.

The "congress" of the OL(M-L) adopted a line that states that while "revisionism (right opportunism) is the main ideological danger facing the world struggle for socialism, the main danger to the young communist movement in the U.S. is ultra-leftism."

We would like to ask this "young communist movement," how they go about remaining isolated from the influence of revisionism. Anyone who takes time enough to work in the mass movement is quite aware that there is hardly a revolutionary trend in the USNA that is not the target of and very often in the control of

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# Violence Matures in Farmworkers' Struggles

Recently, in Lamont, California Nagi Daifullah Moshin, a 24 year old Arab farmworker, was savagely beaten and killed outside a tavern by a blood thirsty Kern County Sherriff. Another victim of bourgeois justice was Juan de la Cruz, a 60 year old farmworker from Arvin who was shot in the heart with a .22 caliber rifle shortly after 3:00 P.M., Thursday, August 16, as non-union work crews were leaving a field owned by Guimarra Vineyards Corp. Three other farmworkers have been shot and wounded since August 1. This is the result of a long arduous struggle of the rural proletariat against the constant attacks of the state and the Teamster leadership who are volunteering their services as fighters for the bourgeoisie.

In Arvin, California, funeral services were held for the slain comrade, Juan de la Cruz. About 5,000 to 6,000 workers both from the valley and from outside cities were there to show support and grief. The bourgeois line to keep the people in a passive and tranquil state was pushed through the revisionist CPUSA and the slimy Trotskyites.

Cesar Chavez is also used by the bourgeoisie to push the line of dividing the workers of the USNA from the workers of Mexico. By stating his plan to go to Washington to present a proposal for stronger enforcement of bourgeois immigration laws, he is blatantly taking the chauvinist position of the bourgeoisie, blaming the Mexican workers from Mexico for the plight of the USNA working class by saying, "They are taking our jobs." It is the neo-colonial status of Mexico to the USNA that starves the Mexican workers and forces them to come across the border when necessary to serve as a reserve labor force and cheap labor. Chavez would have us believe that it's the poor workers of Mexico who are exploiting the farmworkers of the USNA. If that were true, then why is it that it's the huge capitalist growers and the imperialists of the USNA who get all the super-profits?

The day of the funeral for Juan de la Cruz, Fitzsimmons - head of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters - announced that his union was calling this a big victory. We should be clear that first of all, Fitzsimmons' move was only a cheap attempt to cool down public opinion about the murders, and second of all, that the "cancelled" contracts only represent 29 Delano area grape growers, and do not include 51 other contracts

signed between the Teamster leadership and the growers, including Gallo Bros., the world's largest winery.

The struggles of the farmworkers are surging forward, just as the struggles of all workers - from the people of Dallas who gathered together to protest the police murder of a 12 year old boy to the auto workers of Detroit. At this time of an outbreak of resistance, the working class is faced with two possibilities. Either the proletariat is to fight under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, or the proletariat is to fight by remaining politically independent of the bourgeoisie.

We have to choose the second possibility, political independence of the working class, the only path by which the working class can win. Political independence of the working class means that the working class does not allow itself to be used by the bourgeoisie for its own ends, as the Kennedy's and the Democratic Party have always tried to use the struggles of the farmworkers. Political independence of the working class means that the working class uses tactics in its struggle against the bourgeoisie that will win, not tactics that plead to the "democratic" feelings of the class in power - the brutal bourgeoisie - by putting up no organized resistance to the attacks by the bourgeoisie and their fascist agents, the thugs sent in by the Teamster union leadership.

In the "Address to the Central Committee of the Communist League" Karl Marx and Frederick Engels explained the serious situation that developed when the German communists began to give up their separate organization, the workers' party. "Instead of once again stooping to serve as the applauding chorus of the bourgeois democrats, the workers, and above all, the League, must exert themselves to establish an independent, secret and public organization of the workers' party alongside of the official democrats and make each section the central point and nucleus of workers' societies in which the attitude and interests of the proletariat will be discussed independently of bourgeois influences." (1)

The same is true today. The working class needs an organization, and that organization is a Communist Party that will insure the political

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# PUERTO RICO Superports Symbol of Imperialism

Submitted by Resistencia Puertorriquena

The fact that it is a colony of the U.S. makes Puerto Rico a reserve of imperialism, it's most important reserve, as a matter of fact. Reserves serve imperialism as safety valves. That is, every time the imperialists have a crisis, or are undergoing grave problems, they turn to their reserves in order to relieve or solve temporarily such problems.

And how has imperialism used its reserve, Puerto Rico? In the beginning of their regime in the island, the yankees were mostly interested in producing sugar for consumption in its internal market. So, they made a gigantic sugar plantation out of the Puerto Rican national territory. At the same time, conscious of the fact that because of its geographic position Puerto Rico offered great military advantages, they initiated the militarization of the island. This militarization has reached such an extent that 13% of the national territory serves such a purpose.

The stage of the gigantic sugar cane plantation ended in the '40's - not because of a decision by Puerto Ricans but because it was convenient to the imperialists. They now started the industrialization under the auspices of a program designed so that foreign capital could take over completely the economy of the island. Thus we find today that 90% of industrial capital in P.R. is in the hands of the yankees.

Other processes were happening simultaneously to these, all of them geared towards solving imperialism's problems. Excess production of the capitalist society soon found in almost 3 million Puerto Ricans a captive market where to get rid of these excess products. P.R. became the 5th market of the U.S. products in the world (2nd only to Canada in this continent). Also, the need for a cheap labor force, especially in services and manufacture, was satisfied for the imperialists by a program of massive emmigration which brought to the North American territory thousands of Puerto Ricans - one of the greatest emigrations ever registered in modern history.

Needless to say, a great number of the industries established in the island do

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## REPLY

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the CPUSA. We have learned the hard way that the strength of the CPUSA lies in the wide and deep system of fellow travelers and hangers on who surround the Party and are embedded deeply in the mass movement. These fellow travelers not only spread the poisonous influence of revisionism on every social level, but also act as a shield that prevents a frontal assault against the Party itself. It is really quite odd that in the most powerful imperialist state in world history - in a state rapidly heading for fascism, a state constructed upon the blood of millions of African slaves, native Indians and immigrant laborers - this "young communist movement" defines ultra-leftism as the main danger. As for the position of the Communist League, we unite with the world communist movement in identifying the main danger as counterrevolutionary revisionism.

At least part of the problem lies in the simplistic view of the "young communist movement" which sees that ultra-leftism arose in opposition to the revisionism of the CPUSA. We are quite aware that by ultra-left they mean the Communist League. But, we are Marxist-Leninists and we arose on a base quite independent of the revisionist "right" or the Anarcho-Syndicalist "left". Marxism-Leninism in the USNA arose on the basis of an analysis of the history of the class struggle here and of the Bolshevik revolution and on a scientific analysis of the world revolutionary movement. In our document, "The Dialectics of the Development of the Communist League," we proved that there is a unity between Anarcho-Syndicalism and Revisionism. This unity does not include Marxism-Leninism which arose quite apart from the subjectivity of the "left" and "right".

The truth of the matter is that the Revisionists hold State power in the USSR and a number of other countries. They exert a powerful influence over the majority of the Communist Parties of the world. Therefore, we Marxist-Leninists must center our fire on the revisionists and beware of the line that says that the ultra-lefts are the main danger. This incorrect line does more than confuse the line of march, it diverts it. This line of struggle against "ultra-leftism" as the main ideological danger is also the line of the CPSU and the CPUSA. These revisionists attack the Communist Party of China by calling it "ultra-left". We would advise our "young communist" friends to read some of the recent statements of Gus Hall or the trash entitled, "Maoism Through the Eyes of Communist Leaders." Such mirrors should be warning

enough. It is plain to see that the role of the conciliators is to divert the fire from the revisionists who are the main danger onto the Marxist-Leninists, with the resulting harm to the revolution.

The "young communist movement" talks about struggling against Trotskyism and Revisionism "every step of the way" and uniting "all who can be united." We think that these are very good slogans. However, the concrete reality of their practice seems to be, "struggle against the Communist League every step of the way." In Los Angeles on January 20, 1973 the October League (M-L) fought for the position that the Trotskyites should be included in the Anti-Imperialist Coalition and it is a known fact that elements of the October League united with elements of the CPUSA to sponsor the march in defense of political prisoners last summer. It is obvious that "uniting all that can be united" includes the Trotskyites and the CPUSA and excludes the Communist League, in spite of our published efforts towards cooperation. (See "OL Reply, Part II," People's Tribune, Vol. 5 No. 2.)

In the resolution in support of self-determination, the "congress traced the development of the Afro-American people as a nation over a period of several hundred years in the 'plantation area of the South'." The "congress" also "condemned 'leftist' attempts to liquidate the national struggle of Black people, either under the banner of separatist slogans such as "Free the NEGRO Nation..."

Neither of these contributions stand up in the light of Marxism. First of all, a nation is a "historically evolved stable community of people formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture." It is true that the Negro people were a historically evolved community of people during slavery. Being drawn from many tribes in Africa, amalgamated with large numbers of native Indians and Anglo-Europeans, the Negro people emerged as a distinct historically evolved community of people. The Black Belt obviously formed the common territory as distinct from the patriarchal slave areas. The common language was the language of the masters, English. The very nature of slavery provided the basis for a common psychological make-up. However, these four characteristics are not enough to make a nation. A nation must have a common economic life, and that meant exchange between town and country - and that under capitalist conditions demanded a proletariat, a peasantry and a bourgeoisie. Class divisions are proof of a common economic life. Now we ask, were such

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## P.R. Strike

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revolutionary illusionism and fantasizing typical of the petty-bourgeoisie were the dominant note among the Puerto Rican so-called "left".

"Urgent calls" were made to the repressive agents of the U.S. National Guard in Puerto Rico not to kill the workers and to disobey the orders of their superiors; illusionistic "solutions", such as "the only response to the regime's escalation of repression is the generalization of the protest and a work stoppage by the whole workers' movement", were voiced and written by no less than the General-Secretary of the self-named party "of the workers" of Puerto Rico (La Gravedad de la Situación, Juan Mari Bras, Extra of Claridad, July 7, 1973). Self-deceiving headlines such as "Country on the Brink of Paralysis", "Government in a Panic", and many more (even more self-deceiving) were the common denominator of the "left" as well as of the "right" press. One sought to deceive itself, and the other to create the image of imminent disaster which would, by all appearances, "justify" the government's action of mobilizing the military to "protect" the people.

All of this crowned by a march of some 15,000 workers and students (of more or less equal proportions, that is, 7 or 8,000 workers and approximately the same number of students) is what the P.S.P. [Puerto Rican Socialist Party] pompously calls the "Week in July". Certainly we do not negate the importance of the firemen's strike nor that of the employees of the Public Waterworks (Electrical Energy) just as we never deny the importance of any strike in our country.

But certainly, we have to condemn petty bourgeois illusionism and irresponsibility in analysis. A "Week" [in the sense used above] in the revolutionary process of a people heading towards its social liberation signifies a turning point toward a qualitative and quantitative leap of such magnitude that it makes the triumph of the objectives for which it struggles, in our case socialism, come significantly closer. Can it seriously be stated that something similar to this has occurred in Puerto Rico as a consequence of the strike of the firemen and electrical workers and as a consequence of the mobilization of the National Guard or of the worker-student march through the streets of San Juan? It appears to us that the answer is "no." The celebration of the colonialist "Week" followed its normal course (July 4, U.S. Independence; July 17, Birthdate of Munoz Marin's father; July 25, Anniversary

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# P.R. Strike

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of the Yankee invasion of Puerto Rico; July 27, Birthdate of Barbosa, the Father of Assimilationism). To confuse the calling out of the National Guard to "protect" an industry vital to the entire colonial economy (as is the electrical industry without which all other industries, businesses, transportation, etc., are paralyzed) with a "qualitative leap" or with such a "Week" is pure illusionism. Today, the mobilization of the U.S. National Guard in Puerto Rico was due to the vital character (vital to the system) of the electrical industry in particular and not to the magnitude of the strike movement nor much less to the economic and political character of its demands.

It is one thing to point out the positive and negative aspects of the July strikes and balance them one against the other, but it is quite another thing to pompously call them "The Week in July".

## Positive Aspects of the July Strikes:

1. The strikers have realized that their so-called right to strike extends only to the limit at which the vital interests of the bourgeoisie are not seriously compromised or affected.
2. The strikers and the great masses of workers have realized that the repressive nature of the State is not a "communist" fairytale but a living reality and that the National Guard is not mobilized solely against "subversives", as it was in 1950, but against them as well whenever their strikes affect the vital interests of the bourgeoisie.
3. Several of the workers' pseudo-leaders exposed themselves as instruments of the government and the ruling class.
4. All of the pro-independence forces mobilized themselves in solidarity with the strikers.
5. A weak but incipient coordination among the workers' leaders was put into practice and if this coordination and mutual aid expands and consolidates in the future, an important step forward in the struggles of the workers and toilers as classes and not as segments isolated one from the other will have taken place.
6. The concessions gained were less than those demanded, but they were substantially greater than what the regime initially was ready to concede.
7. The more conscious segments of the student population supported the workers and participated with them in these strikes and in the march taking one more step forward in

the worker-toiler-student unity in Puerto Rico.

## Negative Aspects of the July Strikes:

1. The masses of workers and toilers once more demonstrated their basically economist consciousness. The masses of workers and toilers continue to be unpoliticized and whoever confuses the political consciousness of the members of that union is tragically deluding himself. The workers' leadership, even the most politicized, continues to be vacillating (perhaps because of the reality that the masses are unpoliticized) and does nothing to politicize the bases of the workers' movement. This provokes a double illusionism: within the workers' movement its leadership confuses the acceptance by the masses of the workers of the solidarity which the pro-independence groups and the "socialists" offer with a growth in the workers' consciousness. The political leadership likewise confuses both ends and starting out from non-existent bases develops one thesis after another and makes more and more plans. The elements of opportunism which make the unpoliticized mass of workers accept the solidarity of the "socialists" and which make the "socialists" appear the moment there is a strike must not be confused with a supposed raising of consciousness nor a supposed link-up of "socialism" or independence with the masses of workers. This is the reality, even if it hurts. And to fool oneself and call the July strikes such a "week" on the basis of these facts is illusionism pure and simple. Nevertheless, we don't deny that even within this process of mutual opportunism some positive political results may be obtained. What we vigorously point to, however, is that the work within the working class cannot be limited, as it is today, to mobilizing ourselves every time a strike arises to do the picketing for the workers and to contribute to the success of their marches. This is not Marxism nor is it anything close to it.
2. The absence of a strong, powerful Marxist-Leninist party in Puerto Rico was decisively felt. That historic absence is one of the determining factors for the low political consciousness of the Puerto Rican working and toiling class and for the vacillating and basically opportunist union leadership in our country. It is partly responsible also for the low level of organization of the working masses (hardly 20% is organized). The PSR-ML [Revolutionary Socialist Party-Marxist-Leninist] as the organizing nucleus of the Communist Party which historically has been missing but necessary in Puerto Rico did what according to its forces it was possible to do and tried

to orient the workers on strike in such a way as to add supporters to their cause and to explain the reasons for their strike to the other workers who were forced to stop work due to the lack of electricity and in so doing they would begin to lay the minimal basis of a budding class solidarity, even if at an embryonic level.

3. The dispersal and disorganization of the workers' movement and the traditionalism and isolationist policy of the workers on strike toward their comrades not on strike became clear. The absence of contact between the striking workers and the non-striking workers was also evident. Due to the strike against the Public Waterworks (Electrical Energy), other workers were temporarily out of work. A mass line would demand that these work stoppages take place more on account of solidarity with the strike than because of the absence of electrical energy. Not even one commission of striking workers went out to visit other work centers to explain the motives of the strike and gain, if not solidarity, at least an understanding of the justness of their strike. Especially since that strike was the victim of a national slander campaign. A general strike is reached through the conscious mobilization of class solidarity and not through blackouts forcing work stoppages.

As long as the Marxist-Leninist party in Puerto Rico is not strengthened the petty bourgeoisie will keep on leading the struggle with all its vacillations, illusionisms, zig-zags, showing-off, self-deceptions and opportunism; the working class will continue with its trade-union politics and its unpoliticized rank-and-file and its vacillating leadership; the so-called last stretch of the struggle will continue for a very long time and the imperialists and the comprador bourgeoisie together with colonial status will keep on being the dominant note of our daily life as a people.

Let us put an end to all of this by creating the Marxist-Leninist Party of Puerto Rico starting out from the base of the existing Marxist nucleus which is the Revolutionary Socialist Party!

**PUERTO RICO IN ARMS! NOW!**

\*Ed. note: This article was submitted to us by the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Puerto Rico. We have translated it into English in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.



## S.E. Asia

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tion by stating that "Vietnam is behind us". This seeming contradiction was further exemplified by an August 18 statement that the imperialists planned an "immediate partial withdrawal" of the huge military force that has been built up in Thailand to support full scale bombing of Southeast Asia, while at the same time Defense Secretary Schlesinger said that the bombing cut-off "was an erosion of the U.S. position that could lead the North Vietnamese to believe that they have a free ride." (2)

What then is the meaning of this "schizophrenic" situation, where Mr. Nixon and his aids seem to speak from both sides of their mouths? To untangle this confusing web, it is imperative to begin from the understanding that "politics is nothing but the concentrated expression of economics". In explaining the fundamental laws that inevitably come forth in the development of imperialism, Lenin stated, "The more capitalism develops, the more the need for raw materials arises, the more bitter competition becomes, and the more feverishly the hunt for raw materials proceeds all over the world, the more desperate becomes the struggle for the acquisition of colonies." (3)

Lenin further defined imperialism as "capitalism in that stage of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself; in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced importance; in which the division of the world among the international

trusts has begun; in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed." (4)

While it is impossible to draw simple and clear lines to link particular economic conditions to the mouthings of the particular politicians, imperialism's drive for maximizing profits inevitably acts as the motive force to guide their actions, to judge the success or failure of their particular plans.

The years of the Vietnam war opened up a huge potential for fantastic profits for finance capital. The lure of this lucrative market culminated in the fact that at the height of the war more than 65% of all commodity production depended on the continuation of the large scale war effort that rapidly burned up these commodities and offered huge contracts. And yet while profits rose in absolute amounts, the rate of profit began to tumble; competition forced the necessary expansion of plants, retooling and investments in raw materials. Accordingly, the profit from each dollar invested by the finance capitalists shrank. Once again, the basic law of imperialism, to search for maximum profits, has begun to assert itself. The horn of plenty created by the war began to dry up, forcing many of the largest finance capitalists to look for new markets, leaving much of the huge war industry in the lurch.

The development of this economic situation has begun to express itself politically in the Watergate fiasco and in the

current battle over imperialist tactics; war or detente. What is being expressed by the bourgeoisie on the surface as a split between those who want war and those who want peace is nothing but the maneuvers of the imperialist financial interests. The battle that has emerged over imperialist tactics has led to much of the double talk of the Nixon gang. While being forced to talk "tough" and defend his imperialist track record, Nixon has at the same time carried out the steps necessary for expansion into new markets. While much is made of the fact that Nixon now has to "consult" Congress before embarking on new wars of imperialist aggression, an "indignity" never "suffered" by Messrs. Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson, it is quite obvious that the "doves" would waste no time in approving the most rapacious plans. One needs to only recall the so-called Gulf of Tonkin affair in which a few torpedo boats supposedly attacked one of the greatest armadas of war ships in the world. Unity of Congress and the President at that time came from the huge profits to be made, and certainly will again, when those conditions present themselves.

As we have stated before, the current "peace" offensive in Southeast Asia is part and parcel of the need to expand finance capital into new markets. While the thieves' partnership established by Nixon and Brezhnev offers unprecedented potential for profits from the investment of USNA finance capital in the Soviet market, it is

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## REPLY

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class divisions possible several hundred years ago (i.e., 1773) when the Negro people were forced into one class - the class of slaves? Is common economic life, i.e., commodity exchange, possible under such conditions? Facts, Gentlemen, are stubborn things, and the facts show that the Negro people could not have possibly developed into a nation until after the defeat of reconstruction when the brutal segregation of the Negro people allowed for, nay, compelled the development of a Negro bourgeoisie, a Negro peasantry and a Negro proletariat - and that based upon exchange between town and country.

Secondly, as regards the slogan, "Free the Negro Nation," is it a correct revolutionary slogan? Is "Free Puerto Rico" a correct slogan? Is "Free South Vietnam" a correct slogan? Is "Free Mozambique" a correct slogan? Why support "Free Puerto Rico" and not "Free the Negro Nation"? We quite well understand the differences in the concrete tactical struggle, but we also understand the reluctance of the "young communist movement" to truly struggle for the free-

dom of the Negro people. That reason lies in the fact that the Negro people were slaves to the Anglo-Americans. Every Anglo-American enjoys privileges over the Negro people. The crimes of the Anglo-American people against the Negro people are monumental and historic.

Leninism teaches us: "First, what is the most important, the fundamental idea of our theses? The distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations." Here Lenin does not speak of oppressor classes alone, but oppressor nations. (1) There is no question that in the light of Leninism, the slogan "Free the Negro Nation" is correct. As for the slogan being separatist, Lenin settled that question long ago. Lenin wrote, "When we demand freedom of secession for the Mongolians, Persians, Egyptians and all oppressed and disfranchised nations without exceptions, we do so, not because we want them to secede, but only because we are in favor of a free, voluntary and not a forcible coming together and amalgamation of nations. It is for this reason and this reason alone." (2) As for the little trick of placing the right to self-determination as a category, apart from freedom, Lenin wrote, "If we

want to grasp the meaning of self-determination of nations, not by juggling with legal definitions, or 'inventing' abstract definitions, but by examining the historico-economic conditions of the national movements, we must inevitably reach the conclusion that the self-determination of nations means the political separation of these nations from alien national bodies and the formation of an independent national state." (3)

We very well understand the difficulties the "young communist movement" faces when they attempt to gain clarity on the national question and especially the Negro question. Lenin spelled it out when he wrote, "...in the epoch of imperialism, owing to objective causes, the proletariat has been split into two international camps, one of which has been corrupted by the crumbs that fall from the table of the bourgeoisie of the ruling nations - obtained among other things, from the two fold or three fold exploitation of small nations - while the other cannot liberate itself without liberating the small nations, without educating the masses in an anti-chauvinist,

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## Jefferson

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Chrysler manages to beat these super-profits out of its workers is through hiring brutal, intimidating, supervisory personnel. Chrysler Jefferson Avenue Assembly employed just such a dog, Tom Woolsey, as a supervisor in the body shop of that plant. Woolsey had a history of hurling white chauvinist slurs at national minority workers and threatening workers with iron floor pins. The workers in that department, 9110, assemble heavy quarter panels, roofs, and floor pans of Chryslers and Imperials, on a line moving at a 72 car an hour clip.

Two militant Negro national minority workers in that department circulated a petition among their 300 co-workers in their department, calling for the removal of Tom Woolsey. The petition, getting signed by 240 of the 300 workers, was given to the union steward, Sam Matthews, and nothing more was heard of it.

Confronted on the one hand with the united support of the workers in their department as shown by the petition, and on the other hand, with a spineless fool for a union representative, these same two militant workers climbed into the wire cage surrounding the power supply for the assembly line in their department, and pulled the switch which stopped the line.

"It is sufficient for one shop to stop work for the workers in the entire plant to become idle." (4) These prophetic words of the great Stalin capture the subsequent motion which saw Chrysler lose the production of 950 (5) new cars as some 5,000 employees were idle on the 24th of July, 1973.

The cage where the two militant workers barricaded themselves was surrounded by 200 to 300 workers who refused to allow plant security or management to move against the workers in the cage. The demands voiced by the workers in the cage were: 1) the immediate removal of Tom Woolsey, 2) no reprisals be taken against the workers for the shut-down, 3) these agreements be made in the presence of the workers of that department, and 4) these agreements be in writing. After 13 hours the company met all these demands and the two workers that were in the cage emerged from the factory on the shoulders of their comrade workers.

A local bourgeois press, The Detroit Free Press, responded to this action of over 200 workers with the absurd headline - "2 Angry Workers Shut Chrysler Plant". (6) UAW Vice-President Doug Fraser's response to the take-over was, "This is the

first plant hijacking of my experience. They get an 'A' for ingenuity." (7) And traitorous, corrupt union misleaders should get an 'A' in selling out to the bourgeoisie and in being leeches on the backs of the working class. Later, Doug Fraser told Chrysler that they had made a "mistake," giving in to the workers.

This uprising at the Jefferson plant was but the culmination of a rich history of spontaneous struggles which in the last few months saw a general foreman shot to death by an Anglo-American worker, a major wildcat which crippled the plant for 3 days, a foreman beaten with a pipe, heat walkouts, and several other walkouts, stoppages, firings, and fights, which show the spiraling militancy and working class unity being forged in the flames of the struggle against imperialism.

The heroic struggle of the Jefferson workers shows the urgent need for an educating, organizing, mobilizing, and guiding vanguard party of the proletariat, a party guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism. "It has already been historically proven that without its party, the working class, no matter what the conditions in which it lives and acts, does not become conscious by itself." (8) With its party at its helm and the science of Marxism-Leninism its guide, the working class cannot be defeated.

- 1) Detroit News, 7/25/73, p. 10A
- 2) Marx, Wage - Labor and Capital, Charles Kerr & Co., Chicago, 1948, p. 44.
- 3) Ibid., p. 44.
- 4) Stalin, Anarchism or Socialism?, Selected Works, Cardinal Publishers, California, 1971, p. 26.
- 5) Detroit Free Press, 7/25/73, p. 1A.
- 6) Ibid., p. 1A.
- 7) Ibid., p. 13A.
- 8) Hoxha, "The Objective and Subjective Factors in the Revolution," by Foto Cami, Albania Today.

## Reply

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i.e., anti-annexationist, i.e., "self-determinationist" spirit." (4)

We would like to say this to the "young communist movement": All young people, young groups, young movements are characterized by their demand for freedom of choice. We earnestly ask you, which of the international camps will you support?

Time and space permitting, we will continue the evaluation in the next issue of the Peoples Tribune. At any rate, on the hindquarters of this "congress" we clearly see Kautsky's coat of arms and send our loud and irreverent laughter.

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## FORGE

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Forge plant (unauthorized by the International), and more recently, the "occupation" at the Mack Avenue Stamping plant. All three were Chrysler Corporation plants.

All the UAW strikes reflect the growing unity and militancy of the working class. The utilization of the "wildcat" strike has allowed militant leaders of the rank and file to emerge.

On Tuesday, August 8, 1973 the Detroit Forge plant was frozen stiff at the 'point of production,' when workers refused to enter the plant, for health and safety reasons. The weapon used by the workers was the "wildcat strike" which is one of the immediate weapons the workers possess in our spontaneous resistance to the capitalist class. The "wildcat" involved 1500 militant workers, both Negro national minority and Anglo-American, skilled and unskilled workers, and the young and old. It was triggered by the unjust firing of 13 fellow workers over the past few months and more importantly because of the absolutely unbearable, unsafe, dangerous working conditions at this plant. As of today an untold amount of serious injuries have occurred, ranging from crushed and mangled fingers and arms, to amputations and loss of eyes and ears.

Detroit Forge is extremely critical to the Chrysler Corporation. It is one of the only two forging process plants which Chrysler owns in the whole world. The other plant makes essentially different parts. All of the basic internal elements of an engine are produced at Detroit Forge. Production includes connecting rods, axles, and more than 85% of the torsion bars for Chrysler. Plants as distant as South Africa and South America are supplied by this plant.

As Communists we ask the question, what does this 6 day "wildcat" at Detroit Forge mean politically? What lessons have we learned through this struggle?

First, the workers at Detroit Forge have learned through practice the vital importance of totally casting away the chains of capitalist leadership as well as the backstabbing union-misleading sell-outs. Not only at Forge, but all 3 "wildcats" in Detroit were independent working class struggles against our out-right class enemies, and likewise the enemy from within, the wolves in sheeps clothing. The most outstanding and outspoken wolf was the International Vice President of the

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# FORGE

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UAW, Douglas Fraser, who sold out each of the workers' struggles.

The local union official played a similar treacherous role in containing the "wildcat." For example, at the union meeting of Local 47 of Detroit Forge, in the midst of a discussion concerning the strategy of the "wildcat", all the union mis-leaders were told to go on a week's vacation and were put out. A strike committee was elected as the leadership with class-conscious workers elected by the workers themselves. Shortly after, the traitorous role of the union officials was totally exposed when they and the company officials attempted to break the strike by intimidation of those workers on the picket lines.

As the "wildcats" in Detroit became generally "worse" (in the eyes of the company and union), the union mis-leaders moved further and further toward the right. Douglas Fraser responded to the Jefferson "take-over" by saying the workers "get an 'A' for ingenuity," but later he said the give-in by Chrysler to the workers was a "mistake." (See related article in this issue.)

In response to the six day work stoppage at Detroit Forge, which happened 2 weeks after the "take-over" at Jefferson, Fraser used lies and trickery to deceive the workers: "I agree the working conditions are intolerably unsafe. Go back to work, we'll negotiate, we must strike legally." More recently he united to crush "by any means necessary" hand in hand with the capitalists the 'occupation' at the Mack Stamping plant. He told the company, "We must not allow ourselves to be blackmailed by a minority. Knuckle down, we'll just have to sweat this one out." Such renegacy is not being allowed to go unchecked. Fraser set the stage for a massive slaughter of the workers who staged a sit-in and "occupied" the Mack Stamping plant for 25 hours. Luckily, the time was not right for the imperialists to take "our" union officials' advice.

Chrysler and the UAW have blamed all three "wildcats" on 'outside agitators' or "a small minority of dissidents," or "communist trouble makers," "extremists," etc. Their purpose is clear and is two-fold. First, they are attempting to create an ideological atmosphere for acceptance of the annihilation of the "outsiders" or in other words the class-conscious fighters of the class. Secondly, they wish to divert by any means, the eyes of the workers away from the miserable conditions in which we live and which we work under. Fraser, his lap-dogs, the company and their henchmen, cannot stop our struggle. Lenin says that

strikes arise out of the "very nature of capitalist society" and that they "signify the beginning of the working class struggle against that system of society." (1)

In the "wildcat" at the Forge plant, the unbreakable, steeled, militant unity between Negro national minority and Anglo-American sections of the working class, as well as the unity between skilled and unskilled workers, was beyond precedence in the history of this plant. Just a few years ago this plant was "hopelessly" divided along national lines. Not many years ago Anglo-American workers actually staged walk-outs and work stoppages when a national minority was promoted to a better job or when a Negro national minority walked through the tool and die department.

The 'divide and rule' tactics of the imperialists have found their rightful place in the garbage heap of history. Their red-baiting has found the same filthy refuge. The company tried desperately and in vain to split our ranks by using the poisonous ideology of white chauvinism. For example, during the picketing at Forge, injunctions and restraining orders were served to one Negro national minority and 8 Anglo-American workers, and "John Doe and Richard Roe" which includes any and everyone. Three workers of the nine who were specifically named were held in contempt of court for violating the injunctions. All charges were dropped on everyone except the Negro national minority. Try as they may, the company failed in their designs to divide. "Strikes therefore teach workers to unite; they show them that they can struggle against the capitalists only when they are united; strikes teach workers to think of the struggle of the whole working class against the whole of the class of factory owners and against the arbitrary police government." (2) So says Lenin, so says the practice of the proletariat.

Needless to say many mistakes were made in organizing, preparing, and sustaining the "wildcat" strike at Detroit Forge. Experience can only be gained by concrete and living reality. We've learned that a strike is indeed "a school of war" and not the war itself. We must look at strikes from a military point of view. In war as in strikes we must maintain the initiative in calling the "shots"; it is indispensable. We cannot afford to allow the capitalists to call the beginning or the end of a strike because of a mis-assessment of our strengths or of our weaknesses. Initiative must be ours. We must know when to begin our offensive, but even more, we must know when to call in our troops, in a word, when to

retreat. By not ending the strike, based on a correct assessment of how long we could keep workers out, we left the initiative to the company and the union mis-leaders. Workers either work or they and their families starve. We failed at first to understand this. The company and the mis-leaders timed their strongest assault when the workers were economically hurting. In general, these were the most vital lessons we learned based on our mistakes.

But indeed and beyond a doubt this "school of war" experienced recently at Forge and throughout Detroit has been and is a tremendous success for the struggle of our class. The struggle has definitely not ceased, but is fomenting. Both sides are arming in all manners and preparing for forthcoming battles. We have learned by bitter experience that we as workers have no one but ourselves and other class-conscious fighters. We have seen the state violently protect capitalism at our expense. We have felt the heavy hand of the capitalist courts, police agents, union mis-leaders, etc. The struggle continues inside and outside the plant with the 18 workers who were fired since the "wildcat."

This experience has taught the advanced to practice the crying need for class unity and the real need for an independent class party of the proletariat. the kind of party Stalin talked about, "A new party, a militant party, a revolutionary party, one bold enough to lead the proletarians in the struggle for power..."(3)

The unity of the workers at Detroit Forge has remained solid; it has stood the test of a momentous turn. The workers have been baptized in battle and have retreated to wipe their wounds, but we're marching forward to ever more victories in the future!

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS!

DOWN WITH UNION MIS-LEADERS!

BUILD A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF THE PROLETARIAT!

- 1) Lenin, On Trade Unions, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970, p. 61.
- 2) Ibid., p. 65.
- 3) Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, FLPP, 1966, p. 102.

## REPLY

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- 1) Lenin, "Report of the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions," Lenin on the National and Colonial Questions, Progress Pub., Moscow, p. 30.
- 2) Lenin, "A Caricature of Marxism," Collected Works, Vol. 19, Int. Pub., N.Y., 1942, p. 254.
- 3) Ibid.
- 4) Lenin, Op. Cit., "Discussion on Self Determination," p. 289.

## S.E. ASIA

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obvious that the land and labor power of the Soviet people could not be exploited by USNA finance capital while USNA bombers carried out widespread murder and destruction in Southeast Asia. Brezhnev understood the firm convictions of proletarian internationalism held by the Soviet people in making a negotiated "peace" in Vietnam a condition for further plans for detente. The establishment of the temporary "aura" of peace in Southeast Asia has already allowed the establishment of seven USNA banks in Moscow, led by the Rockefeller controlled Chase Manhattan Bank. The huge amounts of natural gas in the USSR have already begun to pay off for the imperialists in the form of a \$125 million contract for International Harvester.

Meanwhile, there is no peace in Indochina. The heroic fighters of those colonized nations have and will continue to fight until the last imperialist puppet and stooge is cleared from their land. The level of fighting in Vietnam is reported to be at its highest level in more than a year. In Cambodia, the puppets are in control only inside their armed enclaves established in the city of Phnom Penh. (5) The Pathet Lao now control more than three-quarters of Laos. In the past month an attempted coup by exiled military leaders failed to bring down the "neutralist" government of Souvanna Phouma, who is in the midst of negotiating a "cease fire" with the Pathet Lao, led by his half-brother, Prince Souvanouphong. The question arises: Why did this right-wing coup attempt fail? Why was it not aided and even carried out by the USNA imperialists, as were the many coups and intrigues engineered over the past 25 years in Vietnam?

While the blackout on virtually all news from Indochina has deprived us of all but the most carefully laundered statements, a brief look at the tactics of counterrevolution employed by the imperialists for many years both within the USNA and throughout its colonies can shed much light on the importance of the so-called "neutralist" or "center" governments being supported or created by USNA imperialism. It is a history that shows the danger of the left forces abandoning their independent leadership of the revolutionary movement by making alliances with the "center" in order to combat the forces of open reaction from the right. It is the history of opportunists handing over the reigns to the reformists, forming "center leading left" alliances which then usher in an inevitable victory of reaction.

The examples of history are clear: What was it that

led to the crushing of the strong and revolutionary union movement which culminated in the establishment of the CIO? The opportunist leaders of the CPUSA isolated and condemned any hope for independent working class leadership by supporting the "reformist" Walter Reuther, who then rapidly showed his colors and blocked with the most reactionary elements of the trade union movement. The history of the Negro people's liberation struggle again bares this counterrevolutionary strategy: The tremendous strength of the CPUSA in the South in the 30's and 40's was strangled by the dissolution of the party apparatus in 1949 which opened the way for the "reformers" to develop their grip on the movement and then rapidly block with the likes of the Kennedy's and Johnson's. Once again, the role of the CPUSA in the farmworkers' struggle bares the same strategy at work today by abandoning the interests of the farmworkers by backing the so-called "reformist" UFWU leaders who are busily at work making deals with the reactionary Teamster officials. Was not the same tragic course of events made crystal clear in Indonesia? While the PKI was one of the leading anti-revisionist forces, the party mistakenly allowed itself to make an alliance with the "neutralist" Sukarno which led to the murder of over one million revolutionary and progressive people, thus underscoring in blood the vital importance of clarity on this question of alliances. As Karl Marx pointed out in his Address to the Communist League, "At the present moment when the democratic petty bourgeoisie are everywhere oppressed, they lecture the proletariat, exhorting it to effect a unification and conciliation; they would like to join hands and form one great opposition party, embracing within its folds all shades of democracy....The gist of the matter is this: In case of an attack on a common adversary no special union is necessary; in the fight with such an enemy the interests of both parties, the middle-class democrats and the working class party, coincide for the moment, and both parties will carry it on by a temporary understanding." (6)

Such has been the understanding of the Laotian comrades. The liberation fighters were joined by the Souvanna Phouma gang in overthrowing the king in 1960. In less than five years the "neutralist" gang blocked with imperialism in an attempt to destroy the liberators. This plot failed because the Pathet Lao correctly guarded its independent leadership of the masses of the Laotian people and has carried on the fight to free their land independently of the "center" forces. Yet, try and try again, the "neutralist" gang is again attempting to carry out this time worn plot to isolate and destroy the revolutionary forces. We can thank Sirak

Matak, Number two goon for imperialism in Cambodia's illegal government, for spelling out the intentions of the imperialists: "President Lon Nol, whose health is said to be 'stable' since recovery from his stroke, remains in control but there is talk of his eventual withdrawal and replacement by Sirik Matak, who has published an open letter appealing to his cousin, Prince Sihanouk, to abandon his collaboration with the Communists." (7) When the open reign of terror from the right fails, the imperialists will try to come through the "backdoor" of opportunism to achieve their counterrevolutionary goals.

The vicious role being played by the Soviet social-imperialists forms an important part of the imperialist plot. By cutting off arms and supplies to the liberation forces and spreading the poison of unprincipled alliances, these traitors are working overtime to sell out the revolutionary aspirations of the Indochinese people. As the Albanian comrades recently pointed out: "U.S.-led imperialism and social-imperialism are in a deep crisis. Although they have suffered defeats, they will never give up their aims. The more they approach their doom, the more aggressive and cunning they become. They are now trying to accomplish through frauds and plots what they cannot achieve by means of war and open aggression. They sometimes change tactics, they try to lull the peoples to sleep.

"All freedom loving people must increase their vigilance against the two super-powers who are preparing new plots in their secret diplomacy. They have not changed their global strategy for world domination, and their counterrevolutionary collaboration remains the greatest danger for the revolutionary forces." (8)

- 1) Chicago Sun Times, 9/21/73.
- 2) Ibid., 9/18/73.
- 3) Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, FLPP, 1969, p. 98.
- 4) Ibid., p. 106.
- 5) Chicago Daily News, 9/20/73.
- 6) Marx, "Address to the Communist League," Selected Works, Int. Publ., 1946, p. 66.
- 7) Christian Science Monitor, 8/30/73.
- 8) Albania Report, June-July, 1973.

## UFW

Cont. from p. 5

independence of the working class and play the vanguard role in smashing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

- 1) Marx, "Address to Central Committee of the Communist League," Selected Works, Vol. I, pp. 179-180.

## PHASE IV

Cont. from p. 4

aid of these subsidies, and credits for needed equipment and supplies, with special incentives for cooperatives. International: Establishment of trade union contacts with unions in other countries to coordinate wage price policies and struggles against multinationals. But obviously what is needed is organization and struggle around this program or parts of it. On the labor front, what is needed most urgently is a strike struggle that succeeds in making a major breakthrough of the 5.5% ceiling. On the consumer front, what is needed are bigger and better boycotts, like the February meat boycott. There must be a search for formations of coalitions that advance rounded anti-monopoly programs that demand nationalization of key monopolies as well as rollback of prices, etc."

No, Mr. Perlo, what is needed is a real Marxist-Leninist Communist Party to lead the fight of the class for socialism - not your pie-in-the-sky "program" for a reformed "anti-monopoly" capitalism that includes such nonsense as the workers moving back to the land and becoming small farmers, and that calls for "strike struggles" without mentioning who controls the unions. Frank Fitzsimmons, boss of the Teamsters, with his \$131,481 yearly salary, (16) and the rest of the well paid union bureaucrats are not about to lead any kind of "strike struggle." The real program of the working class is the same today as when Marx put it forward in the book, Wages, Price and Profit in discussing the struggle for the standard of wages: "These few hints will suffice to show that the very development of modern industry must progressively turn the scale in favor of the capitalist against the working man, and that consequently the general tendency of capitalistic production is not to raise but to sink the average standard of wages, or to push the value of labor more or less to its minimum limit. Such being the tendency of things in this system, is this saying that the working class ought to renounce their resistance against the encroachments of capital, and abandon their attempts at making the best of the occasional chances for their temporary improvement? If they did, they would be degraded to one level mass of broken wretches past salvation. I think that I have shown that their struggles for the standard of wages are incidents inseparable from the whole wages system, that in 99 cases out of 100 their efforts at raising wages are only efforts at maintaining the given value of labor, and that the necessity of debating their price with the capitalist is inherent in

their condition of having to sell themselves as commodities. By cowardly giving way in their everyday conflict with capital, they would certainly disqualify themselves for the initiation of any larger movement.

"At the same time, and quite apart from the general servitude involved in the wages system, the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of these every-day struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady. They ought, therefore, not to be exclusively absorbed in these unavoidable guerilla fights incessantly springing up for the never ceasing encroachments of capital or the changes of the market. They ought to understand that, with all the miseries it imposes on them, the present system simultaneously engenders the material conditions and the social forms necessary for an economic reconstruction of society. Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work!', they ought to inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wages system!'"

It is the absolute duty of all comrades to become involved in the struggle against the lowering of the standard of living of the working class. We must put Marx's instruction to life and build a real Marxist-Leninist multi-national Communist party here in the USNA as the first step towards the overthrow of the wages system. The working class will be subjected to an endless series of Phases, each worse than the last, unless it establishes its political independence from the bourgeoisie and finally its political supremacy. This revolutionary solution is the only answer, not the reformist mouthings of the CPUSA for back to the land programs and consumer boycotts. We will proceed at full speed to build that real Communist Party. This is the historic task of our class today here in the USNA and we will accomplish it.

**ABOLISH THE WAGES SYSTEM!**

**BUILD A MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY!**

- 1) New York Times, 7/29/73, p. 39.
- 2) Ibid., 8/15/73, p. 47.
- 3) Harper Magazine, Sept. 1973, p. 46.
- 4) US News & World Report, 7/23/73, p. 17.
- 5) Wall St. Journal, 8/8/73, p. 22 and U.S. 1970 Census Abstract, p. 589.
- 6) Chicago Tribune, 8/7/73, p. 27.
- 7) Wall St. Journal, 8/8/73, p. 22.
- 8) Ibid., 8/3/73, p. 1.

## Watergate

Cont. from p. 3

against the government as economic exposures are a declaration of war against the factory owners. The moral significance of this declaration of war will be all the greater, the wider and more powerful the campaign of exposure will be and the more numerous and determined the social class that has declared war in order to begin the war. Hence, political exposures in themselves serve as a powerful instrument for disintegrating the system we oppose, as a means for diverting from the enemy his casual or temporary allies, as a means for spreading hostility and distrust among the permanent partners of the autocracy." (2)

From the outset the Communist League has raised two important points as our program around Watergate: 1) a call for the resignation of the entire Nixon administration, and 2) to build that independent party of the working class.

However, there are those who make a 'left' error and say that it is reformist to call for the resignation of the Nixon gang and at the same time call for a working class party. But, isn't this a refusal to work in mass organizations, a refusal to start from the level of the working class and use the Watergate issue as a vehicle to give political leadership to the working class? Isn't this a refusal to take the steps necessary to build the revolutionary movement at this time, to gain influence among the working class and to gain the political experience necessary to build a party?

Then there are those who make a right error by uniting with the line of the CPUSA and seeing the Watergate issue as a struggle between reaction and democracy, as represented by Nixon and Ervin, and not as a struggle within the ruling class. (See Southeast Asia article.) This deviation allows the proletariat to remain dependent on bourgeois leadership and denies the need for working class leadership and for an independent party of the class. We must see that at various times in our struggle, our interests will coincide with those of other classes, even with sections of the bourgeoisie.

Cont. on p. 13

- 9) Ibid., 8/3/73, p. 1.
- 10) New York Times, 8/12/73, p. F3.
- 11) Ibid., 8/5/73, p. F6.
- 12) Wall St. Journal, 8/8/73, p. 1.
- 13) New York Times, 8/15/73, p. 47.
- 14) Business Week, 8/11/73, p. 63.
- 15) Ibid., 8/18/73, p. 42.
- 16) Ibid., 8/18/73, p. 63.
- 17) Wages, Price and Profit, FLPP, 1965, pp. 77-78.

## Watergate

Cont. from p. 12

But that hardly means that our goals are the same. As Marx points out: "In case of an attack on a common adversary no special union is necessary; in the fight with such an enemy the interests of both parties, the middle-class democrats and the working-class party, coincide for the moment, and both parties will carry it on by a temporary understanding. This was so in the past, and will be so in the future." (3)

Both this "left" deviation and right deviation are in essence tailing behind the spontaneous movement, failing to see that, "The more spontaneously the masses rise, the more widespread the movement becomes, so much the more rapidly grows the demand for greater consciousness in the theoretical, political and organizational work of Social-Democracy." (4)

We must not be misled by news reports that tell us that Watergate is a dead issue. It is our duty as Communists to build a working class party that will expose the vicious nature of capitalism and tie up the economic struggle with the political struggle. The Watergate issue has given us this chance.

- 1) Lenin, "What Is To Be Done?," Collected Works, Vol. IV, Int. Pub., 1929, p. 166.
- 2) Ibid., p. 167.
- 3) Marx, "Address to the Communist League," Selected Works, Vol. I, Int. Pub., 1946, p. 67.
- 4) Lenin, Op. Cit., p. 134.

## Corrections

The following are a list of corrections that should be made in the last two issues of the People's Tribune.

There are two errors in the article, "Support the Struggle of the Farmworkers", in Vol. 5 No. 6. On Page 14, Column 1 the second sentence of the first new paragraph should read, "First they used a pacifist and class collaborationist like Cesar Chavez, then the Church and their priests, and lastly, "goon" squads hired by the sell-out Teamster Union leadership." On Page 13, Column 3 the last paragraph should be omitted. This paragraph continues to Page 14, Column 1; that section should also be omitted.

There is a mistake in the article "Sterilization: Bourgeoisie Attacks Future Generation." On page 8 the first column, the 6th line of the second paragraph should read, "the Community Action Agency".

## RESISTENCIA

Cont. from p. 5

so as a result of strikes and other worker actions in the U.S. In P.R., besides being able to pay the workers less and not having to pay any taxes to the government, they have the advantage of a "massive army of the unemployed" which guarantees labor to remain always cheap. And last, but not least, imperialism operates its repressive apparatus from the soil of P.R. against Latin America. It is in Puerto Rican soil that they experiment on new forms of aggression, not just military, but also cultural, political and economic against our Latin brothers and sisters.

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The above description of the meaning of a RESERVE is very important in the light of the most recent plans of imperialism for P.R. It is known by all that they are talking of building a superport in the island as part of a refining complex for the petroleum destined to the North American market. These superports, wherever they have been built, have adversely affected the soil, infected the waters, contaminated the air, destroyed almost completely sea life and also hurt the health of those that inhabit the areas where such superports are located. This situation has in the past triggered the creation of pressure groups in the U.S. which have firmly opposed the construction of such superports, miniports, refineries, or any other thing that means the same: petroleum. These pressure groups have been effective enough in their actions. Since it is a fact that the superports hurt everybody - except of course the investors who build them - the protests have been supported by civic and religious groups, labor unions, the capitalist press and many liberal politicians. Together they have been able to make it almost impossible for the big capitalists to build new refining plants within the continental U.S. It has become just as difficult for them to build such facilities in other Latin American territories. The capitalists have to remember the sour experience of having their refineries nationalized in

There is a mistake in the article, "Nixon-Brezhnev Summit: Internal Weakness Brings Thieves Together", in Vol. 5 No. 5. On page 5, Column 3 the last two sentences of the first new paragraph should read, "The imperialists are fighting tooth and nail to combat the falling rate of profit by imposing arbitrary restrictions and by holding back commodities such as can be seen by the so-called food and gasoline shortages. But for all their efforts, there will inevitably be a decline of prices."

Cuba, and deal at the same time with the rising of radical nationalist governments in Panama, Peru and Ecuador. Also opposition is increasing every day against the whole petroleum enclave. These are "times of political upheaval" in Latin America and the yankees want to protect their skin (their interests) well. And where better than in P.R. to do it? Where better than in their Caribbean colony?

This being reality, the imperialists, counting on the unconditional cooperation of their servants and lackeys of the colonial government of the island, prepare themselves to commit another great crime against the Puerto Rican people, a crime that, if committed, will do irreparable harm which many generations of Puerto Ricans will have to suffer.

WHAT CAN WE IN THE U.S. DO TO STOP THE SUPERPORT? First of all we have to understand that if the imperialists have continued in their plans despite the opposition of great sectors of the Puerto Rican nation, the petty bourgeois independence movement included, they are not going to stop because 50, or 100 or even 1,000 Puerto Ricans demonstrate in New York or in Washington, or wherever, against the superport. Thus, the mechanical answer given to all problems by the independence movement in N.Y. ("Let's demonstrate!"), is definitely not the correct tactic. What we CAN do is take the matter to the awareness of the working class in this country. And very especially to its most advanced sectors. We must make clear that the superport is part of the imperialist tactic of the U.S., and that the victory of the imperialists over the colonies determines the victory of the capitalist class over the working class of this country.

We must show clearly that the principle of "International solidarity of the proletariat" (the working class) is not merely a slogan but that it must be made concrete in our daily practice. Finally we must show the relation which exists between the struggle of the working class in this country and the struggle of Puerto Ricans for independence and socialism in P.R. "No one may be free that enslaves others." The struggle in the U.S. against the superport has to take the same characteristics of the struggle for socialism. IT HAS TO BE MULTI-NATIONAL, IT HAS TO BE BASED IN THE WORKING CLASS, IT HAS TO ESTABLISH ALLIANCES ON THE BASIS OF CLASS, NOT NATIONALITY. To the extent that we advance this process will we be helping to defeat, not just the superport, but the whole system that is behind the superport. All else are the fairy tales of those that believe in "having omelet without breaking the eggs, revolution without revolt."