

PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE



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April 1974

"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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A TRIBUTE TO OUR BOLSHEVIK LEADERS

Lenin

The Communist Press

Comrade V.I. Lenin, great leader and theoretician of the proletarian revolution, was born 104 years ago on April 22, 1870. Of the towering, historic contributions which Lenin made to Marxism, his elaboration on the role of the subjective factor in the revolution is of great importance. In his works, Lenin scientifically argued the necessity and importance of the theory and party of the working class, forcefully stressing the thesis that "without revolution-ary theory there can be no revolution-ary movement" and that the role of vanguard can be played only by a party which is guided by the vanguard theory.

Lenin elaborated on this thesis in the struggle which was waged against the opponents of Marxism within the Second International. These opportunists saw the development of society as a peaceful spontaneous and evolutionary process which proceeded without the intervention of man. They claimed socialism would be established gradually as a result of economic development, without a socialist revolution, without the dictatorship of the proletariat and without the leadership of a Marxist party. Our Albanian comrades clearly point-out that; "The historic merit of the exposure and destruction of the opportunism and the traitorous second International belongs to Lenin. For the first time in the history of Marxist thought Lenin discovered the ideological roots of opportunism, which reside precisely in advocating economism and spontaneity in the revolutionary movement of the working class."
(1)

The Communist League would like to use the occasion of Lenin's birthday to address itself to the most important building block of a Communist party, the communist press.

Today we find ourselves in a position similar to that of Lenin in the early 1900's; i.e. in a position in which we must build a Party to lead the spontaneous movement of the working

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Stalin

The National Question

On the 21st anniversary of the death of Comrade Stalin, we would like to pay tribute to that great communist for his unsurpassed contributions to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. Stalin was the far-sighted helmsman of the Bolshevik Party, for 30 years struggling hard to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. He led the CPSU in the tooth and nail fight against all forms of assaults and attempts to destroy the proletarian dictatorship, both internally and externally. A master of political economy, Stalin blew life into socialist economics and led the Soviet people in building the Soviet economy. Providing brilliant strategy and tactics, Stalin led the Soviet Red Army in the crushing of the German fascists' attack on the motherland of socialism. A splendid dialectician, Stalin brought new clarity to the study of dialectical and historical materialism. Any attack on this magnificent continuer of Marxism-Leninism must be seen as an attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat!

The revisionists and the imperialists have waged a villainous campaign to destroy Stalin's towering contributions to Marxism-Leninism and thus to humanity and have conspired to conceal his brilliant leadership in all spheres. At this historic juncture, as we stand on the threshold of giving birth to a genuine Marxist-Leninist party in this country, it is only fitting that we pay tribute to Comrade Stalin's contributions on the national question, which is the foundation for all genuine Marxist-Leninists in analyzing and applying the national question in their own country. Stalin emphasized that one of Lenin's great contributions was to link the national question with the question of the colonies: "The national question was thereby transformed from a particular and internal state problem into a general and international problem, into a world problem of emancipating the oppressed peoples in the dependent countries and colo-

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Both Sides of the Fascist Coin!

Nixon And His Phoney Critics

In recent weeks, the controversy surrounding the possible impeachment of President Nixon has risen to new heights. Each day, the press and air waves are filled with "exposures", attacks and counter charges. There is much talk of how the "battle lines are being drawn", as Nixon prepares to fight the mounting and increasingly obvious proof that may possibly be used against him. His public supporters are seemingly deserting with the agility of rats from a sinking ship. Arch-conservative Senators, previously counted on for their rote support, are now making public pleas for resignation. Even top Republican leaders now speak of the "impending impeachment" proceedings, and ten of the eleven Republican Senators facing re-election have delicately refused Nixon's offer to help them campaign.

As the proceedings rumble to the preliminary stage of the impeachment process, Federal Judge John Sirica has once more attempted to "bite the hand that feeds him" by issuing a new series of subpoenas to Nixon for evidence. As in the past, the most vital information has again mysteriously "disappeared" from guarded White House safes. Undaunted, Sen. Wilber Mills, head of the Powerful Ways and Means Committee, and member of a committee investigating Nixon's tax returns, has confidently stated that even without Watergate, the President will be forced to resign because of the tax scan-

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FAMINE: The Bitter Fruit of Imperialist Plunder

The draught and its accompanying famine in the Sahelian zone of Africa (Mauritania, Senegal, Mali, Upper Volta, Niger, Chad and northern Nigeria) and also in parts of Ethiopia has already killed hundreds of thousands of people, and millions more still face almost certain death by starvation. This five year scourge that went unmentioned for so long and that has developed under the passive gaze of the world's imperialist vultures demands our attention and analysis.

The terrible impact of this draught can be seen in some of the statistics that were revealed during the last year. Already there have been an estimated 500,000 deaths over the past year, but no one is certain of the exact numbers due to the nomadic nature of many of the local inhabitants and the disinterest of many local government officials. According to various sources, from 5-10 million people are faced with starvation due to the crop failure of 1973 and there are no anticipated improvements for 1974. In the Sahelian zone in general, the draught has wiped out $\frac{1}{4}$ of the grain production and at least 50% of the cattle herds. Of course some of the countries' losses exceed this average. Since 1969 Mauritania has lost $\frac{4}{5}$ of its cattle and $\frac{2}{3}$ of its sheep and goats. 1.7 million cattle and 5.5 million sheep and goats have been lost in Mali. One of the products fundamental to the economy of Senegal, the groundnut harvest, was a failure. A February, 1974 Christian Science Monitor pointed out that the planting season this year was still 5 months off in these countries and that the farmers were already completely out of food.

AN ACT OF NATURE?

No person with an ounce of feeling or conscience can remain unmoved by the tragedy of the Sahelian zone, yet many regard it as fate, an act of nature, or the will of God. But is this why millions are starving in Africa? Is it only due to natural disaster? The truth is that in this region thousands of people die of malnutrition even in the best years, just as they do in other parts of Africa, Asia, Latin America and even within the borders of the USNA. They face famine not by an act of God, but by acts of the self-proclaimed Gods - the imperialist bourgeoisie.

And how do the imperialists and their spokesmen react to the stark horrors facing these millions of people on the continent of Africa? Are they ashamed? Are they even moved to compassion for these desperate people? Of course not!

They make such blase statements as, "Well, the first few years of the famine we didn't think there was anything wrong because only 100,000 people starved to death and that's normal." But is it "normal" in the second half of the 20th century, the "age of technology", for people to die of starvation even in the face of a natural disaster, such as a draught? The only thing "normal" about it is that imperialism by its "nature" creates intense poverty among the colonial and neo-colonial peoples that it dominates. It creates vast unemployment and ruins the peasantry and small producers, forcing them onto the labour market and driving down the value of all labor. This cheapening of labour power consequently leads to the cheapening of human life itself. Only such a system as imperialism which benefits the few by the total ruin of the multitudes can be so perverse as to consider death by starvation of even one human being as "normal"!

For hundreds of years the ruling classes of the more "advanced" countries of the world from the earlier mercantilists to the imperialists of our era have viewed Africa as their private treasure chest to be emptied at will. The only purpose of imperialism is to take, to exploit, not to give or develop; and the only time they do give is when it enables them to take more - to reap super profits.

With no other goal outside of gaining these super profits the imperialists have systematically exported their capital to the colonies to develop only the industries and markets that serve to enrich imperialism and never to benefit the oppressed masses of the colonies.

Throughout Africa, they have dominated the economic scene, extracting gold, diamonds and other valuable raw materials. At the same time, they hold back the development of independent industry capable of producing finished goods for the home market. In agriculture, again we see only the development of cash crops - coffee, cocoa, etc., while the oppressed masses are left with feudal agricultural methods in the struggle to merely overcome hunger. We see over and over again this conscious effort on the part of the imperialists to cripple the economy of a colonial or neo-colonial nation, to make it one-sided and dependent upon the imperialist master for survival. Imperialism thrives on the retarded economic, scientific, political and cultural level of the colonial peoples which it creates.

It is clear that in this

day and age a draught may still be a natural disaster, but a famine is a disaster of imperialism.

PROFITS FROM STARVATION

Draught and famine plagued the world long before the capitalist system came to power, yet only capitalism can use such disasters so skilfully as to strengthen itself at the expense of suffering people. The imperialists view such a disaster as an economic windfall. The Common Market countries have offered Marshall Plan type "aid" to the draught stricken countries. This "aid" would only serve to bind the suffering nations more tightly to imperialism, just as the original Marshall Plan bound Western Europe so closely to the USNA.

This type of agricultural crisis also serves the purpose of driving the peasantry off of their land and into the

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Comrades and Friends,

The Communist League is now publishing a new newspaper, the Western Worker, that addresses itself to the special needs and demands of the class struggle in the West and the Southwest. We urge you to support our new paper. For further information on the Western Worker, please write to:

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LITERATURE

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TERROR FOLLOWS HAITIANS TO "LAND OF PLENTY"

We are reprinting below a speech submitted by the Haitian organization, KODDPAIS, given at a La Raza Unida conference in January, 1974. Since the time of this speech 10 Haitian refugees have been sentenced to be deported from Miami to Haiti. One of those held for deportation, Turenne Deville, recently hanged himself in his jail cell rather than face certain death by torture upon his return to Haiti. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism we give our militant support to the valiant struggles of the Haitian people against brutal tyranny and oppression.

The situation in Haiti today is a tragic one. During the past 15 years political repression in the country has reached a degree of horror that is unmatched even by the notorious cases of the Dominican Republic of Trujillo and his successors, the Brazil of the "gorillas" and the Greece of the colonels. In the Haiti of the "tontons macoutes", not only democratic rights are stepped on, but the most elementary human rights are totally ignored, such as the right to life, education, health care and work.

When the bloody Duvalier dictatorship took over more than

15 years ago, Haitian citizens lost all constitutional guarantees. Francois Duvalier introduced a reign of terror in Haiti that remains unparalleled in modern history. In September, 1961, two years before the end of his fraudulently attained presidential mandate, Duvalier swept aside the legislative chambers and violated the constitution by declaring that he would stay in power for a second term. The arbitrary approach of the Haitian government reached incredible levels when, supported by his fascist militia, Duvalier proclaimed himself president for life in 1964. And, as if this weren't enough, shortly before his death in 1971, the hated dictator, openly supported by the U.S.A. government designated his 19 year old son, Jean-Claude, to succeed him as president for life.

Between December, 1972 and April, 1973, 117 Haitians, fleeing the Duvalier dictatorship, arrived in Miami, Florida. They were not the first Haitians to arrive in Florida. During the same period and before, other groups of Haitians fled Haiti and came to the United States of America. It is estimated that in the Greater Miami area one can find more than 600 Haitian refugees. It is also estimated that in

New York City at least one third of the current population of Haitians has entered the United States without papers. The Miami refugees only symbolize the plight of thousands upon thousands of brothers and sisters in need of help.

On June 8, 1973, eight of the Haitians were called before an Immigration Department hearing in Miami in order to ascertain their claim to asylum in the U.S. This was denied, because, as the Immigration officials maintained, "there was nothing to fear from the Haitian government". Upon this ruling the Immigration and Naturalization Service officials began to round up all the Haitians they could find for incarceration purposes. The principal intent was to hold them under "preventive detention until deportation" back to Haiti. 28 nationals were incarcerated. The remainder of the 117 were allowed to remain free on their own recognisance. Bail for the "28" was set at \$1000 each.

On Wednesday, June 18, 1973, some Haitian nationals, representing those who were arrested as well as themselves, appeared before a U.S. Circuit Court Judge asking that they be freed pending an appeal to the 5th

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NEW VOICE: Comradely Polemics on Imperialism

Second of a Two Part Series

The following is the continuation of the comradely response by the Communist League to the New Voice's position on imperialism as laid out in their pamphlet: "Imperialism and the Working Class, An Economic Analysis."

A further position in the pamphlet is on the question of bribery. The pamphlet states, "As most U.S. profits are derived from U.S. workers, who compose the bulk (over 85%) of the population of this country, there can be no 'bribe' of most U.S. workers."

The Communist League fully agrees with the fact that the labour aristocracy represented by union misleaders, such as Fitzsimmons of the Teamsters, Woodcock of the UAW and Abel of the steel workers, is a bribed strata in service to the bourgeoisie. "In the January 21, 1974 issue of U.S. News and World Report, the salaries of these labor misleaders were presented with Fitzsimmons' \$135,000 yearly salary leading the pack.

Whereas there is no contention over the labor aristocracy being a bribed strata, there is another aspect to the question of bribery. It is important to see the bribe of the Anglo-American working class relative to its counterpart in the colonies and dependent nations. In quoting the non-Marxist Hobson, Lenin states, "There is first the habit of economic parasitism by which the ruling state has used its provinces, colonies and dependencies, in order to enrich its ruling class and to bribe its lower classes into acquiescence." (13) Lenin continues in refuting Kautsky, "Secondly, why does England's monopoly explain the (temporary) victory of opportunism in England? Because monopoly yields superprofits, i.e., a surplus of profits over and above the capitalist profits that are normal and customary all over the world. The capitalists can devote a part (and not a small one, at that) of these superprofits to bribe their own workers, to create something like an alliance (recall the celebrated 'alliances' described by the Webbs of English trade unions and employers) between the workers of the given nation and their capitalists against the other countries." (14)

The political manifestation of this bribery today as in yesteryear has devastating effects. The major factor is that it is denying the working class its INTERNATIONALIST perspective and is leaving it unarmed in the face of the onslaught of fascism. Recently, the Longshoremen threatened to refuse loading ships to the Middle East as a move in support of the imperialist controlled puppet state of Israel. The support by

unions, such as the AFL-CIO and UAW, to close off the border to Mexican Nationals is another example of how the bribe forces the working class to take backward positions regarding their counterparts in colonial and dependent nations. And, historically, the imperialists' use of the on the working class caused the working class of the 1880's and 90's to support annexation of other territories.

It is within this material bribe that the bourgeoisie along with its capable henchmen, the labour aristocrats and the revisionists, presents its interests as the interests of the entire USNA people. This is the essence of the imperialist ideologies of national and white chauvinism. It is in this light that the bourgeoisie shifts the overproduction crises on the backs of the colonies and dependent nations in order to minimize the growing struggles of the Anglo-American workers. This is precisely the reason why they blame the "energy" crisis on the Arab peoples and other oppressed nations and peoples.

In addition, bribery is not only used to keep the Anglo-American proletariat divided from the other workers and oppressed peoples of the world, but it is also used to keep the Anglo-American proletariat divided against itself. Because their homelands are held in colonial or dependent nation status, the national minority workers within the Anglo-American proletariat are proportionately the least employed, least paid; they have the worst jobs, less formal education and in general the worst living conditions.

The Anglo-American section of the working class receives a bribe at the expense of the national minority workers, there has been opposition to the employment of national minorities by many members of the Anglo-American section of the working class for fear that their jobs, living conditions, etc. would be threatened. The Springfield, Illinois "race riot" of 1919, the Detroit "race riot" of 1943 reflect this factor. In the struggles of the sixties and the seventies, struggles against the bourgeois state by the Anglo-American proletariat were met with increasing bribery via revenue sharing etc., in order to divide the working class.

What does all of this mean? Simply that the imperialists use the ideology of national and white chauvinism to deny the proletarian internationalist duty of the working class. For example, Nixon in his second TV appearance on the Watergate issue placed the blame for the Watergate crisis on the struggles of the sixties which were led by

The Ugly Face of Opportunism

(This is the continuation of the response by the CL to the attack by the Central Organization of Marxist-Leninists - ACWM. This attack came at a phoney "congress" that was held in opposition to the Conference of N. American Marxist-Leninists held in May, 1973.)

What really was discussed at this "world shaking" 10 day conference that the ACWM(M-L) held in Detroit from the 18th to the 28th of August, 1973? The ACWM(M-L) talks about disseminating Mao Tse-tung's thought and carrying on the revolutionary struggle in this country. Let us ask these people how is it that the great revolutionary Communist Party of China, with a membership of 28 million people out of a population of 800 million people, was able in only four days to discuss the worldwide questions of developing the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat; to discuss maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat within the interior of China; and to discuss strengthening the party? In addition how were many other discussions held on how the revolutionary party of China will support all communist organizations and communist parties of countries that are today struggling against imperialism for the purpose of once and for all destroying the world's imperialist system? In four days this great party did all of this.

But the ACWM(M-L), who are going to disseminate Mao Tse-tung's thought, took ten days to do what? The first day was the attack against the Communist League. Then for six days they rambled over a lot of phrase mongering about "mass democracy". In the other three days, they ran to Canada to get the approval of Bains in order to come back to the USNA to further disrupt the movement of building the party in the USNA. They made plans to try to make the task of building a revolutionary multinational communist party more difficult by spreading empty rhetoric and further confusion in the working class and the student movement.

Now, of course, they have yelled that they are not under the influence of the Internationalists; they are not on the campus grounds. Well, it is a well known fact that the Internationalists under the leadership of Mr. Bains with his "Internationalist" organization have built up "communist" parties from the campus grounds in Ireland and in England (although there was already a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in England) and now from the campus grounds in Canada. It is becoming more obvious that the reason Mr. H.S. Bains invited the USNA's Marxist-Leninists to this conference was in order to put the real Marxist-Leninists in the USNA under the wing of the ACWM(M-L) so that Bains could then control the Marxist-Leninists.

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Peru: Revisionism Supports a New Alternative

SECOND OF A TWO PART SERIES

THE "NEW ALTERNATIVE"

In light of this information, what does it mean when the Peruvian junta declares itself to be ideologically distinct from both capitalism and communism? On the one hand, the military bosses say that "The capitalist system... (in Peru) meant exploitation of the workers in the countryside, in the mines, in the factories... We have seen in Peru that political democracy is not possible if there is no economic democracy... (14) On the other hand, the junta is marked by the vacillation characteristic of their petit-bourgeois origins. They know that capitalism exploits, but they cannot accept socialist revolution as the only alternative to this exploitation, because this would be admitting the revolutionary role of the proletariat and the peasantry. Their fear of proletarian revolution forces the Peruvian generals to the side of anti-communism; they become the objective allies of imperialism. In reality, then, the "new alternative" of the Peruvian process is the old alternative of capitalism.

This is evident when we hear the junta on the subject of socialism and communism... "authentic socialism... by definition, is anarchistic, participationist, really democratic, self-managing." (15) and "In the present period, independently of the theory and its origins, the word communism defines a type of non-capitalist society in which the State, under the actual control of a single party and proclaiming itself 'socialist', grows disproportionately and becomes all powerful. This state, and the public officials who shape it, dominate the economy, the politics and culture of the society." (16) These two statements show that the junta either does not understand socialism or communism, or else, understands them all too well. We suspect that the latter is true, as both definitions denounce the dictatorship of the proletariat, the acquisition by force of the state power by the proletariat for the good of all the toiling masses. The junta tries to scare the masses away from the dictatorship of the proletariat to insure its own future existence. Thus they offer their "new alternative".

What, then, is the "new alternative" offered by the Peruvian generals? The military junta and the imperialists in whose interests they rule, know that the real revolutionary struggle of the Peruvian people is a very strong force. They know that merely to declare communism an evil will not convince the workers of this. So the junta has dressed up its anti-communism in socialist-

sounding phrases: Gen. Graham Hurtado claims that Peru will be "A society in which wealth should have a fundamentally social character. (17) Gen. Rodriguez claims that the Peruvian "revolution" will come about "through the realization of profound transformations in the politico-economic bases of the social system... and (through) organized popular participation." (18) They say that "The Peruvian Revolution raises the necessity of transferring the power of the minorities to the majorities." (19) In the age of imperialism, such a transference of power can only come about through socialist revolution. But the revisionism and undisguised anti-communism of the Peruvian "revolutionary" government is of course aimed at preventing, at all costs, this revolutionary transference of power. And this is what the "new Peruvian process" really is - a socialist sounding process which is actually capitalist.

REVISIONIST SUPPORT

Now the revisionist "Communist" parties of the Soviet Union, Cuba, and Peru itself, fully support the military junta's "new" process. And this is despite the junta's open anti-communism, despite the junta's open attacks on the Peruvian Communist Party. USNA intelligence sources report that Soviet military advisors have moved into Peru. This is the first time the Soviet Union has sent advisors to South America outside of Cuba. In its November 5, 1973 edition, the Soviet Pravda approvingly puts forth the Peruvian Communist Party's position on the military junta. But the PCP's position is filled with contradictions: on the one hand they say that the junta has stripped the Peruvian oligarchy of its political power, but in the same report it is noted that the junta is being sabotaged by judicial officials and government institutions in which the oligarchy is still strong, because it can be defeated once and for all only by a socialist revolution, not by a petit-bourgeois reformist military! And yet it is the economic reforms and the trade-unionism of the junta around which Pravda and the PCP urge the Peruvian masses to rally: "to protect the revolutionary process and move forward on the road to the creation of a new society, we need a popular anti-imperialist movement... a united anti-imperialist front, of which the chief component parts must be the Revolutionary Armed Forces and the workers united in trade-unions..." From these parties which call themselves "Communist" there is certainly nothing even close to a call for socialist revolution.

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From the LEAGUE for PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION: O.L.(M.-L.)'s Sham Polemics Exposed

To THE CALL, newspaper of the October League (M-L)
1-12-74

Comrades,

Some time ago at the Guardian Forum it was stated that the question of the relation between the united front and the building of a communist party was of urgent concern to all communists. At another forum, the question was put to both the Revolutionary Union and the October League; which do you place primary, the building of a united front or the building of a party. The RU said the united front, the OL said the party.

At the same time, and increasingly in recent months, the OL has found itself quite at home with the RU while in vehement opposition to groups and organizations which place the building of the communist party first in importance. Your New Year's editorial, for example, contained no mention of the party-building task. The question naturally arises: do you say these words only to avoid what you know to be theoretically indefensible (the putting of the united front first)? Do you say these words only in order to maintain credibility in the communist movement while having no intention of applying this concretely in the determination of alliances and political unity? Or is it that you believe that this question, and the answer to it, is not very important in determining with whom you unite? We would like to state our position on this question in relation to the current exchange between the OL and the Communist League. We think that this question, and the answer to it, is the concrete touchstone dividing Marxist-Leninists from opportunists and petty-bourgeois radicals.

What is communism? It is "a complete system of proletarian ideology and a new social system." (Mao) The ideology is expressed in programs, theories, plans, policies, etc., which move masses of people from a particular set of concrete conditions toward the goal of the communist social system, toward proletarian revolution and the abolition of classes. But right at present, in the particular set of concrete conditions we are given in this country, the principle task of the communist movement is not the abolition of classes, nor is it the seizure of state power. The principle task of the communist movement at present is the construction of a communist party; it

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LENIN

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class and imbue the movement with socialist consciousness. From its inception, the Communist League has taken up the weapon of the communist press as the chief means of organizing a body of revolutionaries, putting in practice the words of Lenin; "In our opinion, the starting point of all our activities, the first practical step to take towards creating the organization we desire, the factor which will enable us constantly to develop, broaden and deepen that organization, is to establish a national (All-Russian) political newspaper. A paper is what we need above all; without it we cannot systematically carry on that extensive and theoretically sound propaganda and agitation which is the principal and constant duty of the Social-Democrats in general, and the essential task of the present moment in particular, when interest in politics and in questions of Socialism has been aroused among wide sections of the population." (2)

The People's Tribune, as a Marxist-Leninist organ based in the USNA, has been loved and hated by readers all over the world. It has been loved by those actively engaged in the class struggle whose efforts are aimed at carrying through the socialist revolution. It has been hated by those who seek to destroy the workers' movement by drowning it in petty reforms and trade union demands. The People's Tribune has been and will continue to be a platform for the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism. It is not a newspaper which reports up-to-the-minute news, instead it is a paper which analyzes events from a Marxist-Leninist perspective. The People's Tribune is not a fact sheet; its articles are editorials.

In the struggle between the two lines on the communist press, the line of Marxism-Leninism has been vigilantly adhered to by the People's Tribune. That correct line is that the paper should not be a "mass" paper, instead it should be aimed for distribution among the most advanced sections and individuals of the working class. We are not, of course, denying the important role that broadly based and widely distributed papers can play at certain times in the revolutionary struggle. Those who say that "there is no need for an organized detachment of the working class and no need for a political newspaper to build and unite the vanguard party are the worst kind of opportunists. In the "Left" the line of a "mass" paper has won out; i.e., a paper which reports on strikes and the economic aspects of the class struggle, leaving aside the political struggle of the working class for its emancipation. (As if "politics" can be separated from the class struggle!). These "left" papers may be large, they may have the latest printing equipment, etc., but by telling the working class something it already knows, do these papers

help the working class in its struggle against the bourgeoisie? Does trade-unionism, pure and simple, lead the class to revolution? Of course not! The only place it leads is to bourgeois ideology.

Lenin sums up for us; "...the only choice is: Either bourgeois, or Socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for humanity has not created a 'third' ideology and, moreover, in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or above-class ideology). Hence, to belittle Socialist ideology in any way, to deviate from it in the slightest degree means strengthening bourgeois ideology. There is a lot of talk about spontaneity, but the spontaneous development of the labour movement leads to its becoming subordinated to bourgeois ideology, ... Hence, our task, the task of Social-Democracy, is to combat spontaneity, to divert the labour movement, with its spontaneous trade-unionist striving, from under the wing of the bourgeoisie, and to bring it under the wing of revolutionary Social-Democracy." (3)

Lenin also stressed that besides being a collective propagandist, the paper should also be a collective organizer. As we move from a "league-style" of work to a "Party-style" of work, we must again rely on Lenin's mastery of dialectics. He clearly showed that the only way to go deep into the working class, to win over the most revolutionary fighters to the cause of communism, is to build a network of agents, united politically and organizationally by the "scaffolding" of a political newspaper.

How do we go about building a party of a new type to win the vanguard of the proletariat to the cause of communism? Lenin showed that the only way to do this is by utilizing the fractional method of work. This method of work calls for the dispersion of our comrades to all areas and fields in which the most revolutionary sections of the working class are to be found. In order to unite, we must disunite. And again, this decentralization must be accompanied by centralization. The party is centralized and held together by the network of agents created for its distribution. It is held together by the network of agents created for its distribution. It is held together by this same network of agents who provide it material in the form of articles.

Lenin shows us how the party is built through a network of agents around the national press. He states: "With the aid of, and around, a paper, there will automatically develop an organization that will be concerned, not only with local activities, but also with regular, general work; it will teach its members carefully to watch political events, to estimate their importance and their influence on the various sections of the population, and to devise suitable methods to influence these events through

the revolutionary party. The mere technical problem of procuring a regular supply of material for the newspaper and its regular distribution will make it necessary to create a network of agents of a united party, who will be in close contact with each other, will be acquainted with the general situation, will be accustomed to fulfill the detailed functions of the national (All-Russian) work, and who will test their strength in the organization of various kinds of revolutionary activities. This network of agents will form the skeleton of the organization we need... (4) And further on: "If we unite our forces for the conduct of a common paper, that work will prepare and bring forward, not only the most competent propagandists, but also the most skilled organizers and the most talented political party leaders, who will know at the right moment when to issue the call to battle, and will be capable of leading that battle." (5)

Lastly, our party will be worthy of its name as a working class party if it is capable of passing into a state of illegality and combining legal work with illegal activity when the necessity arises. Lenin fought for a party of professional revolutionaries, who could operate under the conditions of political tyranny. He stated again and again that the party must be able to defend itself from attacks by the political police. In the period of "legality" it is hard for comrades to see that we will not always be able to pass out the paper openly at the factory gate, at mass meetings, etc., to the advanced workers. As Lenin pointed out, the time is nearing in which we will be able to rely only on our network of agents to distribute the paper and the line of Marxism-Leninism to the workers. Now is the time to begin laying the basis for illegal work. The network of agents created out of the fractional method of work provides us with this opportunity. We urge all comrades to actively put into practice this method of work in all aspects by using it as a means of not only distributing the paper, but also as a means of gathering material for articles for the paper.

This transitional period in the development of the League into a party calls for still further development in the tasks of the People's Tribune. The path towards building a monolithic party will be paved by the constant ideological struggle for the correct political line. Being convinced of this, we welcome polemics, articles, or other contributions from groups or individuals who are interested in moving the class struggle forward.

Comrade Lenin summed up the tasks of the communist press as follows: "...the newspaper can and should be the ideological leader of the Party, evolving

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Stalin

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nies from the yoke of imperialism." (1) The Marxist-Leninist position of the Communist League on the Negro national colonial question, regional autonomy for the Southwest, and independence for Puerto Rico follows directly in the footsteps of Stalin.

In 1913 Stalin wrote the still definitive work on this subject, "Marxism and the National Question". In this article Stalin formulated the Marxist theory of what nations are and how they arise, and how Bolshevism must see the solution to the oppression of some nations by others not as an isolated 'thing-in-itself', but as an organic part of the question of proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism. He further developed the Marxist-Leninist principle of proletarian internationalism and the right of nations to self-determination. Lenin said that 'this article stands in the forefront' of Marxist literature on the national question." (2) Stalin's classic definition of what constitutes a nation stands unchallenged today: "a historically constituted, stable community of people, formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a common culture." (3) Stalin's theoretical contributions on the national question continued after the October Revolution, when he further enriched Marxist-Leninist theory on the basis of the experience of the Soviet Union in applying this theory creatively and successfully.

At the time of the Bolshevik revolution, Tsarist Russia was a "prison of nations", with 182 distinct nationalities or fragments of nationalities speaking a total of 149 different languages. The application of the Soviet program on the national question was based on Stalin's concept that "Culture is national in form, socialist in content". As Stalin laid down in his report at the Seventh (April) All-Russian Conference of the RSDLP in 1917, "our views on the national question can be reduced to the following propositions: (a) recognition of the right of peoples to secession; (b) regional autonomy for nations remaining within the given state; (c) special legislation guaranteeing freedom of development for national minorities; (d) a single, indivisible proletarian body, a single party, for the proletarians of all nationalities in the given state". (4)

On November 8, 1917, Stalin was named Commissar for Nationalities. Krupskaya pointed out Lenin's insistence on Stalin for this job: "He knew Stalin's views on the national question very well, as they had often discussed the subject in Cracow... A broad mind, profound conviction and practical organizing ability were required

of the person in charge of affairs on the national front. That is why Ilyich proposed Stalin for the job." (5) The work of the Commissariat was completed and dissolved in July, 1923, the day after the Constitution of the USSR came into force. Its place was taken by the Council of Nationalities, which enjoyed equal rights with the Council of the Union, the larger of the two houses of the Supreme Council. No law was considered operative without the joint approval of the two houses; and in addition the Council of Nationalities had special functions to guard the interests of the national units to draft decrees in their favor, and to provide modifications of general laws to suit their needs. Ingenious measures were devised in the fields of education,



government and languages. A flexible policy of regional autonomy gained world-wide recognition. The national minorities made the greatest proportionate progress during this period, more being provided for them in per capita expenditures by the government than for the Great Russians. "For the first time in history a state comprising many nations came into existence on the basis of equality of nations and peoples, not on the basis of the plunder of some nations by others. The truth of this is testified to by the enormous economic, political and cultural strides made in the years following by all the people of Russia, not simply a privileged few." (6)

The Soviet revisionists have much to answer for to the people of the world. In attempting to restore capitalism, they are reversing the gains of the Soviet people made so painstakingly during the years of Stalin. Instead of continuing to solve the national contradictions, they are fanning the flames of nationalism. The recent upsurge in nationalism by the Ukrainians, Jews and other national minorities in the Soviet Union testifies amply to the degenerate re-appearance of national chauvinism. National chauvinism is an integral and inevitable component of imperialism of whatever variety

from which Soviet social imperialism is not exempt.

However, Comrade Stalin's contribution to the theory and practice on the national question was not limited to the USSR. He was in the forefront of the struggle against chauvinism in the communist parties of Europe and the USNA. Under his leadership the 6th Congress of the Communist International in 1928 concluded that "The Congress makes it a duty of the Communist Parties in the metropolitan countries to put an end to the indifference which they have exhibited in regard to the mass movements in the colonies..." (7) Stalin spoke boldly against the colonial oppression and exploitation of the Negro people. Stalin brought clarity to the question of the Negro Nation, led the Communist International in thundering the demand for that nation's independence, and rammed the Negro Question down the throat of the leadership of the CPUSA - which had refused to recognize the importance of that question.

Mao Tse-tung was unstinting in his praise for Stalin's contributions on the national colonial question, emphasizing that the correct thesis followed by the Communist Party of China that "The Chinese revolution is part of the world revolution" was based on Stalin's continuation of Marxist-Leninist theory. Ho Chi Minh also spoke movingly of Stalin's efforts on behalf of the colonies and oppressed peoples. Stalin knew the misery of national oppression and he also knew the path of national liberation must come through the liberation of the working class and the fight for socialism.

What Comrade Mao Tse-tung said of Stalin in 1939 is as true today as when it was written, both in general and in particular: "We must hail him, we must support him and we must learn from him." "We must learn from him in two respects: his theory and his work." (8)

1) Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, FLPP, 1970, p. 71.

2) "Expose Both the Right and 'Left' Slanders Directed Against Joseph V. Stalin", Proletariat, Vol. 2, No. 1, Winter '72, p. 29.

3) Stalin, "Marxism and the National Question", Selections from V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin on National Colonial Question, Calcutta Book House, India, 1970, p. 21.

4) Stalin, "Report on the National Question", Selections from Lenin and Stalin, Op. Cit., p. 107.

5) Krupskaya, Reminiscences of Lenin, Int. Pub., New York, 1970, p. 141.

6) "Expose Both the Right and 'Left' Slanders Directed Against Stalin," Op. Cit., p. 33.

7) Quoted from George Padmore, Pan-Africanism or Communism, Anchor Books, Garden City, New York, 1972, p. 305.

8) Quoted from People's Tribune, Vol. 4, No. 1, Jan.-Feb., 1972, p. 9.

Watergate Cont. from p. 1

dal that involves Nixon's cheating on nearly \$500,000 of taxes.

Nixon has countered these threats by a "public" speaking campaign to carefully chosen audiences. Nevertheless, the Gallup and Harris poles list Nixon's real popularity at 25-26%, with over 60% of the population not only demanding impeachment proceedings, but trial by the Senate.

In order that we too do not get caught in the mire of Watergate as an isolated issue, and to avoid being snared into the worm's eye view so carefully prepared by the bourgeoisie, we must place these events into the general motion of the class struggle. It is, after all, already certain that if and when the time comes for Nixon to step down, his hand picked replacement, Gerald Ford, is already waiting in the wings.

WORLD WIDE CRISIS

As we have pointed out in past issues, the Watergate situation did not arise and grow because of a system of checks and balances or from the eternal righteousness of bourgeois democracy, as the bourgeois politicians would have us believe. But instead it resulted from the overproduction crisis that marks the general crisis of imperialism. It is precisely the overproduction crisis that has fueled a struggle within the bourgeoisie. This struggle has become manifested in a battle over the tactics of imperialist expansion. In other words, we are not witnessing a fundamental, irresolvable split that characterizes the fall of a ruling class, but rather the inevitable process of the further monopolization of the means of production into fewer and more powerful hands.

One manifestation of this struggle has been a temporary detente with the USSR that has allowed for increasing penetration of USNA finance capital into the Soviet Union (whose trade minister announced 19 major deals in the works, not only setting up USNA banks in Moscow, but huge loans and credits and joint ventures with Kaiser, Phillip Morris and Lockhead). Detente has further strengthened the temporary world hegemony of the USNA at the expense not only of the colonies, but also at the expense of the less powerful European and Japanese imperialists.

But while the current detente temporarily allows for the expansion of finance capital and is needed politically by the imperialists to project an aura of "peace", we can make no mistake that this detente is nothing but the preparation for imperialist war. The ever increasing crisis in overproduction is constantly pushing the imperialists towards war; war to "burn up" commodities" war to allow the great expansion

of the armaments industry; war to retain and expand their colonial possessions.

In the Soviet Union, the detente deals have increasingly come under fire from sections of the Soviet ruling class. This section, led by the military, has been sharply criticized by the Brezhnev clique who need USNA finance capital to help restore capitalism in the USSR. This battle between opportunists within the USSR was recently expressed indirectly in a "criticism" of the Spanish Communist Party for speaking out against detente and calling for war against the USNA imperialists. It is important to note that they are not calling for revolutionary war, but war at the expense of the workers and toilers of the world. Brezhnev is certainly not against imperialist war, as can be seen from the rapid build-up of arms and troops along the Chinese border and in Eastern Europe. While cloaked in revisionist "Marxist" slogans, the Soviet opportunists know full well that detente is their best preparation for imperialist war.

The push towards war is not limited to the two superpowers. This ugly specter that spills the blood of the workers and oppressed people of the world is also rapidly brewing in Europe and Japan. The recent showdown over the control of the world's oil is precisely the type of trade war and realignment of forces that preceded World Wars I and II.

As Kissinger jets all over the world to maintain detente and USNA hegemony, the European and Japanese imperialists are being forced to realign and fight back. The French, who were temporarily stymied at the recent Washington "project interdependence" meeting (see Vol. 6 No. 3) lost no time in regrouping the Common Market countries to make further plans for independent deals with the oil producing countries. Britain, rocked by an economic and political crisis that brought the fall of the Tory government, continues to be squeezed by a towering inflation rate and a trade deficit reaching \$1.01 billion. The situation is so serious that the Christian Science Monitor recently remarked that, "No democratic government has ever survived such a rate of inflation beyond a year or so..." (3/28/74) Japan is caught in an even greater economic crisis with an inflation rate of over 30% (higher than Britain) and a growth rate of less than 2%. (Christian Science Monitor, 3/26/74.)

It is clear that these lesser imperialists know full well that as long as they lack the military strength, they will continue to be dominated by USNA imperialism. The heads of governments in the European countries and Japan have launched fascist programs on their "own" working classes to prepare for wars of expansion.

"PEACE AT HOME"

It is precisely in this world wide crisis that is setting the stage for imperialist war that the Watergate fiasco finds its real meaning. The replacement of White House advisers with military and CIA agents, the recent series of decisions handed down by Nixon's hand picked Supreme Court (including the preparation for the re-institution of the death penalty), the official furor to lock up Marxists during the current wave of "terrorism" are signs of the preparation of a fascist state. The working class is disgusted with imperialist war. We are being racked by an inflation rate now officially over 12%. Spendable income is down 4.5% this year and wholesale prices are jumping 5% every two months. The imperialists can no longer keep "peace at home" with their bourgeois democracy. In other words, the system of bribery backed up by terror no longer can keep the working class in line. What we are witnessing is the development of a system of terror backed up by bribery, as the means for rule of the Anglo-American proletariat.

We have said in the past that the imperialists need fascism to fight imperialist wars. No better example of this can be found than in the recent speech by Nixon concerning the plight of the Vietnam War veterans. Instead of speaking to the veterans, who are filled

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LENIN

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theoretical truths, tactical principles, general organizational ideas, and the general tasks of the whole Party at any given moment." (6)

In conclusion, this period which the League finds itself in is marked by greater and more difficult tasks. The People's Tribune will have to battle harder than ever to preserve the line of Marxism-Leninism. The coming period of time necessitates that the conscious element of the working class assert itself. Revolutionary socialist consciousness must be injected into the working class struggle in order to fulfill the present day historic demand - the formation of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party to lead the class to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

(1) Foto Cami, "The Objective and Subjective Factors of the Revolution", Albania Today, Jan. 1973, p. 19.

(2) Lenin, "Where to Begin?", The Iskra Period, Vol. 1, International Publishers, New York, 1929, p. 112.

(3) Lenin, "What is to Be Done?", The Iskra Period, Vol. II, International Publishers, New York, 1929, p. 123.

(4) Lenin, "Where To Begin?", Op. Cit., pg. 114

(5) Ibid., pg 115

(6) Lenin, Letter To A Comrade On Our Organizational Tasks, C.L. pamphlet, pg. 2.

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with anger and disgust at the way they have been cast aside with few benefits and little compensation (plus almost 200,000 who were given bad discharges that keep them from getting any benefits or jobs), Nixon spoke to the few loyal enlisted men he could find. The storm of anger from the veterans show quite clearly that USNA workers will no longer willingly go to war for the imperialists.

NIXON'S "OPPOSITION"

The bourgeois "opposition" to Nixon is working hard to defend their class interests at the expense of the working class. Sen. Jackson tries to lead us with chauvinist calls for war. Hidden in his "defence" of Soviet Jews by blocking "most favored nation status" to the USSR is just this type of chauvinist call. George Meany also tries to lead us astray with open national chauvinism. He recently called for an "America First" trade policy, wishing to impose stiff trade tariffs of foreign goods. In line with the "America First" policy, plans are currently being made to "close" the USNA-Mexico border in California to Mexican workers. These workers have historically been a reserve of cheap labor for the imperialists. As conditions worsen for the Anglo-American working class, this program to close the borders is an attempt to split the working class by putting the blame for the economic crisis on the Mexican workers. Many unions are now supporting this program.

In the many organizations that have formed to demand impeachment and new elections, our efforts must go to exposing the real nature of the Watergate situation. The bourgeois "opposition" is trying to control the broad based hatred for Nixon and for rising fascism for their own ends. But these politicians and union mis-leaders only represent the other side of the fascist coin. We must fight in our unions, and political and community organizations for working class leadership free from ties to the interests of the fascists.

Our only real defense against rising fascism is the United Front of the working class, fighting to expose and oppose the dirty plans of the imperialists. We must work to turn the push towards fascism into a strong defense of the working class. We must work to turn the drive towards imperialist war into revolutionary war. Our interests do not lie in the ugly designs of the bourgeois opposition to Nixon. The banner of proletarian internationalism can and must replace the blood soaked swastika that is being dangled in our face.

The fate of Nixon is not the issue. His defense has been and will continue to be the mounting of one crisis after another to disarm and confuse

Peru Cont. from p. 5

The position of the Communist Party of Cuba is revealed in a recent speech by Fidel Castro. He stated that, "some leading commanders...led the armed forces of Peru to unity with the people and to progressive positions, in opposition to the oligarchy..." and he warned that, "Imperialism is seeking to offset the example of the Peruvian Armed Forces with that of the (fascist) Chilean Armed Forces." (20) But imperialism, of course, is seeking to do much more than this! Imperialism will use the anti-communism of the Peruvian junta to its own advantage, just as it used the revisionism of Allende's Popular Unity government to bring fascism to Chile, and just as it uses Castro to dull the vigilance of the Latin American masses.

Despite the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of communists by a "peaceful" regime in Indonesia, despite the tragic lesson of Chile, the revisionists continue to support the "new alternatives", the "peaceful roads to socialism". But as Marxist-Leninists, we know that there can be no peaceful road to socialism in the age of imperialism.

REFORM OR REVOLUTION

We are for reforms, but we are for revolutionary reforms. That is to say, the sort of reform and reform struggles that organize and politicize the masses for the final assault on capital. And the anti-communism of the Peruvian junta certainly is not politicizing the masses for socialist revolution.

As we have said, nationalization under a petty bourgeois democratic state can advance a revolutionary movement against imperialism. But the proletariat has a certain role to play under this type of state. That role is the maintenance of political independence of the proletariat, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the carrying out of the socialist revolution to its completion.

In the case of Peru, it is primarily the revisionists, in the service of imperialism who are trying their best to prevent this political independence of the proletariat. In the case of Peru, we have "The whole trend of postwar liberalism, Labourism and Social Democracy, ...closely parallel to the fascist line and propaganda of the Corporate State - that is - the general line of combination of

the working class. It is with this knowledge that all efforts must be turned to build a working class opposition, not to Nixon alone, but to the specter of fascism that both he and his bourgeois "critics" represent.

state control and private enterprise...class collaboration and so-called workers' representation, in short the whole myth of 'Organized Capitalism'.

"From these examples we can see that nationalization by the state where the class content is still capitalist is not socialism and can lead to fascism if the proletariat loses its independence because of opportunism, revisionism, and reformism in the labour movement" (21)

History has shown, and the case of Peru further underscores, that the most detailed preparation for a mass and violent transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism can only mean one thing - the building of a truly revolutionary communist party, a party based in the working and oppressed masses, and not in a petit-bourgeois military junta.

VICTORY TO THE PERUVIAN PEOPLE IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST REVISIONISM AND IMPERIALISM!!

- 1) Participacion Popular Y Desarrollo Economico, Editora Atlantida, Lima, Peru, 1972
- 2) Peking Review, July 6, 1973
- 3) Petras and Rimensnyder, "What's Happening in Peru", Monthly Review, Feb. 1970
- 4) Guardian, April 11, 1973
- 5) Guardian, July 4, 1973
- 6) Guardian, April 18, 1973
- 7) Guardian, July 4, 1973
- 8) Ibid.
- 9) Guardian, April 4, 1973
- 10) Guardian, June 13, 1973
- 11) Hugo Blanco on Chile and Peru, Pathfinder Press, 1972
- 12) Los Angeles Times, Nov. 22, 1973
- 13) Los Angeles Times, Nov. 30, 1973
- 14) 8 Preguntas a la Revolucion Peruana, Sinamos, Lima, Peru, 1973
- 15) Ibid
- 16) Ibid
- 17) El Hombre: Eje del Sistema Social de la Revolucion Peruana, Oficina Nacional de Informacion, Lima, Peru, 1971
- 18) Sinamos: Sindicalismo, Area Laboral-Onams, Lima, Peru, 1972
- 19) 8 Preguntas a la Revolucion Peruana
- 20) Granma, Weekly Review, Oct. 7, 1973
- 21) People's Tribune, Vol. 4, #10, Oct. 1972

Haiti Cont. from p. 3

Circuit Court of Appeals and the Attorney General. The essence of this appeal was to ask that the deportation ruling of the Immigration authorities be set aside. This was denied by the Federal Judge, who in effect, argued that because they were not U.S. citizens and had entered the United States without documents, neither they nor any other "illegal" Haitians could be considered as having any constitutional rights whatsoever. A writ of habeas corpus was denied.

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HAITI

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During the last week of June, over 50 Haitian nationals gave themselves up to the Immigration and Naturalization Service authorities in Miami, Fla. complying with the order of the Federal Judge. On Wednesday, June 27, 1973 a meeting took place in Washington, D.C. between the attorneys and activists defending the Haitians and the Immigration Naturalization Service officials. Under mounting pressure from the defense efforts in Miami and New York they finally decided to review the decision requiring the Haitians to post bail. From June 27, 1973 to January of this year, about 200 more Haitians came the same way on small sail boats.

The dramatic story of the last group has been reported by the N.Y. Post, the N.Y. Times, and the Daily News, but the Immigration Office refuses to allow them to be free under the custody of the Haitian Immigration Center sponsored by 75 black churches in the Miami area. Since September, 1973 a new policy has been drawn up by the U.S. Immigration Office. They now free the women and the children and they put in jail the men. 130 Haitian men are now in jail, some of them for four months. \$1000 bail has been asked for each of them. The Center refuses to accept this policy and asks for the restoration of the previous policy. But till now it hasn't succeeded. 50 of the Haitians who were in prison in Miami were deported to Texas on January 22. There will be a demonstration organized by the United League of Students in front of the office of immigration to protest against the deportations and against the treatment of the Haitians. In New York City numerous groups and individuals have spoken out against the denial of asylum for the Haitians and are continuing the asylum campaign. What seems to be at stake here is not only the future of the Miami "300" but that of brothers and sisters from the Third World who clamour for a new tomorrow in a foreign soil.

In the case of the Miami "300", for instance, whenever the facts are brought up in front of people who are not aware of the U.S. government's policies toward Haiti, the reaction is always the same. It is one of almost disbelief, followed by the inevitable question: "Why...?" Why would the U.S. government want to send the "300" back to their torturers and murderers? The plain truth is that this is quite in line with Washington's policies toward Haiti.

If the U.S. mass media says there is liberalization, that's cover enough for Washington to renew its massive military aid to the "tontons macoutes". The regime of Baby Doc has received several million dollars worth of weapons in its two

years in power, including helicopters, gun boats, and M-16 rifles.

Right now, there is in Haiti a contingent of U.S. Marines and Green Berets that is training a special repressive corps called the "Leopards", which are supposed to become the second generation of "tontons macoutes". Besides, U.S. officials are currently heading several important administrative offices of the government, including the post office and customs... The same Haitian post office that opens every piece of mail going through it... The same Haitian customs that are so corrupt as to be the biggest smugglers on the island. And the U.S. firms that are supposed to be such a blessing to Haiti, according to the press releases of the "tontons macoutes"... What exactly are they doing in Haiti?

Blood is a major export commodity in Haiti... And a U.S. firm, Hommo Caribbean plays a key role in this nasty business. The company buys the blood of poor, undernourished, and jobless Haitians at \$3 to \$4 a pint and resells it on the U.S. market at the fabulous price of \$20, reaping several million dollars worth of profits every year. Haitians around the world have protested this vampire business. When Joseph B. Gorinstein, a Miami businessman who owns Hommo Caribbean, was asked to comment on this protest movement by a N.Y. Times reporter, he was quoted as saying that his company is "a blessing to this poor country, since Haitians wouldn't know what to do with their blood anyway." The publicity given to the case by Haitian exile organizations put so much pressure on Hommo Caribbean that the company had to close up shop, at least for a while. Recently, Jack Anderson reported in his syndicated column that the firm is maneuvering in Washington with the help of some key U.S. senators to begin pumping blood out of Haiti once again.

Let's consider another case, that of the island of Latortue, off the northern coast of Haiti. Dupont Caribbean Inc., a firm operating out of Texas bought the island from the Haitian government at a \$1.50 an acre. The peasants who lived on the island, with the exception of those needed for construction work, have simply been removed and dumped on the dry north western coast of Haiti, where international organizations have periodically reported famines. Hundreds of peasants were dropped in the area without any means of support.

According to the terms of the contract between the Haitian regime and Dupont Caribbean, the company becomes (for all practical purposes) the government of the island. Haitian police and army cannot set foot on the island, Haitian law does not apply on the island, the government cannot collect taxes on the

island and finally, Haitian citizens need a special permit to go to Latortue. In other words, if the contract weren't unconstitutional, it would have set up a new country, with Dupont Caribbean Inc., as its sole ruler.

The deal is such a fantastic one that the ex-U.S. ambassador to Haiti, the Uncle Tom, Clinton Knox, quoted as saying at the signing ceremony: "I hope you're leaving room in your plans for retired U.S. ambassadors". What are those plans?... The company wants to turn Latortue into the new Havana of the Caribbean. Havana before the Cuban Revolution, that is, with the casinos, the prostitutes, the mafia. Another big deal American and foreign capitalists found in Haiti was the opening of a hotel called "Habitation Leclerc." It costs \$150 a day for one couple. While a few capitalists can afford to pay \$150 a day for a hotel room the average salary of the Haitian people is only \$70 a year.

These examples are sufficient to indicate how U.S. companies operate in Haiti. These are by no means exceptions... A dozen other cases could have been chosen just as easily, such as Reynolds Mining Co., Haitian American Sugar Co., etc.

It must be quite clear to all of us by now that Haiti is a victim of an imperialist system in which the U.S. government, U.S. big business, and the "tontons macoutes" work hand in hand to oppress, rob and murder the Haitian people. We can see now that Washington is very much in control in Port-au-prince, in some instances, in a very direct way, as with customs and the post office. We can now see that Washington, through the modern weapons it supplies and the military training it provides for the "tontons macoutes", is teaching them how to murder the Haitian people neatly and scientifically. We can see now that the U.S. government is doing all this to protect the bloody interests of U.S. firms that are robbing the Haitian people. We can see clearly now that the obsession of U.S. Immigration officials to deliver the bound and gagged to the "tontons macoutes" is not the bungling of some idiotic bureaucrats, but the consequence of a larger policy of total support for the Haitian regime, and murder and pillage in Haiti.

We can see clearly now that the U.S. government is nothing but the political and military arm of U.S. big business, and that Haiti is as much of a colony now as it was when, 58 years ago, U.S. Marines landed in our country and occupied it for 2 decades.

FAMINE Cont. from pg. 2

cities where they are forced to compete for jobs and become wage slaves of the capitalists. They form part of that reserve army of labour so necessary for the development of capitalist economy.

Lenin tells of the press gang labour of the ruined peasantry and the bourgeois land speculation that occurred in Russia during the 1901 famine. In "Review of Internal Affairs" from Taraya he said, "The masters of the capitalist state are no more concerned about the vastness of the numbers of the victims of famine and crisis than a locomotive is concerned about those whom it crushes in its path. The dead bodies retard the wheels; the train stops, it may (if the engine driver is too careless) jump the rails; but after a slight interruption it will ultimately continue on its way." (Lenin, "Review of Internal Affairs", Iskra Period, Book I, Int. Pub., 1929, p.)

HONEST SYMPATHY NOT ENOUGH

During the last year particularly, due to the publishing (at last!) of the facts about the serious situation in Sahel and Ethiopia, the imperialist governments have been forced to make a pretense of giving "aid" to the famine stricken countries. But the pretense has been so weak that the World Bank recently had to step forward and criticize the USNA's AID for giving so little. And much of the grain given by the USNA is only fit for animal consumption. In addition, once the food reaches the stricken countries, very little of it reaches the people who are starving. Much of it fails to get distributed at all and is left to rot, while much more goes into the mouths of the wealthy.

However, there are honestly concerned people who have come forward to try to help in some way. Many workers' organizations in Europe have collected money and tried to pressure their governments into sending aid. The socialist countries of the world have sent aid. In the USNA many honest and self-sacrificing people are working hard to gather money and food for the nations of Sahel and Ethiopia, but where does this lead in the long run?

We know that the working class is the only class that really holds human life dear and at the same time it is the only class that has historically rushed to unselfishly lay down its life for the liberty and rights of oppressed peoples. It is the class with heart and soul and the power of organization, but also it is the class without money. Even if we could muster the funds and provisions to halt the starvation this year; what about next year? And the next; and the next? All of the good intentions in the world

amount to nothing while the world-wide creator of oppression, poverty and starvation still lives. While we should give as much as we can to the famine stricken peoples, our primary duty is to strike at the heart of the monster - to defeat the USNA imperialists. The conditions must be laid for a world free from the misery and oppression that it has known all too well since class society first arose. And because of this primary duty, we are charged with the responsibility of building a Communist Party in this country that will represent our class and our class hatred of the imperialists and the suffering they create. It will represent our compassion and solidarity with the oppressed peoples of the world by playing the vanguard role in overthrowing our "own" imperialists.

DESTRUCTION AND REGENERATION

The suffering of the peoples of Sahel is very real. But also real is the historic process that walks hand in hand with the suffering. This process is the transformation of feudal serfs and peasants into proletarians. On the one hand, they become wage slaves, but on the other hand, they become the rising class, entering the field for battle with their enemy more clearly visible. Marx described this process unfolding in India under colonial domination by England:

"All the English bourgeoisie may be forced to do will neither emancipate nor materially mend the social condition of the mass of the people, depending not only on the development of the productive powers, but on their appropriation by the people. But what they will not fail to do is to lay down the material premises for both. Has the bourgeoisie ever done more? Has it ever effected a progress without dragging individuals and peoples through blood and dirt, through misery and degradation?"

"The Indians will not reap the fruits of the new elements of society scattered among them by the British bourgeoisie, til in Great Britain itself the now ruling classes shall have been supplanted by the industrial proletariat, or til the Hindus themselves shall have grown strong enough to throw off the English yoke altogether."

And more:

"Bourgeois industry and commerce create these material conditions of a new world in the same way as geological revolutions have created the surface of the earth. When a great social revolution shall have mastered the results of the bourgeois epoch, the market of the world and the modern powers of production, and subjected them to the common control of the most advanced peoples, then only will human progress cease to resemble that hideous pagan idol, who would not drink the nectar but from the skulls of the slain." (Marx and Engels on Colonialism, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1968, pp. 85-87.)

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is an anti-revisionist, party-building movement. We are aware that there are many united fronts on many different levels of the struggle, and that the uniting of the overwhelming majority of the people against the imperialist ruling class is not only desirable but a necessary task of a communist organization in its day to day work. But it should never be forgotten that the results of this work depend on the independence and initiative of the proletarian revolutionary line and the revolutionary organization of the proletariat. The line of putting the united front first is an opportunist line which finds no justification anywhere in the literature and historical practice of the international communist movement. An attack on the groups and organizations who are calling together Marxist-Leninists to discuss their theoretical positions and build a communist party is an attack on the communist movement.

Moreover, your article on the CL's "sham congress" is sham polemics. It is a gross vulgarization of the Marxist-Leninist method of ideological struggle. It is dishonest. By putting quotes around "run by revisionists" you deliberately give the impression that CL said that China is run by revisionists. But no such quote has ever appeared in CL's press. Similarly, earlier in 1973, you gave the impression that CL said that the Allende government was "worse than fascist." This was also untrue. We ask, is this the way to conduct ideological struggle, to develop Marxist-Leninist theory? Or is this the way to obstruct such development? We look forward to your self-criticism, a clarification of your line, and your theories on the burning questions of the communist movement.

Signed: League for Proletarian Revolution; P.O. 19114, Laurel Sta., Oakland, Calif.

cc. People's Tribune, Guardian, Revolution, New Voice

New Voice

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national minorities and on the struggles against the war in Vietnam.

Further, one of the most outstanding ways the Anglo-American proletariat is divided is by the brutal subjugation and exploitation of working class women. In general women are used primarily as a reserve labor force, as cheap labor. Through the imperialist ideology of male supremacy, they are paid less and now are losing the few protective rights that were gained through years of militant struggle. Even among women workers, however, the bribe is used to divide. Although women workers are generally subordinate to male workers, the national minority women workers suffer

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proportionately worse than the entire labour force. Their oppression and exploitation is threefold; as workers, as national minorities and as women.

These are some of the means by which the bourgeoisie splits the working class at "home" via the bribe and prevents them from seeing their internationalist duty.

The position of national minority workers (as well as women workers), as being the least bribed and least tied to imperialism, objectively places many of them in the vanguard of the proletariat. Over the past years as more and more national minorities and women have entered the proletariat, they have been in the forefront in the struggles against capital. The farmworkers' struggle, the auto plant strikes, steel workers' strikes, the Farah pants strike, as well as, the rebellions in the cities during the 60's all attest to this fact.

But the pamphlet plays down the importance of the national minorities within the working class. It states "In order to connect this question with the question of racism, the following calculation may be made: if the opportunist-petty bourgeois stream represented as much as ten per cent of the working class and if this stream were lily white then the overwhelming majority of the revolutionary mass stream of the working class would still be white. Only ten to fifteen per cent of the US working class is nonwhite; therefore, eight out of nine exploited, unbribed, untouched workers - workers who perform absolutely no political function in the machinery of fraud as do the labor politicians - would be white. Class lines are primary. The attempt to portray these lines as less important than, coinciding with, color lines is a racist capitalist falsehood."

Here, we see that to deny the relationship between the Anglo-American proletariat and the colonial and dependent nations has a direct bearing on the national minority worker in particular and the working class as a whole in the Anglo-American nation. The colonial status of the Negro Nation and the Puerto Rican Nation in particular serve as models to attest to the fact that any national minority from these areas who joins the Anglo-American working class suffers oppression as a result of his direct ties to the colonial nation. The pamphlet states "class lines are primary". We of the CL also say that the struggle between labour and capital is primary in our strive towards socialism and that class lines are not to be used at the expense of the National Question. But it is precisely the fact that the National Question is part of the class question, that it must be reckoned with! Mao Tse-tung

makes clear that the "national and colonial question is in the final analysis a class question." Stalin further stated that, "The national question is a part of the general question of the proletarian revolution, a part of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Finally, the pamphlet states the following: "Capital exported instead of being reinvested within the country means less demand for labor. This puts workers in a worse bargaining position to fight for higher wages and better working conditions. US workers do not gain by imperialism; they lose, and they have a material (interest) in destroying the monopoly capitalist system which requires export of capital." This line is directly united with the labor aristocrats and the revisionists. The late Walter Reuther, presently Leonard Woodcock of the UAW and other jingoists call for a share in USNA profits as a condition to allow the USNA to "continually send jobs out of the country!" George Meany of the AFL-CIO, places the blame of the so-called taking of the USNA workers' jobs on the Mexican Nationals who are brutally exploited and oppressed. If the USNA is sending so many jobs to the colonial and dependent nations, why are the unemployment rates, illiteracy, infant mortality rates, etc., so grotesquely high in those countries? There can be no national interests for the proletariat. The only guarantee of a job is to demand that everyone is able to work.

In addition to the labour aristocrats, the able and capable revisionists lend their ugly hands to further this dictum. Using the Second International as their base, they continually push the imperialist sanctioned hogwash of "defend the fatherland." This was the character of the revisionists of the 2nd International as they called for the proletariat of the various nations to fight each other and support their "own" imperialists. In Germany, fascism had its base in uniting the German proletariat against the proletariat of other nations. We are rapidly advancing towards fascism in the USNA and lines of "defend the fatherland," "workers in other countries take our jobs", are fuel for the bourgeois fascist offensive.

The agents of the bourgeoisie are skillful and blatant in their unity with the political ideologies of national and white chauvinism. What must be the clarion call for the proletariat in the oppressing nation regarding the national liberation struggles in the colonial and dependent nations? Stalin quoting Lenin states, "The weight of emphasis in the internationalist education of the workers in the oppressing countries must necessarily consist in their advocating and upholding freedom of secession for oppressed countries. Without this there can be no internationalism. It is our right and duty to treat every social democrat of an oppressing nation who fails to conduct such propaganda as

an imperialist and a scoundrel. This is an absolute demand even if the chance of secession being possible and 'feasible' before the introduction of socialism be only one in a thousand." (15)

At this stage it is of utmost importance to build an independent, multi-national Communist Party to direct the struggle of the working class to victory over the imperialist bourgeoisie. It is in this manner that we call for the support of and can best support the national liberation struggles. In addition we call for the simultaneous building of a United Front to stop the fascist drive of the bourgeoisie. We welcome and cherish all honest Marxist-Leninists who join us in this battle; it is in this light that we welcome the support of the New Voice in creating a party of the proletariat.

- 1) Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, FLPP, 1970.
- 2) A. Leontiev, Political Economy, Chapter IX, pp. 206-8.
- 3) Ibid.
- 4) Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, FLPP, p. 5.
- 5) "Review of International Affairs", Investments and Profits, Vol. 20, 1969.
- 6) Stalin, Selected Works, "Basic Economic Laws of Modern Capitalism and of Socialism", Cardinal Publishers.
- 7) Afro-Asian Journalist, No. 3, 1973, p. 2.
- 8) US Statistical Abstract, Tables 806, 807, 813, 1972.
- 9) Lenin, Karl Marx, FLPP, p. 8.
- 10) Ibid., pp. 27 & 28.
- 11) Marx, Capital, Vol. 1, Int. Pub., p. 525.
- 12) Stalin, Selected Works, Op. Cit., p. 339.
- 13) Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, FLPP, 1970, p. 123.
- 14) Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," in On Trade Unions, Int. Pub., N.Y., p. 293.
- 15) Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, FLPP, p. 80-81.

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If Mr. Bains tries to deny this we will have to ask him why it is that in Vol. I, No. 16, Oct. 2, 1973 of the "Workers Daily" they have an article from the "Peoples Canada Daily News" that hails the formation of the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists. Now remember this is October and the real conference of North American Marxist-Leninists had taken place in May. This Commentary states: "This Commentary announces the formation of the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists on August 28, 1973 in Detroit."

"The formation of the Central Organization and the publication of its organ, Workers' Daily, are great victories for the American proletariat. The PCDN regards these events as great victories for two reasons: 1) for many years now the American working class has been in need of and has been waiting for the rebirth

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of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party in the United States; 2) the American working class is demanding that Marxist-Leninists unite, that they sit together and sort out their differences and unite to build a Party.

"The formation of the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists and the publication of Workers' Daily are both concrete steps towards the building of unity among the U.S. Marxist-Leninists and the reconstitution of the Communist Party in the United States.

"Since the betrayal of the American proletariat by the revisionists in the CPUSA advanced elements of the working class have been fighting against revisionism and all the bourgeois theories which compromise with or prettify revisionism. The goal of this fight has been to rebuild the CPUSA as a Marxist-Leninist and not a revisionist party. Since August 28th, the working class is one step closer to that goal because genuine Marxist-Leninists have united for the cause of the Party and of proletarian revolution.

"We Canadian revolutionaries are profoundly happy at these events. Deep bounds of history and friendship unite the American and Canadian peoples. Our country's destiny and the destiny of the people of the world is very much tied down with the success or failure of the American proletariat to carry out its historic task of burying, once and for all, the most decadent, the most reactionary and the most anti-people and anti-working class of all imperialisms, U.S. imperialism. We are confident that the efforts of the American proletariat will be crowned with success. We are confident that the anti-fascist, proletarian revolution of the American working class will bring the world system of imperialism crashing down in utter ruin."

Mr. Bains, we must say to you that you are wrong. The Marxist-Leninists of North America today are not fighting to reconstitute the revisionist Communist Party of the USA. The revisionist CPUSA is dead as a revolutionary party. The CPUSA is supporting in every instance bourgeois reformism. We are not trying to rebuild this old communist party. We are trying to build a party in the USNA of a new type, that same type of party that Lenin and Stalin built; that same type of party that defeated the revisionists of the Second International, the Kautsky's and the Bernstein's and a host of others; the same revolutionary Bolshevik party that defeated not only the revisionist Second International, but went on to build a new International in its place - the Third International. On this basis the Party set up principals - 19 points for each party in every country to carry out under the leadership

of the Third International. This is the duty of the Communists at the present time, not to reconstitute the old broken down revisionist party of the USNA, but to build a multinational revolutionary party of a new type in this country - this is the job of the North American communists.

Further, the North American proletariat is not interested in just carrying on an anti-fascist revolution. Fascism is itself a product of monopoly capitalism, of the most reactionary section of the capitalist class. The duty of the proletariat of the USNA is to carry on a revolutionary struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat; to destroy not only the possibilities of developing fascism out of this reactionary capitalist system (which has been proving it is on its way out from the Watergate incident) but to destroy the imperialist system and the exploitation of man by man. It is our duty to set up a revolutionary communist party that will join in the world's movement to destroy imperialism. Fascism, yes, must be defeated, because the working class must struggle to maintain as much of bourgeois democracy as it can until they are able to destroy the causes of fascism. But we know that this democracy itself is a portion of the state, and the bourgeois state is definitely an enemy of the working class.

What should we say about "Marxists" who talk about anti-fascism, but don't want to carry on this struggle to the extent of getting rid of the causes of fascism and who don't see that the most reactionary sections of the monopoly capitalists want to carry out more vicious exploitation, robbery and murder throughout the world.

And further, Mr. Bains, if you want to deny that you were working to stop the development of a Marxist-Leninist Party in the USNA by putting the Marxist-Leninists under the ACWM and your leadership, please answer the following: In the Journal of the North American News Service of which you are the editor there is an article entitled: "Unity Among Marxist-Leninists is the Main Trend in Canada and the World", by Joseph Redpath, and we quote, "The Conference of the North American Marxist-Leninists will be held soon. This conference will certainly sum the trend of unity amongst the Marxist-Leninists in Canada and the U.S. and will develop guidelines to further develop it. The conference will further seal the fate of the Holy Alliance of the 'Left' and their monopoly capitalist masters who will certainly be pushed into the dust bin of history where they belong." Mr. Bains, if you will notice, this statement comes from the paper of July 30th - August 12th, 1973. This statement came long after the conference held in May by USNA Marxist-Leninists, so that proves that you do not recognize that a Marxist-Leninist Confer-

ence was held in May - the one which you originally helped organize. All Marxists must see that any actions on the part of certain people today who "talk" about Marxism, who "talk" about building the Party, who "talk" about disseminating Mao Tse-tung's thought are at the same time betraying Marxism. What is Mao Tse-tung's thought, but Marxism-Leninism applied to the conditions of China and at the same time, developing the whole struggle of the Chinese Revolution in its relationship to the world's revolution?

To the Central Organization and to its father and mother, the North American News Service and its adjutant general, the following is the way Communists do business in promoting the revolution throughout the world, and carry on struggle in the interest of the proletariat. I now quote from the first meeting of the first congress of the Communist International on March 2, 1919 on the question of setting up a presidium, and the opening up of the convention by Comrade Lenin, and here is what he said:

"In the name of the Central Committee of the R.C.P. I declare the first International Communist Congress open. First of all, I will ask all those present to rise in honour of the memory of the best representatives of the Third International: Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. (all rise)

"Comrades, I think that after the events in Russia, after the January struggle in Germany it is particularly important to note that in other countries also the latest form of the proletarian movement is coming to life and assuming predominance. For example, today I read a report in an anti-socialist newspaper that the British government had met the Birmingham Council of Workers' Deputies and had expressed its readiness to recognize the Councils as industrial organizations. The Soviet system has conquered not only in backward Russia but also in the most developed country of Europe - Germany, and in the oldest capitalist country - Great Britain.

"Let the bourgeoisie continue to rage, let it slaughter more thousands of workers - victory is ours; the victory of the world Communist revolution is assured."

And further let us see what Lenin says in the closing speech.

"The fact that we have succeeded in gathering together in spite of all police obstacles and persecution, the fact that we have succeeded without serious differences and in a brief space of time in adopting important decisions on all the urgent problems of the present revolutionary epoch, is due to the proletarian masses of the world having placed all these problems on the order of the day by their

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actions, and to their having begun to solve them in a practical manner.

"We, here, have merely had to register what the masses have already won in their revolutionary struggle.

"The movement in favor of Soviets is spreading wider and wider, not only in the East European, but also in the West European countries, not only in the vanquished, but also in the victorious countries, for example, in Great Britain; and this movement is nothing more nor less than a movement which has for its object the creation of a new proletarian democracy - it is the most important step towards the dictatorship of the proletariat, towards the complete victory of Communism.

"Let the bourgeoisie of the whole world continue to rage, let it deport, imprison and even kill the Spartacists and Bolsheviks - this will help it no longer. It will merely serve to enlighten the masses, to liberate them from the old bourgeois democratic prejudices, and to harden them in the struggle. The victory of the proletarian revolution all over the world is assured. The foundation of the international Soviet Republic is impending." (Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. X)

Central Organization, please take note; this first congress of the world's Communist International was carried out and the procedures and business of this congress were also done in just four days. How do you account for these 'ten days that shook the world' that you had in Detroit? Very "funny" isn't it?

On the question of building a party of a new type how did the Communist International put this question to the whole world's communist movement? We quote:

"The First Inaugural Congress of the Communist International did not draw up definite conditions of affiliation for individual parties to the Third International. At the time the First Congress was convened only Communist trends and groups existed in the majority of countries.

"The Second World Congress of the Communist International is meeting under different conditions. Now, in the majority of countries, there exist not only Communist trends and groups but Communist Parties and organizations.

"More and more frequently parties and groups which only recently were affiliated to the Second International, but which have not yet really become Communist, are applying for affiliation to the Third International. The Second International is completely smashed. The intermediate parties and groups of the "Centre", realizing that the Second International is

hopeless, are trying to lean on the Communist International, which is becoming stronger and stronger, hoping, however, to retain such 'autonomy' as will enable them to pursue their former opportunist or 'Centrist' policy. To a certain degree, the Communist International is becoming the fashion.

"The desire of certain leading groups of the 'Centre' to join the Third International at the present time is in direct confirmation of the fact that the Communist International has won the sympathy of the overwhelming majority of the class-conscious workers all over the world and day by day is more and more becoming a force.

"Under certain circumstances, the Communist International may be faced with the danger of becoming diluted with wavering and half-hearted groups which have not yet abandoned the ideology of the Second International.

"Moreover, certain big parties (Italy, Sweden), the majority of which adopt the point of view of Communism, still have a fairly large reformist and social-pacifist wing which is only waiting for the opportune moment to raise its head again, to start actively sabotaging the proletarian revolution and thereby assist the bourgeoisie and the Second International.

"Not a single Communist must forget the lessons of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The Hungarian proletariat had to pay dearly for the amalgamation of the Hungarian Communists with the reformists.

"In view of this, the Second World Congress deems it necessary to lay down very definite conditions of affiliation for new parties and also to point out to those parties which have already been received into the Communist International the obligations that rest upon them.

The Second Congress of the Communist International resolves: that the conditions of affiliation to the Communist International be as follows:

"1. Everyday propaganda and agitation must bear a genuinely Communist character. All organs of the press belonging to the party must be edited by reliable Communists who have proved their loyalty to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat must not be discussed simply as if it were a fashionable formula learned by rote; propaganda for it must be carried on in such a way that every rank and file working man and working woman, every soldier and peasant, shall see that the necessity for it arises from the vital facts which are systematically reported in our press day after day. In the columns of newspapers, at mass meetings, in the trade unions and co-operative societies - wherever the adherents of the Third International have access - it is

necessary systematically and ruthlessly to denounce not only the bourgeoisie but their assistants, the reformists of all shades.

"2. Every organization that wishes to affiliate to the Communist International must in a planned and systematic manner remove from all positions in the working class movement that are at all responsible (in the party organization, editorial board, trade unions, parliamentary fractions, co-operative societies, municipalities, etc.) reformists and adherents of the 'Centre' and put in their place reliable Communists - and they must not be disturbed by the fact that in some cases it may, at first, be necessary to substitute rank and file workers for 'experienced' leaders." (Ibid.)

Now this is how Communists act. Lenin was not talking about building up a centre in different countries, he was talking about building up a centre for the whole world's revolution, and that means that all parties in every country must strengthen themselves, must become parties that are able to carry out this action on the part of the revolutionary proletariat. Why? Because we are living in an epoch, not of "peaceful" capitalism, but as Lenin said, we are living in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. That itself is the "new" creative thing in Marxism of today. We are still living in the period of imperialism and proletarian revolution. Anyone today who phrase-mongers about Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought, but does not understand the whole dialectical and historical development of the communist revolutionary movement since the writing of the Communist Manifesto, which today is still one of the most outstanding historical documents in the world, and does not understand the new creative conditions of the revolutionary class struggle of the present time is not a communist. Nor does he intend to be a communist. He is too frightened to even be a communist because he is not even trying to learn. And it is not the question of just learning by rote. As Lenin said, you can study communist books and communist pamphlets and be able to phrase monger and shoot out phrases, but if you don't understand the question of putting them into practice, then you are actually not a communist. This is precisely what is being said here. And to further quote from the 19 points:

"3. In all countries where as a consequence of the prevalence of a state of siege or of emergency laws the Communists are unable to carry on all their work legally, it is absolutely necessary to combine legal with illegal work. In nearly all countries in Europe and America the class struggle is entering the stage of civil war. Under these circumstances, the Commu-

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iado pierde su independencia a causa del oportunismo, del revisionismo y del reformismo en el movimiento del trabajo.

La historia ha demostrado, y el caso de Peru ha subrayado, que la más detallada preparación por la transición de masas violenta hacia la dictadura del proletariado y el socialismo solamente significa una cosa - la construcción de un partido comunista revolucionario, un partido basado en las masas trabajadoras y oprimidas, y no en una junta militar pequeña-burguesa.

VICTORIA AL PUEBLO PERUANO EN SU LUCHA CONTRA EL REVISIONISMO Y EL IMPERIALISMO!

Véase este artículo en inglés por las notas



To be continue a next issue. Revolutionary movement. Fallacies that can happen in a committing some of the worst to blame someone else, they are the ACMM is doing, and then try talk one way and do another like country. When people begin to never make revolution in this retical point of view, we will economic, political and theo-stand Marxism from its social, and understood. Unless this must be accumulated, assessed lutionary socialist movement whole development of the revo- lution. For this reason the got to make the socialist revo- their revolutionary party, has

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 p. 14 (Eng.)
 honest person in the USNA that really remembers the murder and slaughter of the American working class, the deportation of foreign born workers, the Palmer raids, the falling of communists and the organization of many reactionary laws from Congress and so forth know that this is true. And if the communists in this country realize these things and begin to prepare and unify themselves based on this struggle, they are struggling for the socialist revolution. If not, they are struggling just in the interest of carrying on dialogue, or for showing how intellectual and smart they may be. The fact is that we must realize that we cannot fight the ruling class on this basis; we cannot fight them on their reactionary basis. We must fight the ruling class on our own basis. This means that despite the will of the ruling class in the USNA, the working class, under the leadership of

De la Liga por Revolución Proletaria Las Polémicas Falsas de la L. O. (M-L) Desmascaradas

Para el Clarin, órgano de la Liga de Octubre (M-L)

Camaradas,

Hace un tiempo, en el Foro del Guardian, fue declarado que la relación entre el frente unido y la construcción de un partido comunista era de urgente interés para todos los comunistas. En otro foro, la pregunta se le hizo a la "Unión Revolucionaria" y a la "Liga de Octubre"; ¿a qué dan más importancia, a la formación de un Frente Unido o a la formación de un partido comunista? La Unión Revolucionaria contestó que al Frente Unido, la Liga de Octubre contestó que al partido.

Pero al mismo tiempo, y más aun en los últimos meses, la Liga de Octubre se ha encontrado muy agusto con la Unión Revolucionaria y en constante oposición a los grupos y las organizaciones que dan la mayor importancia a la formación de un partido comunista. Por ejemplo su editorial del Año Nuevo ni siquiera mencionó la tarea de la formación del partido. La pregunta naturalmente se hace, ¿acaso nada más dicen estas palabras para evadir lo que saben que no se puede defender teóricamente (el frente unido primero)? ¿Acaso dicen estas palabras para mantener credibilidad en el movimiento comunista sin tener la menor intención de ponerlo en práctica concretamente en la determinación de las alianzas y la unidad política? ¿O es que ustedes creen que cuando se determina con quien van a unirse, esta pregunta y su contestación son de

menor importancia? Nosotros quisieramos declarar nuestra posición sobre esta cuestión en relación al reciente intercambio entre la Liga de Octubre y la Liga Comunista. Nosotros creemos que esta cuestión es concretamente lo que divide al Marxista-Leninista del oportunista y del radical pequeño-burgués.

¿Qué es el Comunismo? Es "un sistema completo de ideología proletaria y un nuevo sistema social" (Mao). La ideología es expresada en los programas, las teorías, y los planes, la política, ect. que movilizan a las masas del pueblo desde ciertas condiciones particulares hacia la meta de un sistema social comunista, hacia la revolución proletaria y la abolición de clases. Pero actualmente, dadas las condiciones concretas en este país, la tarea principal del movimiento comunista no es la abolición de clases ni la toma de poder. La tarea principal del movimiento comunista es la formación del partido comunista; es un movimiento anti-revisionista, pro-partido comunista. Estamos enterados de que hay muchos frentes unidos en varios niveles de lucha, y que la unión de la mayoría del pueblo en contra de la clase dominante, imperialista no es solamente deseable sino una tarea necesaria de una organización en su trabajo cotidiano. Pero no se debería olvidar que los resultados de este trabajo dependen de la independencia e iniciativa de la línea revolucionaria del proletariado y la organización revolucionaria del proletariado.

La línea que pone la formación del frente popular como tarea principal es una línea oportunista que no encuentra justificación en la literatura y práctica histórica del movimiento internacional comunista. Un ataque contra los grupos y las organizaciones que están juntando a los Marxistas-Leninistas para discutir sus posiciones teóricas y para formar un partido comunista es un ataque al movimiento comunista.

Es más, su artículo sobre "el falso congreso" de la Liga Comunista es el epitome de polémicas falsas. Es una gran vulgarización del método Marxista-Leninista de la lucha ideológica. Es fraudulento. Las citas que usaron "dirigido por revisionistas" intencionalmente dan la impresión que la Liga Comunista ha dicho que China es dirigida por revisionistas. Pero jamás a aparecido tal cita en la prensa de la Liga Comunista. De la misma manera anteriormente en el año 1973, dieron la impresión que la Liga Comunista había dicho que el Gobierno de Allende era "peor que el fascismo". Tampoco era cierto. Planteamos la pregunta, ¿será este el modo de conducir la lucha ideológica, de desarrollar la teoría del Marxismo-Leninismo? ¿O no será más bien dicho la manera de impedir tal desarrollo? Esperamos su autocritica, una clarificación de su línea y sus teorías sobre las cuestiones urgentes del movimiento comunista.

Liga Por Revolución Proletaria Apartado 19114 Laurel Sta., Oakland, 94619, CA

Carbono: People's Tribune, Guardian, Revolution, New Voice

'New Voice'

Viene de la pág. 8
lucha en contra del estado bur-
gués a la cual la burguesía
respondió con varias formas de
soborno que tenían el fin de
dividir a la clase obrera.

¿Qué significa todo esto?
Simplemente, que los imperialis-
tas usan la ideología del chau-
vinismo nacional y su forma
particular de chauvinismo blanco
para negar el deber de inter-
nacionalismo proletario de la
clase obrera. Por ejemplo,
Nixon en su segunda aparición
en la televisión sobre el
asunto Watergate, hechó la
culpa de la crisis de Watergate
a las luchas de los sesentas,
conducidas por las minorías
nacionales, y a las luchas con-
tra la guerra del Viet-Nam. Uno
de los métodos principales uti-
lizado para dividir al prole-
tariado anglo-americano es la
subjugación y explotación bru-
tal de la mujer obrera. Se les
utiliza principalmente como
una fuerza laboral de reserva,
como mano de obra barata. Me-
diante la ideología burguesa
de la supremacía masculina, las
mujeres son pagadas menos y
ahora están perdiendo los pocos
derechos protectivos que se
ganaron durante muchos años de
luchas militantes. Sin embargo
aun entre las obreras el sobor-
no se usa para dividir. Aunque
en general las obreras están en
una posición inferior a los
obreros, las obreras de las mi-
norías nacionales sufren mucho
más que el resto de la fuerza
laboral. Su opresión y explo-
tación es triple; como obreras,
como minorías nacionales y como
mujeres. Estos son unos de
los métodos que la burguesía
utiliza para dividir a la clase
obrero aquí y le impide ver su
deber internacionalista.

La posición de los obreros
de las minorías nacionales y de
las mujeres de ser los menos
sobornados y menos atados al
imperialismo coloca a muchos de
ellos en la vanguardia del pro-
letariado. En los últimos años
han entrado muchas minorías na-
cionales y mujeres al prole-
tariado y han estado en la van-
guardia de la lucha en contra
del capital. Esto se vió en la
lucha de los "farmworkers", las
huelgas en las fábricas de auto-
móviles, la huelga de los
obreros de acero, la huelga de
la "Farah" al igual que las re-
beliones en las ciudades du-
rante los años sesentas.

Pero el folleto subestima
la importancia de las minorías
nacionales dentro de la clase
obrero. Dice; "Para hacer la
conexión entre esta cuestión
y la cuestión del racismo, se
puede hacer el siguiente cál-
culo: si la rama oportunista
pequeña-burguesa representara
el 10% de la clase obrera y si
esta rama fuera completamente
blanca entonces la abrumadora
mayoría de la rama revoluciona-
ria de todas maneras sería blan-
ca. Solo del 10 al 15 por cien-
to de la clase obrera norteamer-
icana es no-blanca; por lo
tanto, 8 de cada 9 obreros ex-
plotados, no-sobornados, y no-
corruptos - obreros que no
cumplen función política algu-

na en la maquinaria de fraude
como lo hacen los políticos la-
borales - sería blanca. Las
líneas de clases son principa-
les. El intento de hacerlas
parecer menos importantes y de
hacer parecer que coinciden con
líneas de color, es una mentira
rascista capitalista."

Aquí vemos que el negar
la relación que existe entre el
proletariado anglo-americano y
en las colonias y las naciones
dependientes tiene un efecto
directo sobre los obreros de
minoría nacional en particular
y la clase obrera entera en la
nación anglo-americana. El
estado colonial de la Negro
Nation y de Puerto Rico en par-
ticular sirven como modelos
para comprobar el hecho que
cualquiera minoría nacional que
entra a la clase obrera anglo-
americana sufre opresión como
resultado de sus vínculos direc-
tos con la nación colonial.
El folleto declara "que las
líneas de clases son princi-
pales". Nosotros de la LC
también decimos que en nues-
tro esfuerzo hacia el socia-
lismo la lucha entre el tra-
bajo y el capital es princi-
pal y que las líneas de clase
no deben ser usadas a costa
de la cuestión nacional.
¡Pero es precisamente debido
al hecho que la cuestión na-
cional es parte de la cues-
tión de clase que la tenemos
que tomar en cuenta! Mao
Tsetung clarifica que la "cues-
tión nacional y colonial es
en el último análisis una
cuestión de clase". Además
Stalin declaró, "La cuestión
nacional es una parte de la
cuestión general de la revol-
ución proletaria, una parte
de la cuestión de la dictadura
del proletariado."

Finalmente el folleto de-
clara: "La exportación del
capital en vez de la reinversión
dentro del país significa menos
demanda para mano de obra. Esto
pone a los obreros en peor posi-
ción para negociar sueldos más
altos y mejores condiciones de
trabajo. Los obreros de los
EUN no tienen nada que ganar
con el imperialismo, al contra-
rio pierden, y por lo tanto
tienen un interés material en
la destrucción del sistema de
monopolio capitalista que re-
quiera la exportación del
capital." Esta línea está
directamente unida con los re-
visionistas y los de la aristo-
cracia laboral. El difunto Wal-
ter Reuther, luego Leonard
Woodcock de la UAW, y otros,
piden su parte de las ganancias
norteamericanas como una condi-
ción para permitir que los
EUN "continuamente manden tra-
bajo fuera del país". George
Meany de la AFL-CIO, acusa a
los de nacionalidad mexicana,
quienes son brutalmente oprimi-
dos y explotados, de ser los
culpables de la escasez de tra-
bajo para los norteamericanos.
Si acaso es cierto que los EUN
está mandando trabajo a las
naciones coloniales y dependien-
tes, ¡Por qué es que los nive-
les de desempleo de analfabe-

tismo, de mortalidad infantil,
etc. son tan grotescamente
elevados en esos países? Para
el proletariado no hay intereses
nacionales. La única garantía
de trabajo que existe es deman-
dar que todo el mundo pueda
trabajar.

Además de los aristócrates
laborales, los revisionistas
ayudan a promover este dicto.
Usando a la Segunda Interna-
cional como base, ellos contin-
uamente promueven la mentira
imperialista de "defender la pa-
tria". Este fue el caracter de
los revisionistas de la Se-
gunda Internacional al invocar
al proletariado de varias na-
ciones a pelear entre si y
apoyar a sus "propios" imperia-
listas. En Alemania, la base
del fascismo fue de unir
proletariado en contra de otras
naciones. En los EUN estamos
avanzando rápidamente hacia el
fascismo y las líneas de "de-
fender la patria" y "los obre-
ros de otros países nos quitan
los empleos" son combustible
para la ofensiva burguesa fa-
scista.

Los agentes de la burgue-
sía son muy hábiles y completa-
mente abiertos en su unidad con
la ideología política de chau-
vinismo nacional y blanco. ¿Cuál
debieraser el clarín del prole-
tariado en la nación opresora
en relación a las luchas de
liberación nacional en las na-
ciones dependientes y colonia-
les? Stalin citando
a Lenin declaró "El
centro de gravedad de la edu-
cación internacionalista de los
obreros de los países opresores
tiene que estar necesariamente
en la prédica y en la defensa
de la libertad de separación
de los países oprimidos. De
otra manera, no hay internaciona-
lismo. Tenemos el derecho y el
deber de tratar de imperialista
y de canalla a todo socialde-
mócrata de una nación opresora
que no realice tal propaganda.
Esta es una exigencia incondi-
cional, aunque prácticamente,
la separación no sea posible
ni "realizable" antes del
socialismo más que en el uno
por mil de los casos..."(15)

En esta etapa es de suma
importancia construir un par-
tido independiente, multinacio-
nal comunista para dirigir la
lucha de la clase obrera hacia
la victoria en contra de la bur-
guesía imperialista. Es en esta
manera que llamamos por el
apoyo de las luchas de libera-
ción nacional. Además, llama-
mos por la simultánea constru-
cción de un Frente Unido para
parar la moción fascista de la
burguesía. Agradecemos y reci-
bimos con gusto a todo honrado
marxista-leninista que quiera
unirse con nosotros en esta
lucha; es bajo esta luz que
recibimos con gusto el apoyo de
la "New Voice" acerca de la
creación de un partido del pro-
letariado.

Véase éste artículo en inglés
por las notas.

Haití

Viene de la pág. 2
helicopteros, barcos armados,
y rifles m-16's.

Ahora mismo en Haití está una contingencia de marineros y Green Berets estadounidenses entrenando a una milicia especial, los "Leopardos", que será la segunda generación de "tontons macoutes". También oficiales de los EEUU ocupan varios puestos administrativos importantes en el gobierno, que incluye el correo y la aduana... y el correo revisa cada carta que pasa por sus manos y es la aduana haitiana cuya corrupción la ha convertido en los contrabandistas más grandes de la isla. Y las corporaciones estadounidenses que se suponen ser una bendición para Haití como reportan los "tontons macoutes". ¿Qué están haciendo en Haití? Una mercancía principal de exporte en Haití es la sangre. En este negocio sucio, el papel principal es el de la corporación norteamericana Hommo Caribbean. La compañía compra la sangre a los haitianos pobres, mal nutridos y desempleados en \$3 a \$4 la pinta y en cambio la vende en el mercado de los EEUU a un precio fabuloso de \$20, recibiendo ganancias de varios millones de dólares cada año. Haitianos por todas partes del mundo han protestado este negocio vampiresco. Joseph B. Gorinstein, negociante de Miami y dueño de Hommo Caribbean, comentando en esta protesta de un reportero de Nueva York, dijo que su compañía es "una bendición para este pobre país porque los haitianos no sabrían que hacer con su sangre de todas maneras." La que se ganó por la publicidad de este caso creada por las organizaciones haitianas destruyeras, forzó que Hommo Caribbean se cerrara. Por lo menos, por una temporada porque reportó Jack Anderson en su artículo nacional que esta compañía está negociando en Washington para empezar su negocio del robo de la sangre haitiana de nuevo y que tiene la asistencia de unos senadores importantes.

Vamos a considerar otro caso, el de la isla de Latortue, mas allá de la costa norteña de Haití. Una compañía de Tejas, Dupont Caribbean, Inc., compró la isla del gobierno haitiano por \$1.50 el acre. Los campesinos que vivían en la isla, con excepción de los que hacen falta para la construcción, han sido removados y dejados en la costa seca noreste de Haití, donde se han reportado faminas regulares por organizaciones internacionales. Cienes de campesinos fueron dejados en este lugar sin tener medios de sobrevivir.

Según el contrato entre el régimen haitiano y Dupont Caribbean, la compañía es en efecto el gobierno de la isla. La policía y el ejército haitiano jamás pueden pararse en la isla. Las leyes haitianas no toman efecto, el gobierno no puede coleccionar impuestos en la isla, y en fin los ciudadanos

haitianos necesitan permiso especial para ir a Latortue. En otras palabras, si el contrato no fuera anticonstitucional, se hubiera formado un país nuevo con el poder en manos de Dupont Caribbean Inc.

Este arreglo es tan increíble que hasta un ex-embajador a Haití de los EEUU, el vendido Clinton Knox, comentó durante la ceremonia de confirmación "Espero que estén dejando lugar para embajadores de los EEUU retirados en sus planes." ¿Qué son esos planes? La compañía propone convertir a Latortue en una nueva Habana del Caribe.

Es decir, Habana antes de la Revolución Cubana, con todo y sus casinos, prostitutas, y la mafia. Los capitalistas americanos y extranjeros encontraron otro gran negocio en Haití con la inauguración del hotel "Habitación Leclare". Cuesta \$150 al día por un cuarto en el hotel; el salario medio de la gente haitiana es solamente \$70 al año.

Con estos ejemplos basta para demostrar como operan compañías norteamericanas en Haití. En esto, no hay excepciones. Una docena de otros ejemplos hubieran servido igual, como las compañías Reynolds Fining, Haitian American Sugar, etc.

Está visto que Haití es víctima de un sistema imperialista en el cual el gobierno de los EEUU, negociantes grandes de los EEUU y los "tontons macoutes" cooperan juntos para oprimir, robar y asesinar a la gente haitiana. Ya vemos que Washington está en control en Port-au-prince, y en unos casos, en un modo directo, como por la aduana y el correo. Ya vemos que Washington, por medio de las armas modernas que entrega y el entrenamiento militar que provee a los "tontons macoutes", está enseñándoles como asesinar a la gente haitiana con métodos efectivos y científicos. Y se ve que el gobierno de los EEUU hace todo esto para proteger los intereses egoístas de estas compañías norteamericanas que sólo buscan modos para robar a la gente haitiana. Y también sabemos que la obsesión de los oficiales de inmigración en entregar los detenidos a los "tontons macoutes" no es cuestión de la estupidez de algún burócrata. Sino que es el resultado de una póliza general que da apoyo al régimen haitiano y a los asesinatos y pillaje en Haití.

Ya vemos claramente que el gobierno de los EEUU es nada más que un frente política y militar para el negocio poderoso norteamericano y que Haití siga siendo una colonia igual que cuando desembarcaron los marineros de los EEUU hace 58 años y mantuvieron la ocupación militar por dos décadas.

'new voice'

Viene de la pág. 3

tor principal existe en que se le está negando su perspectiva INTERNACIONALISTA a la clase obrera y la está dejando desarmada ante el ataque furioso del fascismo. Recientemente, los estibadores ("Longshoremen") amenazaron con rehusar a cargar barcos con destino al Medio Oriente como una acción de apoyo para el estado títere de Israel el cual está controlado por los imperialistas. El apoyo por las uniones, tales como el AFL-CIO y la UAW, para cerrarle la frontera a los ciudadanos mexicanos es otro ejemplo de como el soborno fuerza a la clase obrera anglo-americana a tomar posiciones atrasadas acerca de sus contrapartes en las colonias y en los países dependientes. Históricamente los imperialistas de los EUN han utilizado el truco de sobornar a la clase obrera como por ejemplo durante los años de los 80s y 90s del siglo pasado cuando lo usaron para alistar el apoyo de la clase obrera de las anexiones de los territorios.

Es dentro de este soborno material en donde la burguesía, junto con sus hábiles lacayos - los aristócratas laborales y los revisionistas - presenta sus intereses como los intereses de todo el pueblo de los EUN. Esto es lo esencial de la ideología imperialista del chauvinismo nacional y del chauvinismo blanco. Esta es la razón por la cual la burguesía puede trasladar el peso de la crisis de la sobreproducción a las colonias y naciones dependientes con el fin de disminuir las crecientes luchas de los obreros anglo-americanos. Esta es precisamente la razón por la que culpan al pueblo árabe y a otras naciones y pueblos oprimidos de la "crisis de energéticos".

Aun más, el soborno no es solamente empleado para mantener al proletariado anglo-americano separado de los otros obreros y gente oprimida del mundo, sino que también se usa para mantener al proletariado anglo-americano dividido. Debido a la posición colonial de sus tierras natales, los obreros de las minorías nacionales son, proporcionalmente, los menos empleados y los peor pagados. Tienen los peores trabajos, menos educación formal y, en general, las peores condiciones de vida. Debido a que la sección angloamericana de la clase obrera recibe un soborno a costa de los obreros de las minorías nacionales, ha habido una abierta oposición al empleo de las minorías nacionales por parte de muchos miembros de la sección anglo-americana de la clase obrera; por temor de que sus trabajos, condiciones de vida, etc. se vean amenazados. El "disturbio racial" de Springfield, Illinois, en 1919, el "disturbio racial" de Detroit, en 1943, reflejan el soborno de la sección anglo-americana de la clase obrera. En las luchas de los sesentas y setentas el proletariado anglo-americano estaba desempeñando una

Cont. en la pág. 9

Falsos Criticos

Viene de la pág. 6

impede obtener beneficios o trabajos), Nixon dirigió su palabra solamente a los pocos soldados rasos leales que pudo encontrar. La tempestad de coraje de los veteranos demuestra con claridad que los obreros norteamericanos ya no participarán de buena gana en las guerras imperialistas.

LA "OPOSICION" A NIXON

La "oposición" burguesa a Nixon está obrando para defender sus intereses de clase a expensas de la clase obrera. El Senador Jackson trata de ser nuestro líder con sus llamadas chauvinistas por guerra. Su "defensa" de los judíos soviéticos" a través de tratar de impedir que reciba la Unión Soviética el estado de "nación favorecida" en realidad es precisamente este tipo de llamada chauvinista. George Meany también trata de desviarnos con su chauvinismo nacional abierto. Recientemente Meany llamó por una política de comercio que impondrá tarifas comerciantes severas sobre las mercancías extranjeras (es decir "América primero"). De acuerdo con esta política de "América primero" los imperialistas están haciendo planes para "cerrar" la frontera de México a los EUN en California para los obreros mexicanos. Históricamente estos obreros han sido una reserva de labor barata para los imperialistas. En cuanto que las condiciones de la clase obrera se empeoran este programa de cerrar la frontera es un intento de dividir a la clase obrera mediante echarle la culpa a los obreros mexicanos por la crisis económica. Ahora muchas uniones están apoyando este programa.

En las organizaciones que se han formado para demandar el juicio de Nixon y las nuevas elecciones nuestros e fuerzas deben ser dirigidos al desenmascaramiento de la verdadera naturaleza de la situación de Watergate. La "oposición" burguesa está tratando de controlar este odio que las grandes masas sienten por Nixon y por el creciente fascismo. Pero estos políticos y líderes falsos de las uniones representan nada más que el revés de la medalla del fascismo. Debemos de luchar por el liderazgo obrero en nuestras uniones y organizaciones políticas y de comunidad; un liderazgo sin cualquier vínculo a los intereses de los fascistas.

Nuestra verdadera defensa en contra del creciente fascismo es el Frente Unido de la Clase Obrera que lucha para desenmascarar y oponer los planes viles de los imperialistas. Debemos de obrar para cambiar el empuje hacia el fascismo en una fuerte defensa de la clase obrera. Debemos de obrar para cambiar el empuje hacia la guerra imperialista en una guerra revolucionaria. Nuestros intereses no están en las planificaciones de la "oposición" burguesa a

Peru

Viene de la pág. 3

Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias y los obreros unidos en los sindicatos obreros...." De estos partidos que se llaman "comunistas" claramente no hay nada ni siquiera cerca de la llamada

LENIN

Viene de la pág. 4

preparar la base por el trabajo ilegal. La red de agentes creada del método de trabajo fraccionario nos proveerá con esta oportunidad. Les recomendamos a todos los camaradas que pongan activamente en práctica este método de trabajo en todos sus aspectos a través de usarlo no solamente para distribuir el periódico sino también como un medio para obtener el material para los artículos para el periódico.

Este período transicional en el desarrollo de la Liga a un partido exige aun el desarrollo en las tareas del Tribuno Popular. El camino hacia la construcción de un partido monolítico será pavimentado mediante la lucha ideológica constante por la línea política correcta. Siendo convencidos de esto esperamos con gusto las polémicas, los artículos y otras contribuciones de grupos e individuos quienes están interesados en avanzar la lucha de clases.

El Camarada Lenin resumió las tareas de la prensa comunista en lo siguiente: "... el periódico puede y debe ser el líder ideológico del Partido, desarrollando las verdades teóricas, los principios tácticos, las ideas generales de organización, y las tareas generales del Partido entero en cualquier momento." (6)

En conclusión, este período en el cual se encuentra la Liga es caracterizado por más grandes y más difíciles tareas. El Tribuno Popular tendrá que luchar más fuertemente para conservar la línea marxista-leninista. El próximo período necesita que se afirmen el elemento consciente de la clase obrera. La conciencia socialista revolucionaria tiene que ser inculcada en la clase obrera para cumplir con la exigencia histórica de la época actual - la creación de un Partido Comunista Marxista-Leninista para dirigir a la clase obrera hacia la dictadura del proletariado.

Nixon. La bandera del internacionalismo proletario puede y tiene que reemplazar la svástica empapada de sangre.

El destino de Nixon no es lo que está en disputa. Su defensa ha sido y seguirá siendo la utilización de crisis tras crisis en un esfuerzo para desarmar y confundir a la clase obrera. Con este conocimiento nuestras fuerzas deben ser dirigidas hacia la construcción de una oposición obrera, no solamente en contra de Nixon sino también en contra del fantasma del fascismo que ambos él y sus críticos burgueses representan.

por una revolución socialista.

La posición del Partido Comunista de Cuba se aclara en un discurso reciente de Fidel Castro. El dice que, "algunos de los comandantes en poder... dirigieron a las fuerzas armadas del Perú a unirse con el pueblo a posiciones progresistas en oposición a la oligarquía..." y el aviso que "el imperialismo está tratando de combatir el ejemplo de las Fuerzas Armadas del Perú con eso de las Fuerzas Armadas (fascistas) de Chile." (20) Pero el imperialismo, claro, está tratando de hacer mucho más que esto! El imperialismo usará el anti-comunismo de la junta peruana para su beneficio de la misma manera que usó el revisionismo del gobierno de Unidad Popular de Allende para traer el fascismo a Chile, y que usa a Castro para abatir la vigilancia del proletariado de la América Latina.

A pesar de la carnicería de cientos de miles de comunistas por el régimen "pacífico" en Indonesia, a pesar de la lección trágica de Chile, los revisionistas continúan apoyando "las nuevas altas nativas", "el camino pacífico a socialismo". Pero como Marxistas-Leninistas, nosotros sabemos que no puede haber un camino pacífico al socialismo en la época del imperialismo.

REFORMA O REVOLUCION

Nosotros apoyamos las reformas...pero apoyamos las reformas revolucionarias. Esto es decir, el tipo de reforma y luchas reformistas que organizan y educan a las masas para el asalto final contra el capital. Y el anti-comunismo de la junta peruana seguramente no educa a las masas para la revolución socialista.

Como hemos dicho antes la nacionalización bajo un estado democrático pequeño-burgués también puede avanzar el movimiento revolucionario contra el imperialismo. Pero el proletariado tiene cierto papel que jugar bajo este tipo de estado.

Este papel es de mantener la independencia política socialista hasta su victoria completa.

En el caso de Peru, son primariamente los revisionistas, al servicio del imperialismo, a hacer su mejor para impedir esta independencia política del proletariado. En el caso de Peru, tenemos "toda la tendencia postguerra del Liberalismo, del Laborismo y de la Social-democracia...estrechamente paralela a la línea fascista y la propaganda del Estado Corporativo-- es decir, la línea general de... la colaboración de clases y la así llamada representación de trabajadores, en fin, todo el mito del 'capital'--mo organizado." (21)

Desde estos ejemplos vemos que la nacionalización por el estado en donde el contenido de clase todavía es capitalista no es el socialismo y puede conducir al fascismo si el proletar-

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Falsos Críticos

Viene de la pág. 1 jefe del poderoso "Ways and Means Committee" y miembro del comité que está investigando los impuestos de Nixon, ha declarado que aun sin el escándalo Watergate, el Presidente será forzado a renunciar debido al escándalo de sus impuestos. Este escándalo es acerca del fraude por parte de Nixon de \$400,000 de los ingresos sujetos a impuesto.

Nixon ha contestado estas amenazas mediante una campaña de discursos "públicos" ante audiencias cuidadosamente escogidas. Sin embargo los "Gallup y Harris polls" (dos compañías que hacen encuestas) ponen la popularidad de Nixon a un 25-26%, con más de un 60% de la población no solamente demandando que empiece el procedimiento de residencia sino también que empiece el juicio de Nixon por el Senado.

A fin de que no nos ataquemos en el "lodo" de Watergate como un acontecimiento aislado y para evadir caer en el error de ver el asunto desde una perspectiva minuciosa como quiere la burguesía que lo veíamos, tenemos que poner estos eventos en la moción general de la lucha de clases. Al fin y al cabo ya se sabe que si, y cuando, Nixon llega a dimitir, Gerald Ford ya ha sido escogido escrupulosamente para reemplazarlo.

CRISIS MUNDIAL

Como hemos señalado en nuestras ediciones anteriores, la situación acerca del Watergate no surgió ni creció debido a un sistema de "restricciones y balances" o de la virtud eterna de la democracia burguesa, como nos quisieran hacer creer los políticos burgueses. Por el contrario la situación del Watergate ha resultado de la crisis de la sobreproducción que caracteriza la crisis general del imperialismo. Es precisamente la crisis de la sobreproducción lo que le ha dado fuego a la lucha entre la burguesía si misma. Esta batalla se ha manifestado sobre las tácticas de la expansión imperialista. En otras palabras, no estamos presenciando una división fundamental y sin resolución que caracteriza la derrota de una clase dominante, sino estamos presenciando el proceso inevitable de la más monopolización de los medios de producción en menos y más poderosas manos.

Una manifestación de esta lucha ha sido una distensión temporal con la URSS que ha permitido el aumento de la penetración del capital financiero norteamericano en la Unión Soviética (el ministro de comercio soviético anunció que están negociando 19 tratos mayores no solamente por el establecimiento de bancos norteamericanos en Moscú sino por enormes préstamos, créditos y empresas conjuntas con Kaiser, Phillip Morris y Lockheed). Además la distensión ha fortalecido la hegemonía mun-

dial temporaria de los EUN a expensas de no solamente las colonias, sino también de los menos poderosos imperialistas europeos y japoneses. Pero mientras que la distensión actual temporalmente permite la expansión del capital financiero y políticamente es necesitado por los imperialistas para proyectar la aura de la "paz", no debemos equivocarnos acerca de la cuestión de la distensión; la distensión es nada más que la preparación por guerra imperialista. La creciente crisis de la sobreproducción está continuamente empujando los imperialistas hacia la guerra; la guerra para consumir las mercancías; la guerra para permitir la expansión de la industria de armamentos; la guerra para retener y extender sus posesiones coloniales.

En la Unión Soviética los tratos de la distensión han estado bajo el ataque creciente de algunas secciones de la clase dominante soviética. Esta sección, dirigida por los militares, ha sido criticada severamente por la camarilla de Brezhnev que necesita el capital financiero norteamericano como ayuda para restaurar el capitalismo en la URSS. Esta batalla entre los oportunistas de la URSS indirectamente fue expresada recientemente en una "crítica" del Partido Comunista de España por haber tomado una posición en contra de la distensión y por hacer la llamada por una guerra contra los imperialistas de los EUN. Es importante notar que están llamando no por una guerra revolucionaria, pero por una guerra a expensas de los obreros y trabajadores del mundo. Ciertamente Brezhnev no está en contra de la guerra imperialista. Esto se ve mediante el rápido aumento de armas y tropas a lo largo de la frontera china y en la Europa Oriental. Mientras que los oportunistas se ocultan tras lemas "marxistas" que en realidad son revisionistas, ellos reconocen muy bien que su mejor preparación por guerra imperialista es la distensión.

El empuje hacia la guerra no se limita a las dos superpotencias. Este fantasma feo que desangra los obreros y los pueblos oprimidos del mundo también se está fraguando en Europa y Japón. La reciente confrontación sobre el control del petróleo mundial es precisamente el tipo de guerra comerciante y de re-alineación de las fuerzas que precedieron la Primera y Segunda Guerra Mundial.

Mientras que Kissinger viaja por todo el mundo tratando de mantener la distensión y la hegemonía norteamericana, los imperialistas europeos y japoneses se están siendo forzados a cambiar sus alianzas y luchar. Los franceses que fueron temporalmente frustrados en el reciente mitin en Washington ("el proyecto interdependencia" - véase Vol. 6 No. 3 del TP) no perdieron tiempo en su reagrupamiento de los países del Mercado Común para hacer más planes por tratos independientes

con los países productores de petróleo. La Gran Bretaña, trastornada por una crisis económica y política que resulto en la derrota del gobierno tory, sigue siendo atacada por una inflación sobresaliente y por un déficit de comercio de \$1.01 billón. La situación está tan grave que recientemente el Christian Science Monitor notó que, "Ningún gobierno democrático jamás ha sobrevivido tal tasa de inflación más que un año..." (28/3/74) El Japón se encuentra en una crisis económica aun más grave con una tasa de inflación un 30% más alta (más alta que la de Bretaña) y una tasa de crecimiento de menos de un 2%. (Christian Science Monitor, 26/3/74.)

Esta claro que estos imperialistas menores reconocen que mientras que falten la fuerza militar, siguerán siendo dominados por el imperialismo norteamericano. Los jefes gubernamentales de los países de Europa y Japón han lanzado programas fascistas en contra de "sus" propias clases obreras para preparar por las guerras de expansión.

"LA PAZ AQUI"

El significado del fiasco Watergate se encuentra precisamente en esta crisis mundial que está preparando la escena por guerra imperialista. El reemplazo de los aconsejadores de la Casa Blanca con agentes del ejército y de la C.I.A., la reciente serie de decisiones de la Corte Suprema (cuyos miembros fueron casi todos escogidos escrupulosamente por Nixon - una de estas decisiones es la preparación para instituir la pena de muerte), y el furor oficial para encerrar a los marxistas durante el período actual del "terrorismo" son muestras de la preparación por un estado fascista. La clase obrera odia las guerras imperialistas. Estamos atormentados por una tasa de inflación de más de el 12%. Los precios mayoristas están subiendo un 5% cada dos meses y el rédito que se puede gastar la bajado un 4.5% este año. Los imperialistas ya no pueden mantener "la paz aquí" con su democracia burguesa. En otras palabras el sistema del soborno apoyado por el terror ya no puede ser usado con éxito para dominar a la clase obrera. Lo que estamos presenciando es el desarrollo de un sistema de terror apoyado por el soborno como el medio para dominar al proletariado anglo-americano.

Hemos dicho anteriormente que los imperialistas necesitan el fascismo para luchar las guerras imperialistas. El mejor ejemplo de esto se halla en el reciente discurso de Nixon acerca de la situación de los veteranos de la guerra vietnamita. En vez de dirigirse a los veteranos, quienes están enojados y repugnados por el tratamiento que les han dado (han recibido pocos beneficios, una compensación pequeña y además casi 200,000 veteranos han recibido certificadas de licencia deshonrosos que los

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STALIN

Viene de la pág. 1

interna de los Estados para convertirse en una cuestión general e internacional, en la cuestión mundial de liberar del yugo del imperialismo a los pueblos oprimidos de los países dependientes y de las colonias." (1) La posición marxista-leninista de la Liga Comunista acerca de la cuestión nacional colonial de la Negro Nation, y de autonomía regional para el Suroeste y de independencia para Puerto Rico sigue los pasos de Stalin directamente.

En 1913 Stalin escribió "El Marxismo y la Cuestión Nacional". En este artículo "Stalin formuló la teoría marxista de qué es una nación y de donde surge, y como deben ver los bolsheviks que la solución al problema de la opresión de una nación por otra no como una aislada 'cosa-en-sí', sino como una parte orgánica de la cuestión de la revolución proletaria en la época del imperialismo. Stalin desarrolló aun más el principio marxista-leninista del internacionalismo proletario y del derecho de las naciones a la autodeterminación. Lenin declaró 'este artículo está a la vanguardia' de la literatura marxista acerca de la cuestión nacional." (2) La definición clásica de Stalin de una nación hoy permanece sin desafío: "una comunidad estable de gente, históricamente constituida, formada sobre la base de un idioma, territorio, vida económica y psicología común manifestada en una cultura común". (3) Stalin siguió contribuyendo a la teoría de la cuestión nacional aun después de la Revolución de Octubre. El enriqueció aun más la teoría marxista-leninista desde la base de la experiencia en la Unión Soviética de la aplicación creativa y acertada de esta teoría.

Durante el período de la Revolución Bolshévique la Rusia zarista era "una prisión de naciones" con 182 nacionalidades distintas o fragmentos de nacionalidades que hablaban 149 idiomas diferentes. La aplicación del programa soviético acerca de la cuestión nacional estaba basada en el concepto de Stalin que "La cultura es nacionalista en forma y socialista en contenido". En su informe a la VII Conferencia de Toda Rusia del P.O.S.D.R. (abril, 1917), "nuestra opinión sobre la cuestión nacional puede ser reducida a los siguientes proposiciones: (a) el reconocimiento del derecho de las naciones a separarse libremente y a formar Estados independientes; (b) autonomía regional para las naciones que permanecen dentro de dado estado; (c) legislación especial garantizando el libre desarrollo de las minorías nacionales; (d) una organización proletaria indivisible, y única, un partido para los proletarios de todas las nacionalidades en dado estado." (4)

El 8 de noviembre 1917 Stalin fué llamado el Comisar de las Nacionalidades. Krupskaya

señalo la insistencia de Lenin en nombrar a Stalin por este trabajo. Ella dice: "El (Lenin) sabía muy bien las opiniones de Stalin sobre la cuestión nacional, como había discutido el sujeto con frecuencia en Cracow...Una mente amplia una convicción profunda y la habilidad organizadora práctica eran los requisitos de la persona encargada de los asuntos en el frente nacional. Por esa razón Ilyich propuso a Stalin por ese trabajo." (5) La obra del Comisariato fue completada y el Comisariato disuelto en el julio de 1923, un día después de que la constitución de la URSS empezó a ser aplicada. En su lugar se formó el Concilio de las Nacionalidades, que



tenía derechos iguales al Concilio de la Unión (el cuerpo más grande de los dos cuerpos del Concilio Supremo. Ninguna ley se efectuaba sin la aprobación conjunta de los dos cuerpos; además el Concilio de Nacionalidades tenía las funciones especiales de guardar los intereses de las unidades nacionales de redactar decretos en su favor, y de proveer modificaciones a las leyes generales para acomodar sus necesidades. Medios progresivos fueron tomados en las áreas de la educación, del gobierno y del idioma. Una política flexible de autonomía regional ganó el reconocimiento mundial. Proporcionalmente, las minorías nacionales hicieron el progreso más grande en la Unión Soviética durante este período. El gobierno les dió más ayuda a las minorías nacionales que a los gran rusos. "Por primer vez en la historia un estado compuesto de muchas naciones nació sobre la base de la igualdad de las naciones y los pueblos, y no sobre la base del saqueo de algunas naciones por otras. La certeza de esto es probado por los grandes pasos económicos, políticos y culturales hechos en los últimos años por todo el pueblo de Rusia y no por solamente unas cuantas personas." (6)

Los revisionistas soviéticos tienen mucho que "explicarle" a la gente del mundo. En su intento a restaurar el capitalismo, los revisionistas están poniendo al revés los progresos hechos por el pueblo

soviético durante los años de Stalin. En vez de resolver las contradicciones nacionales, están avivando el fuego del nacionalismo. El resurgimiento del nacionalismo de los judios, ucranios y otras minorías nacionales en la Unión Soviética suficientemente testifica a la reaparición del chauvinismo nacional. El chauvinismo nacional es una parte integral e inevitable del imperialismo no importa de que forma - y el socialismo no es una excepción.

Sin embargo la contribución de Stalin a la teoría y la práctica de la cuestión nacional no se limitó a la URSS. Stalin estaba en la vanguardia de la lucha en contra del chauvinismo blanco en los partidos comunistas de Europa y los EUN. Bajo su liderazgo el VI Congreso de la Internacional Comunista de 1928 terminó con la conclusión que, "El Congreso hace un deber de los Partidos Comunistas de los países metropolitanos de poner un fin a la indiferencia que han exhibido acerca de los movimientos de masas en las colonias..." (7) Stalin luchó militantemente contra la opresión y la explotación colonial del pueblo Negro. Stalin clarificó la cuestión de la Negro Nation, dirigió la Internacional Comunista en la demanda por la independencia de esa nación y se enfadó violentamente contra el PCEU por haber rechazado darle importancia a esta cuestión.

Mao Tse-tung elogió con efusión las contribuciones de Stalin sobre la cuestión nacional colonial acentuando que "La revolución china es parte de la revolución mundial" y que es basada en la teoría de Stalin que es la continuación del marxismo-leninismo. Ho Chi Minh también hablo con efusión de los esfuerzos de Stalin a favor de las colonias y de los pueblos oprimidos. Stalin supo la miseria de la opresión nacional y también supo que la liberación nacional se gana a través de la liberación de la clase obrera y a través de la lucha por el socialismo.

Las palabras del Camarada Mao Tse-tung hoy son tan ciertas que cuando las escribió en 1939. El dijo de Stalin; "Lo debemos aclamar, lo debemos apoyar y debemos aprender de él...Debemos de aprender de él en dos aspectos: la teoría y la práctica". (8)

1) J.V. Stalin, Los Fundamentos del Leninismo, Ediciones en Lenguas Extranjeras, Pekín, 1972, p. 74.

Véase este artículo en inglés por las notas.

Estamos muy orgullosos de anunciar que hemos publicado el ensayo de Stalin, "Sobre el Materialismo Dialéctico y el Materialismo Histórico". Estamos aceptando una donación de 25 centavos por el folleto.

LENIN

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de un partido comunista, la prensa comunista.

Hoy nos encontramos en una situación semejante a la de Lenin en los primeros años de los 1900s; es decir en una situación en que debemos construir un Partido que dirija el movimiento espontáneo de la clase obrera y que imbruya al movimiento con conciencia socialista. Desde su comienzo la Liga Comunista ha tomado el arma de la prensa comunista como uno de los medios principales para organizar un cuerpo de revolucionarios. En las palabras de Lenin; "A nuestro parecer, el punto de partida de todas nuestras actividades, el primer paso práctico de tomar hacia la creación de la organización que deseamos, el factor que nos habilitará a desarrollar continuamente, a ensanchar y profundizar esa organización, es el establecimiento de un periódico político nacional (destinado a toda Rusia). Sobre todo lo que necesitamos más es un periódico; sin él no podemos sistemáticamente llevar a cabo esa propaganda y agitación extensiva y teóricamente sólida que es en general el deber principal y constante de los socialdemócratas y en particular la tarea esencial del momento cuando el interés en la política y en las cuestiones socialistas han sido despertadas entre grandes secciones de la población." (2)

El Tribuno Popular, como órgano marxista-leninista basado en las EUN, ha sido amado y odiado por lectores del mundo entero. Ha sido amado por las revolucionarias que están activamente participando en la lucha de clases cuyos esfuerzos tienen el objeto de lograr la revolución socialista. Ha sido odiado por los reaccionarios que buscan la destrucción del movimiento obrero por medio de ah garlo en pequeñas reformas y demandas tradeunionistas. El Tribuno Popular ha sido y seguirá siendo una plataforma por la difusión de las ideas marxistas-leninistas. No es un periódico que reporta las noticias de última hora, en vez es un periódico que analiza los acontecimientos desde una perspectiva marxista-leninista - sus artículos son editoriales. Pues, en la lucha entre las dos líneas acerca de la prensa comunista, el Tribuno Popular ha vigilantemente adherido a la línea marxista-leninista. Esa línea correcta es que el periódico no es un "periódico para las masas" sino que debe ser distribuido entre las secciones y los individuos más avanzados de la clase obrera. Claramente no estamos negando el papel importante que juegan los periódicos de extensa difusión y de amplia base durante períodos específicos de la lucha revolucionaria. Lo que si estamos afirmando es que el peor tipo de oportunista es el que dice que no existe necesidad alguna por un destacamento organizado de la clase obrero ni por un

periódico político para construir y unir el partido de vanguardia. En la "izquierda" la línea del "periódico de las masas" ha triunfado; es decir el concepto del periódico que reporta las huelgas y los otros aspectos económicos de la lucha de clases, tratando de mantener al lado (o sea omitiendo) la lucha política de la clase obrera. (como si se puede separar "la política" de la lucha de clases!) Estos periódicos "izquierdistas" quizás son grandes, y tendrán la más moderna maquinaria de imprenta, ect., pero con decirle a la clase obrera lo que ya sabe i estos periódicos están ayudando a la clase obrera en su lucha contra la burguesía? ¡Claro que no! Esta línea conduce solamente a la ideología burguesa. Lenin nos dice, "...el problema se plantea solamente así: ideología burguesa o ideología socialista. No hay término medio (pues la humanidad no ha elaborado ninguna 'tercera' ideología; además, en general, en la sociedad desgarrada por las contradicciones de clase nunca puede existir una ideología al margen de las clases ni por encima de las clases). Por eso, todo lo que sea rebajar la ideología socialista, todo lo que sea alejarse de ella equivale a fortalecer la ideología burguesa. Se habla de espontaneidad. Pero el desarrollo espontáneo del movimiento obrero marcha precisamente hacia su subordinación a la ideología burguesa... Por eso, nuestra tarea, la tarea de la socialdemocracia, consiste en combatir la espontaneidad, hacer el movimiento obrero abandone esta tendencia espontánea del tradeunionismo a cobijarse bajo el ala de la burguesía y atraerlo hacia el ala de la socialdemocracia revolucionaria." (3)

Lenin también subrayó que además de ser un propagandista colectivo el periódico debe ser un organizador colectivo. En cuanto avanzamos desde el estilo de trabajo de una "liga" hacia el estilo de trabajo de un "partido" otra vez debemos depender del dominio de Lenin sobre la dialéctica. Lenin demostró con claridad que la única manera por la cual podremos colocarnos profundamente en la clase obrera para persuadir a los luchadores revolucionarios a la causa del comunismo es de construir una red de agentes unidos en su política y en su organización por el andamio de un periódico político.

¿Cómo construiremos un partido de nuevo tipo para ganar a la vanguardia del proletariado a la causa del comunismo? Lenin demostró que la única manera de lograr esto era mediante utilizar el método de trabajo fraccionario. Este método de trabajo requiere la dispersión de los camaradas a toda las áreas y los campos en que se hallan las más revolucionarias secciones de la clase obrera. Para unir tenemos que desunir. La descentralización tiene que ser acompañada por la centralización. El partido es centralizado y unido por la línea política expresada en el

periódico comunista. El partido es unido por la red de agentes creada por la difusión del periódico. El partido es unido por esta misma red de agentes por la función de proveer material en la forma de artículos para el periódico.

Lenin explica como es construido el partido mediante la red de agentes en torno a la prensa nacional. El dice: "Con la ayuda de y en torno a un periódico automáticamente se desarrollará una organización que se ocupará, no solamente con las actividades locales, sino también con el trabajo regular y general; enseñará a sus miembros como seguir los acontecimientos políticos, como estimar la importancia de cada uno y su influencia sobre las varias secciones de la población, y como inventar métodos apropiados para influenciar estos acontecimientos a través del partido revolucionario. Solamente el problema técnico de conseguir un suministro regular de material para el periódico y para su difusión regular hara necesaria la creación de una red de agentes de un partido unido, quienes estarán en contacto próximo los unos con los otros, quienes estarán al corriente de la situación general, quienes estarán acostumbrados a realizar las funciones detalladas del trabajo nacional (de toda Rusia), y quienes probaran su fuerza en la organización de varios tipos de actividades revolucionarias. Esta red de agentes formará el esqueleto de la organización que necesitamos..." (4) Lenin sigue: "Si unimos nuestras fuerzas por el trabajo de un periódico común, ese trabajo preparará y pondrá en manifiesto, no solamente los más competentes propagandistas, sino también los más adeptos organizadores y los más talentosos líderes del partido político, quienes sabrán el momento favorable para hacer la llamada a la batalla, y quienes serán capaces de dirigir esa batalla." (5)

Finalmente nuestro partido será digno de su nombre de partido obrero solamente si es capaz de pasar a la clandestinidad, de combinar la actividad legal con la clandestina en caso de necesidad. Lenin luchó por un partido de revolucionarios profesionales que podra funcionar bajo las condiciones de la tiranía política. Lenin declaró repetidamente que el partido tiene que ser capaz de defenderse contra los ataques de la policía política. Durante el período de la "legalidad" es muy difícil para los camaradas que se den cuenta que no siempre vamos a poder distribuir nuestro periódico abiertamente a los obreros más avanzados en frente de la entrada a la fábrica, en los mitins de masas, ect. Como señaló Lenin, se está acercando el momento en que vamos a tener que depender solamente de nuestra red de agentes para distribuir el periódico y la línea marxista-leninista a los obreros. Hoy es el momento de empezar a

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PERU: EL REVISIONISMO APOYA LA "NUEVA ALTERNATIVA"

SEGUNDA PARTE DE UNA SERIE DE DOS PARTES:

LA NUEVA ALTERNATIVA

En la luz de esta información, ¿qué significa la declaración de la junta peruana que ella es ideológicamente distinta del capitalismo igual que del comunismo? De una parte, los patrones militares dicen que "El sistema capitalista... (en Perú) significó explotación del trabajador en el campo, en las minas, en las fábricas... En el Perú hemos visto como no es posible la democracia política si no hay democracia económica..." (14) De otra parte, la junta es marcada por la vacilación característica de sus orígenes pequeño-burgueses. Saben que el capitalismo explota, pero no pueden aceptar la revolución socialista como la única alternativa a esta explotación, porque esto significaría la admisión del papel revolucionario del proletariado y del campesinado. Su temor de la revolución proletaria fuerza a los generales peruanos al lado del anti-comunismo; se hacen los aliados objetivos del imperialismo. En realidad, entonces, la "nueva alternativa" del proceso peruano es la vieja alternativa del capitalismo.

Esto es evidente cuando la junta peruana habla del socialismo y del comunismo: el "socialismo auténtico..., por definición, es libertario, participacionista, realmente democrático, autogestionario," (15) "En la época presente, independientemente de la teoría y sus orígenes, la palabra comunismo define un tipo de sociedad no capitalista en la cual el Estado, bajo el control real de un solo partido y proclamándose 'socialista' crece desmesuradamente y se vuelve todopoderoso. Este Estado, y los funcionarios que lo forman, dominan la economía, la política, y la cultura de la sociedad." (16)

Estas dos declaraciones demuestran que la junta o no entiende el socialismo y el comunismo o que los entiende muy bien. Sospechamos que este último es la verdad, porque ambas definiciones denuncian la Dictadura del Proletariado-- el tomo mediante la fuerza del poder estatal por el proletariado a beneficio de todas las masas trabajadoras. La junta intenta darles a las masas miedo de la Dictadura del Proletariado para protegerles a la junta su existencia futura; así inventan su "nueva alternativa".

¿Qué entonces es la "nueva alternativa" ofrecida por los generales peruanos? La junta militar peruana y los imperialistas, en los intereses de que gobiernan, saben que la verdadera lucha revolucionaria del pueblo peruano es una fuerza muy potente. Saben que con declarar que el comunismo es malo no vencerá a los obreros de esto. Así la junta disfraza su anti-comunismo con frases que suenan

socialistas: el General Graham Hurtado sostiene que Perú será "Una sociedad en la cual la riqueza debe tener un carácter fundamentalmente social." (17) Y el General Rodríguez sostiene que la "revolución" peruana sucedrá "por la realización de profundas transformaciones en las bases económico-políticas del sistema social... (y por) la participación popular organizada." (18) Ellos dicen que, "La Revolución peruana, pues, comienza a transferir o sea a traspasar el poder que tenían unos cuantos, a la mayoría de peruanos." (19) En la época del imperialismo, una tal transferencia de poder solamente puede ocurrir con la revolución socialista. Pero el revisionismo y el anti-comunismo abierto del gobierno "revolucionario" del Perú es claramente dirigido a impedir a todo costa, el tomo revolucionario del poder. Y esto es lo que el "nuevo proceso peruano" verdaderamente es--un proceso que se parece revolucionario pero que es verdaderamente capitalista.

APOYO REVISIONISTA

Ahora los Partidos "comunistas" revisionistas de la Unión Soviética, Cuba, y Perú mismo completamente apoyan el proceso "nuevo" de la junta militar. Y esto a pesar de que la junta es abiertamente anti-comunista y a pesar de los ataques abiertos de la junta en contra del Partido Comunista de Perú. Las fuentes de inteligencia norteamericanas han reportado que aconsejadores militares soviéticos han sido mandados a Perú. Esta es la primer vez que la Unión Soviética ha mandado aconsejadores a América Latina (fuera de Cuba). En su edición del 5 de noviembre, 1973, el periódico soviético Pravda publicó con apoyo, la posición del Partido Comunista del Perú sobre la junta militar. Pero la posición del PCP está llena de contradicciones: por un lado ellos dicen que la junta le ha quitado el poder político a la oligarquía del Perú, pero en el mismo informe se nota que la junta es sabotada por oficiales judiciales e instituciones del gobierno en los cuales la oligarquía todavía tiene una influencia poderosa. Claro la oligarquía del Perú todavía está fuerte, porque puede ser derrotada por completo solamente por una revolución socialista, ¡y no por unos reformistas militares de la pequeña burguesía! Y aun son las reformas económicas y el sindicalismo de la junta con los cuales el Pravda y el PCP sugieren que el pueblo peruano se junte: "para proteger el proceso revolucionario y moverse adelante en la vía para la creación de una sociedad nueva, nosotros necesitamos un movimiento popular anti-imperialista... un frente unido anti-imperialista, en el cual las partes componentes principales tienen que ser las

Cont. en la pág. 7

'New Voice'- Polémicas de Camaradas Sobre el Imperialismo

SEGUNDA PARTE DE UNA SERIE DE DOS PARTES:

Lo siguiente es la continuación de la respuesta, en el espíritu de camaradería, que la Liga Comunista da a la posición que la "New Voice" presenta sobre el Imperialismo en su folleto "El Imperialismo y la clase obrera, un análisis económico".

Otra posición que se encuentra en el folleto es acerca de la cuestión del soborno. La Liga Comunista está de acuerdo con el hecho de que la aristocracia laboral, representada por líderes charros tales como Fitzsimmons de los Teamsters, Woodcock de la UAW, y Abel de los Trabajadores de Acero, es una capa sobornada que se encuentra al servicio de la burguesía. En la publicación de US News and World Report del 21 de enero de 1974, se presentaron los salarios de estos líderes charros. Fitzsimmons encabezaba el grupo con un sueldo anual de \$135,000.

Mientras que no hay ningún desacuerdo sobre el hecho de que la aristocracia laboral sea una capa sobornada, existe aun otro aspecto acerca de la cuestión del soborno. Toda la clase obrera anglo-americana está sobornada, en relación con su contraparte colonial, debido a la superexplotación de las colonias y los demás países dependientes del imperialismo. Lenin señala esto y explica el porqué. Citando al no-marxista Hobson, Lenin dice: "Primero está el hábito del parasitismo económico por medio del cual el estado gobernante ha usado a sus provincias, colonias y dependencias para poder enriquecer a su clase gobernante y sobornar a sus clases bajas..." (13) Lenin continúa diciendo, al refutar a Kautsky: "Segundamente, ¿Por qué explica el monopolio de Inglaterra la victoria (temporal) del oportunismo en dicho país? Porque el monopolio produce superganancias; es decir, un exceso de ganancias muy elevado y muy por encima de las ganancias capitalistas que son normales y usuales alrededor del mundo. Los capitalistas pueden destinar una parte (no pequeña, por cierto) de estas superganancias para sobornar a sus propios trabajadores, para crear una especie de alianza (recuerden las celebres 'alianzas' de las tradeuniones inglesas con los patrones descritas por los Webbs) entre los trabajadores y los capitalistas de dadas naciones contra los otros países." (14)

La manifestación política de tal soborno tanto hoy como ayer ha tenido efectos devastadores. El fá-

Cont. en la pág. 8

Terror Persigue a los Haitianos Hasta la Tierra de Abundancia

Estamos reimprimiendo aquí un discurso sometido por la organización haitiana, KODDPAIS. Este discurso se dió en una conferencia de La Raza Unida en enero de este año. Desde que se dió este discurso diez refugiados haitianos han sido condenados a ser deportados de Miami a Haití. Uno de los haitianos condenados a la deportación, Turenne Deville, últimamente se ahorcó si mismo en su celda antes que en rentar la muerte cierta mediante la tortura al regresar a Haití. En el espíritu del internacionalismo damos nuestro apoyo militante a la valiente lucha del pueblo haitiano contra la brutal tiranía y opresión.

La situación actual en Haití es muy trágica. Durante los últimos 15 años la represión política en el país ha llegado a niveles de terror sin paralelo aun en los casos famosos de la República Dominicana de Trujillo y sus sucesores, del Brazil de los "gorilas" y de la Grecia de los coroneles. En el Haití de los "tontons macoutes", no solo se pisotean los derechos democráticos, sino que se violan todos los derechos humanos elementales, como el derecho a la vida, a la educación, al cuidado médico, y al trabajo.

Cuando la sangrienta dictadura Duvalier tomó el poder hace 15 años, los haitianos perdieron todas sus garantías constitucionales. Francois Duvalier introdujo un reino de terror en Haití que es sin paralelo en la historia moderna. En septiembre de 1961, dos años antes de la expiración de su plazo, Duvalier disolvió las cámaras legislativas y, en flagrante violación de la constitución, declaró que tomaría segundo plazo. La arbitrariedad del gobierno haitiano llegó a niveles increíbles cuando en 1964 Duvalier, con el apoyo de su milicia fascista, se proclamó presidente por vida. Y además, poco antes de su muerte en 1971 el odiado dictador, con el apoyo del gobierno de los EEUU, designó su hijo de dieinueve años, Jean-Claude, como sucesor a la Presidencia, otra vez por vida.

Entre diciembre de 1972 y abril de 1973, 117 haitianos refugiados de la dictadura Duvalier llegaron a Miami, Florida. No son ellos los primeros refugiados haitianos llegar a Florida. En el mismo período y antes, otros grupos de haitianos huyeron de Haití y vinieron a los Estados Unidos; se estima que se hallan más de 600 refugiados haitianos en la área metropolitana de Miami. También se estima que por lo menos un tercio de la población actual haitiana de Nueva York no tiene documentos de inmigración. Los refugiados de Miami sólo simbolizan el aprieto de miles y miles de hermanos y hermanas en necesidad de ayuda.

El 8 de junio de 1973 ocho de los haitianos fueron puestos en juicio por el Departamento de la Inmigración para determinar la razón de su demanda por asilo en los Estados Unidos. Se les negó asilo, con la aserción de parte de los oficiales de la Inmigración que "no había razón de temer el gobierno de Haití". Con esta decisión en mano, los funcionarios del Servicio de Inmigración y Naturalización empezaron a arrestar a todos los haitianos que hallaron, teniéndolos en "detención preventiva hasta la deportación" a Haití. Encarcelaron a 28 ciudadanos de Haití, el resto de los 117 fueron liberados en reconocencia propia. Se les fijó una fianza de mil dólares cada uno a los 28.

El miércoles, 18 de junio de 1973, unos ciudadanos haitianos aparecieron ante el juez de la Corte Federal de Circuito, pidiendo la libertad durante el proceso de un recurso a la Corte V de Circuito de Recursos y al Procurador General. En efecto, pedían el retraso de la deportación decidida por las autoridades de la Inmigración. El juez federal se negó hacer esto, diciendo efectivamente que, dado que habían entrado a los EEUU sin documentos y no eran ciudadanos estadounidenses, ni ellos ni otros haitianos "ilegales" tenían algún derecho constitucional; también se les negó a los haitianos un auto de habeas corpus (demostrando la razón para la encarcelación de los refugiados).

Durante la última semana de junio, más de 50 ciudadanos de Haití se entregaron a las autoridades del Servicio de Inmigración y Naturalización (INS) en Miami, conforme al mandato del juez federal. El miércoles, 27 de junio de 1973, se juntaron en Washington abogados y activistas en defensa de los haitianos, con oficiales del INS. Bajo la fuerte presión de los esfuerzos pro defensa en Miami y en Nueva York, finalmente decidieron revisar la decisión, exigiendo el pago de la fianza de los presos. Mientras tanto, desde el 27 de junio de 1973 hasta enero de este año, llegaron en los EEUU por vía de barcos de vela 200 más haitianos.

Ya el New York Post, el New York Times y el Daily News han reportado la historia dramática de estos últimos, pero la oficina de Inmigración les niega la libertad, aun bajo la custodia del Centro de Inmigración Haitiana fundado por 75 iglesias negras en la área de Miami. Desde septiembre de 1973 la Oficina de Inmigración ha usado una nueva política. Ahora les dan a las mujeres y a los niños su libertad y encarcelan a los hombres. Se

hallan en la cárcel ahora mismo 130 hombres de Haití y algunos de ellos hace cuatro meses que están encarcelados. Se les demanda una fianza de mil dólares; pero el Centro se niega a aceptar la imposición de esta política y demanda la restauración de la vieja política, hasta ahora sin éxito. Cuenta de los Haitianos encarcelados en Miami fueron deportados a Tejas el 22 de enero. Se tendrá una manifestación ante la Oficina de Inmigración, promovida por la United League of Students (Liga Unida de Estudiantes), para protestar las deportaciones y el tratamiento de los haitianos. En la ciudad de Nueva York varios grupos e individuos han protestado la negación de asilo a los haitianos y continúan demandando asilo. Está en peligro aquí no sólo el provenir de los "300" de Miami sino el de hermanos y hermanas de todo el Tercer Mundo en busca de una nueva mañana en tierra extranjera.

En el caso de los "300" de Miami, por ejemplo, la reacción de todos que no se dan cuenta de las políticas del gobierno estadounidense es siempre la misma. Es una de incredulidad acompañada con la pregunta "¿Por qué?" ¿De qué le sirve al gobierno de los EEUU regresar los "300" a sus tortureros y asesinos. La mera verdad es que es consistente con la póliza de Washington sobre Haití.

Si la prensa de los EEUU reporta el surgimiento de ideas liberales, eso basta para que Washington asista a los "tontons macoutes" de nuevo con armas. El gobierno de Baby Doc ha recibido varios millones de dolares en armas en sus dos años de poder incluyendo

Cont. en la pág. 8

Camaradas y Amigos,

Hoy la Liga Comunista está publicando un período nuevo, el Obrero del Oeste, que se dirige a las necesidades y demandas especiales de la lucha de clases en el Oeste y el Suroeste de los EUN. Les recomendamos que apoyen nuestro período nuevo. Por más información sobre el Obrero del Oeste escriban a:

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TRIBUNO



POPULAR

"El ideal del comunista no debe ser el de secretario del gremio obrero pero el de un tribuno de la gente, listo para actuar contra toda manifestación de tiranía y opresión." Lenin

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TRIBUTO A NUESTROS LIDERES BOLSHEVIQUES

Lenin La Prensa Comunista

Hace 104 años que el Camarada Lenin nació (22 abril, 1870); el gran líder y teórico de la revolución proletaria. De las numerosas contribuciones sobresalientes que Lenin dio al marxismo la tesis que él elaboró sobre el papel del factor subjetivo en la revolución es de gran importancia. En sus obras Lenin argumentó científicamente la necesidad y la importancia de la teoría y del partido de la clase obrera, subrayando con fuerza la tesis de que "sin teoría revolucionaria no podrá haber movimiento revolucionario" y que el papel de vanguardia puede desempeñarlo únicamente un partido que se guía por la teoría de vanguardia.

Lenin elaboró esta tesis en la reñida lucha que fue librada en contra de los adversarios del marxismo dentro de la segunda Internacional. Según estos oportunistas el desarrollo de la sociedad era un proceso tranquilo, evolucionario y espontáneo que opera sin la intervención del hombre. Ellos declaraban que el socialismo sería instaurado gradualmente como resultado fatal del desarrollo económico, sin la lucha de clases, sin la revolución socialista, sin la dictadura del proletariado y sin la dirección del partido marxista. Nuestros camaradas albaneses señalan con claridad, y estamos completamente de acuerdo, que; "Corresponde a Lenin el mérito histórico del haber desenmascarado y desbaratado el oportunismo de la segunda Internacional traidora. Por primera vez en la historia del pensamiento marxista, descubrió las raíces ideológicas del oportunismo, que están precisamente en la prédica del economismo y de la espontaneidad en el movimiento revolucionario de la clase obrera." (1)

La Liga Comunista se quiere aprovechar de la ocasión del aniversario de Lenin para dirigirse a una de las más importantes piedras fundamentales
Cont. en la pág. 4

Stalin La Cuestión Nacional

En este el 21º aniversario del fallecimiento del Camarada Stalin, deseamos darle un tributo a este gran comunista por sus sobresalientes contribuciones a la teoría y la práctica del marxismo-leninismo. Por 30 años Stalin fue el timonel previsor del Partido Bolshevique durante el período de la militante lucha para consolidar la dictadura del proletariado. Stalin dirigió el PCUS en la lucha encarnizada contra todos asaltos y intentos para destruir la dictadura proletaria. Un maestro de la economía política Stalin le dió vida a la economía socialista y dirigió el pueblo soviético en la construcción de la economía soviética. Proveendo la estrategia y las tácticas brillantes, Stalin dirigió el Ejército Rojo Soviético en el derrocamiento del ataque fascista alemán contra el socialismo. Un dialéctico espléndido, Stalin dió claridad al estudio del materialismo dialéctico y histórico. ¡Cualquier ataque en contra de este gran continuador del marxismo-leninismo, tiene que ser visto como un ataque contra la dictadura del proletariado!

Los revisionistas y los imperialistas han librado una campaña malvada para destruir las contribuciones sobresalientes de Stalin al marxismo-leninismo y por lo tanto a la humanidad, y han conspirado para ocultar su liderazgo brillante en todas esferas. A esta sazón histórica en cuanto estamos en los umbrales de dar a luz un partido marxista-leninista genuino es precisamente la ocasión apropiada para darle un tributo al camarada Stalin por sus contribuciones sobre la cuestión nacional. Esta contribución es la fundación de todo análisis y aplicación marxista-leninista de la cuestión nacional. Stalin acentuó que una de las grandes contribuciones de Lenin fue en vincular la cuestión nacional con la cuestión de las colonias "Con ello, la cuestión nacional ha dejado de ser una cuestión particular e
Cont. en la pág. 5

Ambos Lados de la Moneda Fascista:

¡NIXON Y SUS FALSOS CRITICOS!

En las semanas recientes, la controversia acerca del posible juicio del Presidente Nixon ha surgido aun más fuerte. Cada día la prensa y los medios de comunicaciones están llenos de "denuncias", de ataques y de contracargos. Existe mucha charla de que las "líneas de batalla se están formando" en cuanto que Nixon se prepara para luchar la creciente y mas obvia evidencia que posiblemente será usada en contra de él. Sus apoyadores aparentemente lo están abandonando con la habilidad de ratas dejando un barco que se está hundiendo. Los senadores archi-conservativos, antes siempre reconocidos por su apoyo, ahora están haciendo súplicas públicas para la renuncia de Nixon. Hasta los líderes republicanos más altos ahora están hablando del "procedimiento de juicio inminente, y diez de los once senadores republicanos que están enfrentados con la reelección delicadamente han rehusado la oferta de Nixon de ayudarlos en sus campañas.

En cuanto que el procedimiento se acerca a la primera etapa del proceso de juicio, el juez federal, John Sirica, vez ha intentado "morderle la mano al que le da de comer" mediante expedirle a Nixon una nueva serie de comparendas para evidencia. Como anteriormente, la información más vital ha desaparecido "misteriosamente" de las cajas de seguridad de la Casa Blanca. No desesperado, el Senador Wilber Mills,
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