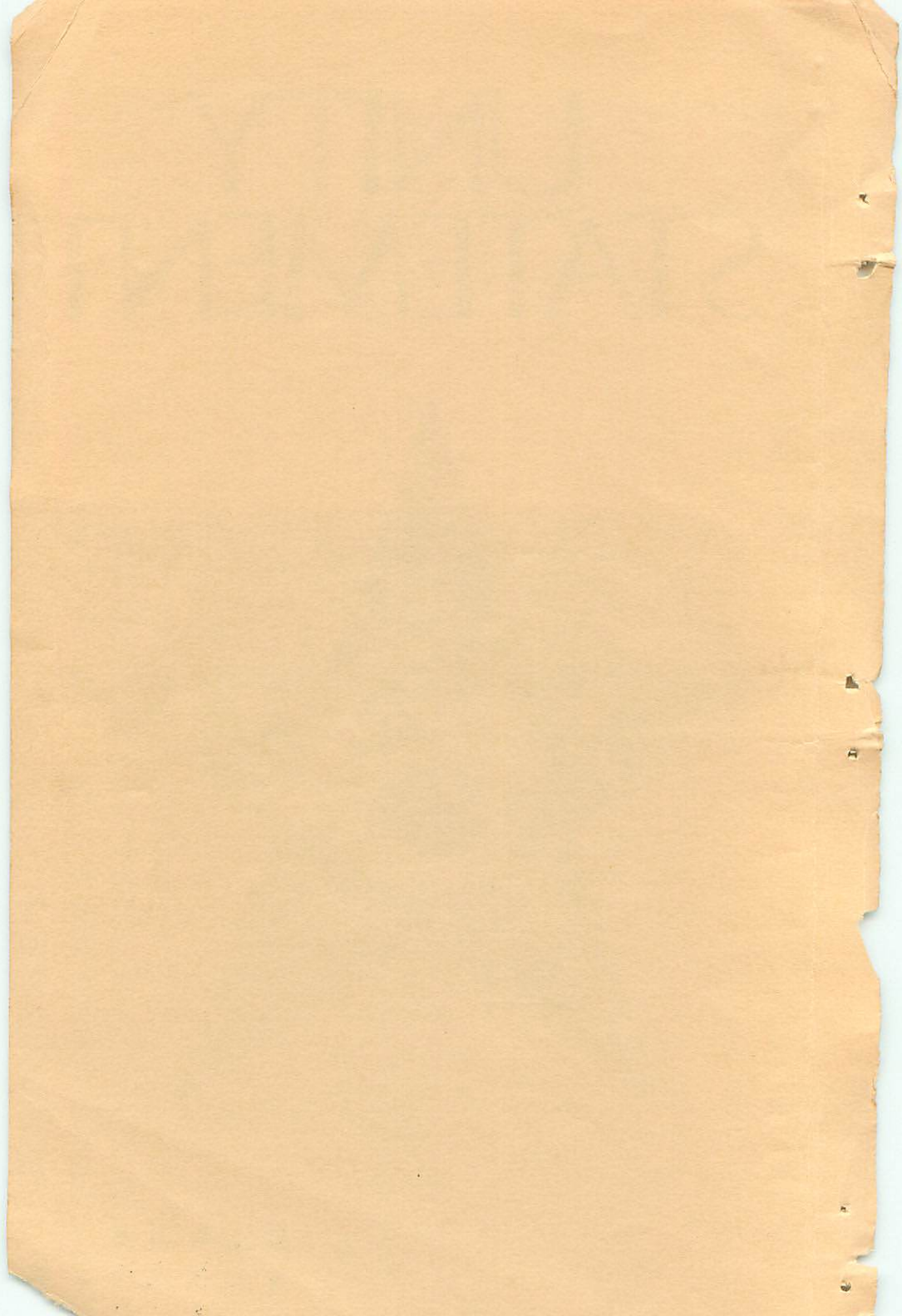


# UNITY STATEMENT



L a b o r  
o n e t e d



## FORWARD

This pamphlet contains positions adopted by the August Twenty-Ninth Movement at its Unity Congress held in May 1974. Subsequent to our Congress we have expanded upon or changed certain of these positions.

We are a young organization and we have made, and will continue to make errors. We believe that Marxist-Leninists can be evaluated by their attitude towards their errors -- the proletarian stand being to openly admit these errors, identify their source and to rectify them.

SC  
? At our Unity Congress we stated that our organization was "national in form" but multi-national at all levels". Comrades, we were wrong in taking this position. We failed to see that this question was not to be answered quantitatively -- "We are not multi-national because we don't have enough non-Chicanos". We stated at the time that the form of organization was a tactical question, and not a principle. We therefore feel that our error was not a major one and that no grave damage was caused by it. The error arose because of the lingering nationalism within the groups forming ATM, and their past experience with the white chauvinism of other multi-national organizations. We therefore failed to concretely examine our own form and subjectively concluded we were national-in-form. Since our Congress our non-Chicano membership has increased tremendously -- further necessitating this rectification.

SC Secondly we wish to criticize ourselves for not making a complete and thorough analysis of the Communist League and the National Continuations Committee. Had we been more scientific

ERRATA corrected in pen. And there  
was a skitload, often unclearly indicated.

and less impetuous we would have seen CL's swing towards Trotskyism and their opportunism on the Continuations Committee. Our clarity was achieved through struggle with these opportunists -- but we must say we were wrong in our failure to put politics and a scientific analysis in command of our evaluation of the Communist League and the Continuations Committee.

In the future ATM will be printing an analysis of the political situation in Mexico and its relationship to the Chicano National Question and proletarian revolution in the USNA. We will also be producing a paper on revisionism and social-imperialism; and an expanded version of our paper on Latin America, to include an analysis of the penetration of European and Japanese imperialism.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1
International Report	2
National Report <i>← ? →</i>	3
National Question	4
Party Building	7
- <i>Pre-party formation</i>	12
Trade Unions	18
- <i>Right denunciation</i>	19
Report on National Situation	33
<i>UFW</i>	51
Report on International Situation	73
Latin America	92

*OL* : 15  
  - *"moving trade unions to the left"* 22  
*SLA* strong denunciation 52

# INTRODUCTION

THIS STATEMENT WAS ADOPTED AT THE UNITY CONGRESS OF THE AUGUST 29TH MOVEMENT MAY 1974. WE REALIZE THIS IS ONLY A BEGINNING STATEMENT ON THE BURNING QUESTIONS OF TODAY, ESPECIALLY, THE BUILDING OF A COMMUNIST PARTY OF A NEW TYPE. IN SUBSEQUENT ARTICLES TO APPEAR SHORTLY ATM WILL PUBLISH OUR VIEWS ON THE MAJOR POLITICAL LINES AND PROGRAMS BEING PUT FORTH ON THIS MOST IMPORTANT QUESTION FACING US TODAY. WE WILL OUTLINE BOTH "LEFT" AND RIGHT DEVIATIONS, POINT OUT WHO THE MAIN ENEMY IS WITHIN THE ANTI REVISIONIST CAMP, WHAT IS THE MAIN DANGER FACING HONEST MARXIST-LENINISTS TRYING TO BUILD A PARTY.

**"SMASH SECTARIANISM AND REVISIONISM"**

**"BUILD A NEW MULTINATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY"**

The crisis of imperialism, the struggle for spheres of influence, markets, and sources of raw materials and cheap labor coupled with the liberation struggles of the world's peoples against imperialism which daily deal blow after blow and advance wave upon wave against it, has intensified greatly. Mao Tse-Tung's statement that, "The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today," remains true today and is daily verified by the heroic struggles of the world's peoples against imperialism, especially against U.S. imperialism.

#### Four Main Contradictions in the World

- Why?  
(Chinese don't specify one to the four.)
- A. Principal contradiction in the world today - between imperialism, social-imperialism and the oppressed nations of the world. (include Third world)
  - B. The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries.
  - C. The contradiction between the imperialist and social-imperialist countries and among the imperialist countries.
  - D. Contradiction between imperialism, social imperialism and the socialist countries.

Needs explanation + clarification

The crisis that the imperialists find themselves in has caused them to become more vicious and desperate and has caused them to, among other things, to turn inward in their struggle for profits, for hegemony among the imperialist powers. The entire working class feels the burden that imperialism is placing upon its shoulders, but the op-



pressed nationalities in this country are the ones to feel it the hardest, as the imperialists drive ever harder to squeeze superprofits from this sector of the proletariat.

Four Main Contradictions<sup>\*</sup> in the U.S.N.A. (a term which pre-dates Communist League)

I. Fundamental Contradiction

- A. Between the social character of production and the private ownership of the means of production. } ATM relates these two class-

II. Principal Contradiction

- A. Between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie } ly.

1. Principal aspect- Bourgeoisie

2. Non-Principal Aspect- Proletariat

- a. Developing characteristics of this antagonistic contradiction are the national struggles led by oppressed national workers within U.S.N.A. multi-national state. } Differs from BWC in this period

III. Non-Principal Contradictions

- A. Between the masses of women and the bourgeoisie } (non-subordinate?)

1. Principal aspect- bourgeoisie

2. Non-Principal Aspect-masses of women

3. Antagonistic Contradiction between the bourgeoisie and working class women.

- a. Developing characteristics of this contradiction are the struggles being waged by oppressed nationality proletarian women.

IV. Among the Bourgeoisie Itself

A. Monopoly capitalists

B. Middle- bourgeoisie

C. Petty-bourgeoisie

\* Seems to be an eclectic hodge-podge.

## NATIONAL QUESTION

Our position on the Chicano National Question within the southwest is that there has been an insufficient amount of scientific research and investigation into the question of whether Chicanos within the Southwest region constitute an oppressed nation or an oppressed national minority. Due to this lack of proper investigation, especially in the past by the revisionist, traitorous, and white chauvinist Communist Party U.S.A. and other white chauvinist "Marxists", we hold that the term oppressed nationality be used until such time as the question of nationhood can be concretely investigated and resolved.

In our analysis of the increasing spontaneous struggles taking place against Imperialist penetration and oppression of the Southwest region, by the Chicano proletariat and its allies the peasantry, we can see the vital revolutionary role played by Chicano workers historically in the struggle against US Imperialism and the vanguard role they are taking in the present struggles within the Southwest.

Therefore, we see that the Chicano National Question is in essence, and in the final analysis a class question, a part of the general question of proletarian revolution within the U.S. Being such we hold that a correct Marxist-Leninist line on this question is of prime importance to proletarian revolution and Chicano Liberation within the U.S.N.A. multi-national state.

In our analysis and approach to the Chicano National Question within the southwest region, and considering the urgent task of investigating the historical and present objective conditions in order

to apply Marxism-Leninism to them concretely and to thus formulate a correct line to guide our political work among the U.S.N.A. multi-national proletariat and especially the Chicano sector, we uphold three guiding principles:

1) That our approach to this question be dialectical and that the historical materialist method be utilized.

2) That the Marxist-Leninist theory on the national question as developed by Comrades Lenin and Stalin be our guide in our investigation of this most vital question and especially the criteria for nationhood as laid down by Comrade Stalin who was the greatest innovator and Marxist-Leninist theoretician of the National Question.

3) That we correctly analyse and keep in mind the left deviation on the Chicano National Question of great nation and white chauvinism, and historically, the liquidation of the national question within the Southwest region by both the Trotskyites and the revisionist CPUSA. We must also be conscious in our investigation of this question of the right deviation of narrow nationalism and the overemphasizing of national characteristics to the detriment of proletarian internationalism.

## UNITED FRONT

We do not see the building of a United Front as our central task. Our main task is to ideologically, politically, and organizationally unite with all genuine Marxists-Leninists into a Communist Party of a new type. Only a genuine Communist Party can formulate and lead a United Front through all the twists and turns of the struggle against the reactionary forces.

And so Comrades, we must boldly move forward and carry out our historical tasks. We must struggle for the unity of all genuine Marxist-Leninists into a new Communist Party which will lead the struggle for the liberation of the working class and oppressed nationalities through socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Down with DOGMATISM and SECTARIANISM  
Down with REVISIONISM  
SUPPORT THE LIBERATION STRUGGLES OF ALL  
OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES  
BUILD A GENUINE MULT-NATIONAL COMMUNIST  
PARTY  
WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE  
WORLD UNITE  
VENCEREMOS!

## PARTY BUILDING

In our reports on both the International and National situations, we outlined the crises of imperialism at home and abroad. The crisis that the imperialists find themselves in has caused them to become ever more vicious and desperate and has caused them to, among other things, turn inward in their struggle for profits, for hegemony among the imperialist powers. The entire working class feels the burden that imperialism is placing upon its shoulders, but the oppressed nationalities in this country are the ones to feel it the hardest, as the imperialists drive ever harder to squeeze superprofits from this sector of the proletariat.

Every day gives us new examples of the struggle of the working class against this increasing exploitation. The working class particularly among the oppressed nationalities and the most exploited section of the Anglo-American proletariat, struggles heroically but in a spontaneous, blind, scattered, and parochial manner. The bourgeoisie on the other hand, because of its deepening crises, attacks ever more boldly, disregards its own laws, and places every instrument of state in readiness for its onslaught against the working class. The march of the imperialists toward fascism becomes clearer every day as the ruling class is forced to reveal its hand in its struggle against the masses.

Yet the proletariat finds, itself unarmed politically and organizationally. In the ideological sphere, among the advanced elements, theoretical confusion still reigns. It is in this area, as the advanced elements struggle for clarity, that the revisionists and other opportunists seek to subvert the ideological and political struggle, by attempting to divert it

onto the road of reformism, and economism. Taking their lead from the traitorous CPUSA the new revisionists seek to lead the proletariat and their allies down the same death trap as that followed by the Chilean working class under the leadership of "their" revisionists. We say to the proletariat--"We shall not let it happen".

We feel that the central and most urgent task of Marxist-Leninists is the formation of a multi-national Communist Party. But here again we find ourselves in direct conflict with the new revisionists in this two line struggle. On the one hand is the line that the party will be built from the mass movement, while on the other is the Marxist-Leninist position that a party must be formed by the conscious element, by the most advanced elements of the proletariat based on the principles and guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism. We also hold that consciousness does not arise spontaneously from the struggle of the masses, that consciousness comes from without, from science, and that it is the task of the conscious element to impart this Socialist consciousness to the working class, by actively bringing Marxism-Leninism to the advanced workers in this period, by linking Marxist propaganda with the day to day struggles of the class.

This two line struggle is carried over into the question of what the role of the party is. The new revisionists claim that on the one hand the party must lead the masses and also claim that the Party

will spring from the mass movement, that it will be built upon the advances of the mass movement on the other. To state that the Party will come from the mass movement, that it must be based upon the advances of the mass movement (i.e., that the advances of the masses will be its foundations) is to admit that from its very inception the spontaneous struggles of the masses will build the party, that in essence, the party will be tailing the spontaneous movement.

Our position on the other hand is that a Communist Party is a union of the working class movement with Socialism but that the subjective factor is the leading factor in the revolution, i.e., consciousness (socialist ideology), organization, (the Party), and direction (theory), and that this is precisely the revolutionizing and guiding force of the working class movement. Lenin states, "Without a revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement...The role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a Party that is guided by the most advanced theory". (Lenin-What is to be Done?)

## THE PARTY

And what are the specific features of the new party? Comrade Stalin outlines this in Foundations of Leninism:

1) The Party must be first of all, the advanced detachment of the working class... But in order that it may really be the advanced detachment, the Party must be armed with revolutionary theory, with a knowledge of the laws of the movement, with a knowledge of the laws of revolution. Without this it will be incapable of directing the struggle of the proletariat, of leading the proletariat. The Party cannot

be a real Party if it limits itself to registering what the masses of the working class feel and think, if it drags at the tail of the spontaneous movement, if it is unable to overcome the inertia and the political indifference of the spontaneous movement, if it is unable to raise the masses to the level of understanding of the class interests of the proletariat. The Party must stand at the head of the working class; it must lead the proletariat, and not drag at the tail of the spontaneous movement.

2) The Party is the organized detachment of the working class. . . The Party is the embodiment of discipline and organization.

3) The Party is the highest form of class organization of the proletariat. The proletariat has a number of other organizations, without which it cannot wage a successful struggle against capital: trade unions, co-operatives<sup>31</sup>, factory organizations, parliamentary groups, non-Party women's associations, the press, cultural and educational organizations, youth leagues, revolutionary fighting organizations (in times of open revolutionary action), Soviets of deputies as the form of state organization (if the proletariat is in power), etc. . . . The question then arises: who is to determine the line, the general direction, along which the work of all these organizations is to be conducted? Where is the central organization which is not only able, because it has the necessary experience, to work out such a general line, but, in addition, is in a position, because it has sufficient prestige, to induce all these organizations to carry out this line, so as to attain unity of leadership and to make hitches impossible? That organization is the Party of the proletariat.



4) The Party is an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Party is not only the highest form of class association of the proletarians; it is at the same time an instrument in the hands of the proletariat for achieving the dictatorship when that has not yet been achieved and for consolidating and expanding the dictatorship when it has already been achieved.

5) The Party is the embodiment of unity of will, unity incompatible with the existence of factions.. But iron discipline in the Party is inconceivable without unity of will, without complete and absolute unity of action on the part of all members of the Party. This does not mean, of course, that the possibility of conflicts of opinion within the Party is thereby precluded. On the contrary, iron discipline does not preclude but presupposes criticism and conflict of opinion within the Party. Least of all does it mean that discipline must be "blind."

6) The Party becomes strong by purging itself of opportunist elements. The source of factionalism in the Party is its opportunist elements. The proletariat is not an isolated class. It is constantly replenished by the influx of peasants, petty bourgeois and intellectuals proletarianized by the development of capitalism. At the same time the upper stratum of the proletariat, principally trade union leaders and members of parliament who are fed by the bourgeoisie out of the super-profits extracted from the colonies, is undergoing a process of decay. "This stratum of bourgeoisified workers, or the 'labour aristocracy,'" says Lenin, "who are quite philistine in their mode of life, in the size of their earnings and in their entire outlook, is the principal prop of the second International, and in

our days, the principal social (not military) prop of the bourgeoisie. For they are real agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement, the labour lieutenants of the capitalist class. . . real channels of reformism and chauvinism." (See Vol. XIX, p. 77.)

In one way or another, all these petty-bourgeois groups penetrate into the Party and introduce into it the spirit of hesitancy and opportunism, the spirit of demoralization and uncertainty. It is they, principally, that constitute the source of factionalism and disintegration, the source of disorganization and disruption of the Party from within. To fight imperialism with such "allies" in one's rear means to put oneself in the position of being caught between two fires, from the front and from the rear. Therefore, ruthless struggle against such elements, their expulsion from the Party, is a prerequisite for the successful struggle against imperialism.

Our Party succeeded in achieving internal unity and unexampled cohesion of its ranks primarily because it was able in good time to purge itself of the opportunist pollution . . . . Proletarian parties develop and become strong by purging themselves of opportunists and reformists, social-imperialists and social-chauvinists, social-patriots and social-pacifists.

The Party becomes strong by purging itself of opportunist elements.

#### —Pre-Party Formation - Why Was ATM Formed?

Is the membership or leadership of A.T.M. restricted to only Chicanos? Of course not! From its very inception A.T.M. is multi-national at all levels of the organization. To restrict membership or leadership according to nationality would be a

violation of proletarian principles. However, at this time the majority of our membership is Chicano.

Does this mean that the political work of A.T.M. is restricted to work within the Chicano working class? No, it does not! We carry out our political work with workers of every nationality we come in contact with.

The question can be raised - isn't it possible for the A.T.M. to carry out its work through one of the other national communist organizations (R.U., O.L., C.L.)? At this time we must answer with a strong NO! Our differences with these organizations do not stem from differences over "form" but from principles, Marxist-Leninist principles, and in the absence of a genuine Communist Party we insist on struggling from outside of these groups.

Why didn't the various groups and collectives which came to form ATM merely merge with the Communist League, October League, or the Revolutionary Union?

There are several important reasons why we cannot merge with these organizations. First, because of our differences on theoretical questions, i.e., on party building, on the national question, and the role of Communists in the labor movement and in mass work. In other words, on the correct relationship between the objective and subjective factors in the revolution.

The left deviation on Party building is exemplified by the Communist League. This deviation views party building as an abstract, metaphysical process completely detached from the objective situation.

They fail to link their Marxist propaganda with the day to day struggles of the proletariat thereby ending up isolated from the advanced proletarians. Their approach is to only use communist propaganda to win over the so-called "advanced of the advanced"---neglecting any analysis of the objective conditions and the necessity to link their propaganda to the objective working class movement. By emphasizing only the subjective factors, the Communist League has leapt into the unprincipled cesspool of subjectivism, dogmatism, sectarianism, slander, rumormongering, white chauvinism, and Trotskyism.

The complete and most developed form of the right deviation on Party building is to be found in the political line of the Revolutionary Union. These new revisionists are hostile to the science of Marxism-Leninism, only pay lip-service to it while they systematically attempt to wreck, slander or destroy any attempt by honest Marxist-Leninists to bring socialist consciousness to the working class. To do this at a time when the working class is under economic and political attack, when the spectre of advancing fascism sweeps the land, is to be nothing less than agents of imperialism and traitors to the working class.

The Revolutionary Union advances the line that the Party is to be built by the various communist groupings, summing up their practice in the spontaneous mass movement and on the basis of this summation conducting ideological struggle, developing a Party line and program. What will the Revolutionary Union sum up? Bare-faced economism. Their practice is to involve themselves in the day to day spontaneous mass movement but to completely

fail to link this struggle with Communist propaganda (as distinct from economist propaganda). These petty-bourgeois intellectuals completely detach the objective factor from the subjective factor. This line has led them into elitism, right opportunism, revisionism in essence, and ultra-leftism and sectarianism in form, and, especially to the most disgusting white chauvinism.

The October League has a line characterized by diffuseness and eclecticism. They have gone from an ultra-"left" stance to a rightist stance. They attempt to conciliate line differences, push them to the back rather than to engage in serious ideological struggle. They negate crucial political differences using a line of "all unity and no struggle." Their fundamental right error is to tail the masses rather than to bring socialist consciousness to them. They negate the subjective factor, placing all reliance on the objective process.† They must recognize and rectify this right deviation and clarify and struggle out all ideological differences rather than shoving them under the table.

The major difference between the October League, the Revolutionary Union, and the Communist League is that the October League is more willing to accept criticism, do principled self-criticism and to fight sectarianism and white chauvinism with in their ranks.

(no specifics)

On the other hand, the Communist League and the Revolutionary Union both refuse to accept any type of principled criticism, especially as to their white chauvinist stance towards Communist organizations composed primarily of oppressed nationalities. The ideological and class basis for this deviation with-

in the Revolutionary Union and the Communist League can be found in the petty-bourgeois make-up of their leadership--a combination of ex-C.P.ers and SDS'ers. This is the same putrid combination which formed the leadership of the Progressive Labor Party who also degenerated into the same cess-pool of opportunism as the Revolutionary Union and the Communist League.

The task of uniting all honest Marxist-Leninists, the task of building a genuine Communist Party is the most urgent task confronting the Communist Movement. How then do we see our tasks in working towards the building of a new Communist Party? First of all, in the theoretical struggle we must draw firm lines of demarcation between Marxist-Leninists on the one hand and the revisionists and opportunists of all hues on the other. This struggle is a continuous one which will only begin to develop momentum with the emergence of a new Communist Party.

Simultaneously, we must struggle for unity with all honest Marxist-Leninist forces. At this time, it appears that our direction will be towards Marxist-Leninist forces of other oppressed nationalities, especially since their development parallels ours. However, here we are citing a general direction in which we feel we are moving. We will not limit ourselves to struggle for unity only with organizations of other oppressed nationalities. Again, the basis of unity is not nationality but rather the science of Marxism-Leninism. As for unity with *other* multi-national organizations, they must also demonstrate a correct approach to the struggle against white chauvinism in their organization.

And so Comrades, we must boldly move forward

and carry out our historical tasks. We must struggle for the unity of all genuine Marxist-Leninists into a new Communist Party which will lead the struggle for the liberation of the working class and oppressed nationalities through socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

**SMASH REVISIONISM!**  
**SMASH DOGMATISM AND SECTARIANISM!**  
**SUPPORT THE LIBERATION STRUGGLES OF ALL**  
**OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES!**  
**BUILD A GENUINE MULTI-NATIONAL COMMUNIST**  
**PARTY!**  
**WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD**  
**UNITE!**  
**VENCEREMOS.**

## TRADE UNIONS

The central task of all Marxist-Leninists is the building of a multi-national Communist Party of a new type, which is a union of the working class movement with Marxism-Leninism. While this is not our only task, it is the task which defines all of our work (including trade union work) and gives direction to our secondary tasks. We recognize the trade unions as the basic and broadest forms of organization of the working class, but not an end in themselves. The trade unions are a training ground of the proletariat, the area where they learn organized methods of struggle in the fight against the bourgeoisie.

Since a party is built in political and ideological struggles at all levels, it is incorrect to assume that this struggle will not take place at the level of trade unions. Marxist-Leninists must combat all forms of deviations as a part of the party-building process. The "left" deviation develops when a group concentrates only on building a communist nucleus; what is referred to as going after only the most advanced of the advanced workers, thereby, forgetting about the masses of workers, ignoring them and leaving them open to the right while at the same time helping any recruit within the plant to isolate themselves and to sever whatever relationships they might have had. This trend is not as dangerous as the right deviation at this time because these ultra-"left" actions quickly isolate the perpetrators. We must also combat the "left" deviation which calls for revolutionaries to pull out of the reactionary trade unions, and to set up "revolutionary" working class forms. This "line" has put forth its infantile head since Lenin's time and has its roots in the idealism



of the petty-bourgeoisie who would abandon the large masses of the less advanced workers to the reformist and reactionary trade union leaders of the Meany and Fitzsimmons type. This "line" that trade unions are too reactionary is an excuse not to work in the trade unions and not a reason. It would substitute the hard, patient work necessary to win the masses to revolution with a formula, i.e., set up a "pure" revolutionary trade union, issue a "revolutionary" slogan and the masses will run to our leadership. Suffice it to say that leadership is won in struggle and not in sloganeering.

The right deviation is far more dangerous, not only because it disarms the workers ideologically and politically, but also because its field of operation is far wider, more complex and tends to confuse the subjective and objective factors and the the relationship between the two. The social basis of this deviation is the petty-bourgeois, having earlier been an advocate of "left" deviations and having suffered because of it is now vacillating to the other extreme of only concentrating on the mass of workers under some kind of "United Front" policy. The fact that they are still basically petty-bourgeois intellectuals should not be held against them, for they are developing politically and are making every effort to proletarianize their outlooks. However, until they do, we must learn from their errors just as we learn from our own. The following are their errors:

1. They fail to understand the difference between a multi-class United Front, and an intra-class one.
2. They apply multi-class United Front politics to intra-class united front politics.
3. They fail to analyze the basis for United Front work in general (or for blocs or coalitions), the defensive or offensive aspects

of United Front work, when one or the other should be used, or if both have to be used which aspect is primary and under what conditions does it become secondary.

4. The concentration of United Front work limits their outlook and field of maneuverability in that they fail to see short term blocs or coalitions.
5. As a result of the above, under pressure to maintain the United Front they make unnecessary and unsolicited concessions to temporary, vacillating and unreliable elements, often laying the basis for a political situation conducive to their own political destruction.
6. Mechanically carrying out a political line which is not correctly or concretely formulated to begin with.
7. Not training cadre to independently find their bearings in different situations.

The problem that is evident here is that what is needed is some direction on general considerations on the development of political relationships, both within the trade union movement and outside of it and also some general guidelines on the evaluation of political forces.

Within the trade union movement, the trade unions serve the function of stopping competitions among workers and of presenting a united front against the employers. Therefore a united front within the trade unions must be seen entirely differently from a multi-class United Front. (There are, however, many aspects of political work common to both).

The basis for our work in the trade unions in the present period is that of winning the advanced workers over to the side of communism and recruiting them into our Organization (and later into the new Communist Party). In order to do this we study the objective aspects affecting our work in the shop and union. We analyze the ideological, political and organizational level and strength of the workers as a whole, as groups and as individuals. We do the same to the union leadership. We also analyze the strengths of the company or companies. There are outside factors which must be considered, (for example, the community, the state of the economy, etc.), but we won't deal with them here. We take into account the objective situation because the subjective aspects must be put in proper perspective, not independently of them. An analysis of both is what determines how we will carry out our work, on what issues and with what combination of long and short range relationships and goals and their relative priorities. The selection of the issues, whether economic or political, or both, on which we move is usually not up to us but is determined by the objective process. What we determine is how the issue will be utilized for the following: to place the Communists in the leadership of the struggle, to strengthen every aspect of the fighting capacity of the proletariat, to raise its level of consciousness through struggle while leading the class to arrive at the proper conclusions, and to win the proletariat to the side of communism. In making an analysis of the proper roles of each level of relationships, we must never forget that social consciousness is determined by social being. If we place all the emphasis of our work on the former we will be committing a great mistake.

For example, there is a current political line

CP that holds that we must "build up the left forces in the trade unions." Although no one has suggested that we wreck the left forces in the trade unions the position is still wrong. The other half of that position is that "we gradually move the trade unions to the left". Again wrong and again for the same reason, i.e. that social consciousness is primary.

OL [ The position on "building up the left forces in the trade unions" is interpreted to mean to build up the progressive trade union leaders and bureaucrats (usually old revisionists) by building the rank and file base necessary for them to remain in leadership. These trade union leaders are members of the working class in a capitalist society, they are influenced by the ideologies of the various classes and are not "pure proletarians." They are neither angels from heaven nor young, naive, gullible communists. They are experienced and ambitious trade unionist politicians who are asking to be used to "build up the left forces in the trade unions." They know how to use these people to further their own careers while at the same time undermining the political base of the communists. How can the communists later expose them, after building them up, especially if they do not back stab the rank and file, but only back stab the communists?

(OL) The position to "gradually move the trade unions to the left" is more idealistic non-dialectic ideology.

? [ This position is taken as if the subjective aspect of the working class movement is an independent part of the objective process. When the trade unions "move to the left" they will move by leaps and bounds. This will occur because the communists will have created stable, reliable and correct political leadership in the trade unions and when the objective process creates the opportunity to move,

they will have been prepared for the situation. Under these conditions, when masses of proletarians are under the political influence of the Communists, the trade union leadership will run to the left. Left to themselves or in the absence of Communist strength, they will do as always and as many are doing now, i.e., collaborating with the enemy. To deny this is to deny dialectics and to accept the current position of the modern revisionists which is also to move the trade unions gradually (very gradually) to the left.

*Not very clear or specific*

We must combat also the line of the "Build the United Front against imperialism", which policy consists of placing the advanced workers not into the political struggle, but into outside economist organizations with vague, reformist programs. The basic problem here is making the building of a "United Front" the central task rather than the building of a party. Focus then onto the building of mass organizations rather than the development of the conscious element to lead the mass struggles. The strategy must be "Build the Party," not "Build the Mass Movement."

The urban industrial proletariat, as the most politically advanced section of the working class, because it is tied to the most advanced methods of production and also the most socialized, must be the main area, the focus of our trade union work. Our work in the trade unions must consist of linking ourselves with the advanced workers with whom we can win over the middle and backward workers. We must represent the basic interests of the broadest masses of the workers and avoid any tendency to defend only the interests of certain groups and sections of exploited workers; the leadership must at the same time propose, formulate, and defend the basic general demands affect-

leaders run the risk of isolating themselves  
ting the broad masses, if they work with and rely on  
only the most advanced members of the proletariat.  
The intermediate and backward workers must also be  
worked with. We must develop slogans, forms of  
organization, propaganda, agitation, and all educa-  
tional work appropriate not only to the level of un-  
derstanding of the leading elements but comprehens-  
ible to all sections. It is the least developed sec-  
tions of the class which are in the majority and who  
form an enormous potential fighting force, it is in  
these sections that it is necessary to carry on the  
most patient explanatory work.

We must remember that Marx has said that the  
"consolidation of the worker's forces attained in the  
economic struggle will also have to serve as a lever  
in the hands of this class for the struggle against  
the political power of its exploiters."

### Caucuses

Caucuses may be of various types - advanced  
(not to be confused with fractions), intermediate, or  
open to the masses of workers; conditions may some-  
times call for them to be national or multi-national  
in form. Communists must fight to build caucuses  
of both men and women, although objective condi-  
tions may sometimes call for forms of organization  
composed only of women. Our work within them  
must be to draw forth the leading workers and pro-  
vide them with guidance in their work in the caucus.  
The growth of caucuses is reflective of the general  
unresponsiveness and even class collaborationist  
attitudes of the union leadership. An essential el-  
ement of this was the collaborationist policy of the  
CP (USA) which liquidated its trade union apparatus  
as a part of liquidating the party itself. Caucuses  
take their general content from the desire of the  
masses to democratize their unions. Very often this

can only be done by building organized plant, local and industry wide caucuses which can draw in the rank and file fighters to pressure (and ultimately remove) their own union misleadership. In any case Communists must win the leadership in these caucuses in the process of struggle by taking the workers into battle with the weapon of organization. In addition it may be up to caucuses to provide leadership for plant and industry-wide slow-downs, wild-cat strikes or other job actions when the union misleadership refuses to move behind the demands of the workers, and the bosses intensify their exploitation. To fail to work within this organizational form is to very often leave the workers weaponless in the struggle against the bosses and the union misleaders.

The caucuses, coalitions, or blocs that are formed among the progressive elements in the union are political relationships. But political relationships have several levels. The first level is the Communist relationship or level of organization, which takes the form of fractional work. The second level in this pre-party period is the relationships among communists of fraternal M-L organizations. This is the ideal situation; however in practice, we have found that as these groups implement the political line of their organizations a struggle develops over the course of action to be taken. When serious differences develop this level of relationship gives way to the third. The third level of relationship is with the advanced or progressive workers. The fourth is with the mass of workers. The fifth is with the union leadership. The first level of relationship is constant; it at all times remains the highest and primary form of relationship. The positions of all other levels are conditional. For example, if there is a difference of opinion on the evaluation of political forces among the com-

munists groups, then each group will want to move in a different direction. An analysis of the concrete situation will determine the level of relationship.

We have to realize that caucuses are not unions themselves -- to view them as such is to leave the masses of non-caucus members under the influence of the misleaders. Caucuses are forms of affecting change within the unions. This is so even though they may have to, given the ineffectiveness of the union misleadership, take the lead in particular plant or industry struggles. Caucuses are a tactic for implementing union democratization which will further the overall strategy of bringing the trade unions under communist leadership. To limit our work to this strategy is of course to sink to economism, as this strategy is itself only a tactic in the overall political strategy of socialist revolution.

### Oppressed Nationalities

It is the duty of Communists to fight for an end to all forms of national oppression and any system of privilege based upon this oppression. In the U.S.N.A. the multi-national proletariat has been and is divided on the basis of nationality, i.e., the Anglo-American majority on the one hand and primarily the Afro-American and Chicano workers on the other. This is one of many divisions in the class but it is the primary one. It is the main one that keeps the class divided. The basis for this division does not lie in the national and white chauvinistic attitudes of any one section of workers but in the system of privileges which a section of the Anglo-American workers enjoy based upon the super-exploitation of the oppressed nationalities, (along with the super-exploitation of the underdeveloped countries of the Third World, and women members of the class). It is this extra surplus value that allows



the bourgeoisie to pay higher wages and provide better working conditions for a section of the Anglo-American majority ~~as a factor in obtaining better conditions for the sale of their labor.~~ However, due to the deepening political and economic crisis of imperialism internationally and at home the basis for the maintenance of this system of bribery is being eroded, (c.f. International and National Situation report). This does not deny the role of struggle by the Anglo-American majority generally as a factor in obtaining better conditions for the sale of their labor. However, no one has struggled any harder than the oppressed nationalities for basic working class demands and still they **are** super-exploited. It is only by educating **the** proletariat as to the reasons behind the **divisions** of the class that we can begin to heal **the** breach. We must teach the proletariat about the ~~true~~ nature of imperialism, that as long as the bourgeois ideology of national chauvinism, white chauvinism and white supremacy exists, the class will never be victorious. We must win the Anglo-American majority to fight for the special demands of the oppressed nationalities -- not only in the area of better working conditions and wages **but in the political fight for democratic rights**

*note order  
& presentation*

**of national minority workers**  
**and raising the demand and building support of the right of self determination for the oppressed nationalities.** While we firmly uphold the position that the national question is in essence a class question; we must not use this as an excuse to cover up lack of support (i.e., a definite program), for the demands of the oppressed nationalities and against the **system** of bribery which maintains the divisions within the class. To pretend that the class is not divided is to fall victim to idealistic illusions; to seek to heal the division by denying **that it is based on a**

**system of privileges is flagrant opportunism; to pretend that the division will disappear because of vague slogans calling for the unity of the class without fighting for that unity is to sink into chauvinism and opportunism of the worst sort.**

**It is the duty of oppressed nationality cadre to give leadership to the struggle of the class for socialism and to give leadership to the struggle of their own nationality. This leadership must have at its essence the principle of proletarian internationalism. We must combat bourgeois and reactionary nationalism. The task is to unite the class for winning a successful revolution and founding and maintaining the dictatorship of the proletariat.**  
**Labor Aristocracy**

**in our trade union work we will encounter our enemy -- the labor aristocracy -- or as Lenin referred to them, "The craft-union, narrow minded, casehardened, covetous, petty-bourgeois 'labor aristocracy,' imperialist-minded, imperialist-bribed, and imperialist-corrupted." This labor aristocracy comprised of corrupt union leadership and some of the most highly paid craft workers who benefit from the exploitation of other workers, are carriers of the imperialists' ideology among workers to win them to support their masters crumbling world empire. The labor aristocracy, in effect, is a class collaborator with the imperialists who insures its highly paid parasitic position by selling out or aiding the bourgeoisie to exploit the working class, particularly women and oppressed nationality workers.**

**Our strategy must be to expose and replace the corrupt labor aristocracy. In order to do this we must strengthen the rank and file by providing communist leadership. The only way to expose the misleaders is through political education of the masses. Communists should always give substantiated criticisms about the labor aristocracy to the rank and file**

**denouncing their ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie. In contrast we must explain in a patient and persistent manner the program and slogans of communists. Even more important we must put this program and slogans into practice for the benefit of all workers. It's incorrect to think that ". . . one revolutionary gesture, one vociferous attack, is enough to break the power of reactionary leaders."** Source?

The worsening of objective conditions has had an effect on the labor aristocracy, enough to create divisions with the bourgeoisie. The labor aristocracy has been forced to voice militant slogans - Impeach Nixon or against the energy freeze, etc. We as communists must give political significance to the demands and must rally the rank and file to force the misleaders to fight for them. In the process of struggle to force the bureaucrats to do this they will further expose their degenerate selves.

Can we and should we at any time ally ourselves with these hateful and reactionary leaders? (Stalin says yes.)  
The answer is yes. We can and must but only if they meet these two tactical conditions (1) that we must be able to keep our political independence; (2) the reactionaries must agree to fight for whatever demands have been agreed upon.

We should always be on guard and combat the "left" tendency to divorce ourselves from trade unions because of the reactionary leaders. If we aren't on guard, we will be where the reactionaries and the bourgeoisie want us -- by ourselves.

### Women

Women members of the proletariat are faced with the double oppression of their class and their sex. In addition working oppressed nationality women face the added burden of national op-

pression. It is a law that "oppression breeds resistance." When this oppression is combined with the relationship to the most advanced methods of production and most importantly with communist leadership the ensuing change can only occur in leaps and bounds.

But how is this to be achieved? Communists must carry on unremitting struggle at the work place (and in all other areas) against oppressive conditions of women workers. They must win the masses of male proletariat to the fight for the implementation ending sexual discrimination in hiring and on the job by showing how the ruling class maintains the oppression of women to divide the working class. This means that communists (and especially women communists) must link up with the advanced women workers and select and build the most advanced into communist cadre who can work with and win over, through their leadership, the masses of their fellow women workers to the proletarian cause. This does not mean that male communists must not combat male supremacist ideas within the class. At the same time our women comrades must expose the women workers to the class nature of their oppression and combat bourgeois feminism which views men as the primary enemy of women.

We must promote women to leadership in both the caucuses and the trade unions based upon their proven ability to lead. We must recognize that all of our political work with women in the trade unions must be in line with our central task, party building.

An important part of the political work of all communists is to actively promote and organize support for struggles such as Farah and Farmworkers which involve substantial numbers of women workers and which speak to some of the specific prob-

lems of women on the job.

We see our two political tasks (1) build communist nuclei; (2) win the masses of workers to socialist revolution. The following is our minimum program to carry out our two tasks.

1. Fight for rank and file democracy within unions. One way of doing this is by building caucuses.
2. Fight for special demands of minorities and women.
  - A. Fight white chauvinism and male supremacy and racism.
    - equality of languages on the job and in the unions.
    - against deportations.
    - against immigration quotas.
    - against the Bracero program.
    - equal pay for equal work for women.
    - against discriminatory hiring and promotional practices.
3. Fight for better working conditions.
  - A. Minimum wage
  - B. Strong comprehensive industrial safety program.
4. Build support for important class struggles.
  - A. Defend the right to strike.
  - B. Support Farmworkers.
  - C. Fight inflation.

#### CONCLUSION

A special note should be given to the unorganized workers. As communists we cannot overlook the unorganized proletariat which comprise 70% of the USNA working class. Especially as Raza communists, we cannot ignore the Southwest which is one

**of the strongholds of anti-union corporations  
and where the vast majority of our people live  
and work.**

**We should always keep in mind our maximum pro-  
gram, socialism and the dictatorship of the prole-  
tariat.**

## REPORT ON NATIONAL SITUATION

Drafted in December, 1973.

### I. ANALYSIS OF CLASSES WITHIN THE USNA

#### A. The bourgeoisie

1. The highest, smallest, and most powerful sector of the ruling-class bourgeoisie are the monopoly capitalists or imperialists, whose control of finance capital gives them complete domination of the major sectors of the economy. They also control the bourgeois state apparatus, decide foreign policy, and where imperialist aggression will be waged to safeguard their investments, markets and sources of raw materials and cheap labor.

The monopoly capitalists are divided into two groups -- the old bourgeoisie based in the basic industries, e.g., Rockefeller in oil and Mellon in steel; and the new Monopoly Capitalist conglomerates such as I.T.T. Their economic power is based on ownership of finance capital and land.

#### 2. The middle bourgeoisie

They are also owners of large enterprises and means of production such as banks, factories, mines, land, etc. However, they do not have monopoly control over a particular industry. They are the target of, and usually victim of the expansion and push by the monopoly capitalists.

Politically they are not powerful enough to control the federal government nor decide national policy. They usually control certain state and local governments and congressmen, particularly from the south.

#### 3. The petty bourgeoisie

The lowest stratum of the bourgeoisie

comprised of the small producers, small businessmen, shopkeepers, storeowners, gas station owners, doctors, business executives, etc.

The political nature of this class caught as it is between the big bourgeoisie and the working class is opportunistic and has a dual nature as they wish to rise into the bourgeoisie but are constantly being pushed back down into the working class.

### B. The intellectuals

1. A special strata comprised of writers, teachers, scientists, technicians, lawyers, etc., who in bourgeois society <sup>must</sup> sell their intellectual talents to the bourgeoisie, and thus as bourgeois intellectuals support them and are the official apologists for imperialism and the bourgeois social order. Mainly recruited from the ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie, however, many from the working class are now becoming members of this strata.

### C. Working class

#### 1. Aristocracy of labor

The highest and best paid sector of the working class made up of union leaders, <sup>various sections of</sup> plumbers, electricians and other independent craftsmen.

poverty program administrators, highly paid salesmen, <sup>low-level</sup> managers.

This is the bourgeoisified sector of the working class which has been bribed with the superprofits of imperialism into being agents of the bourgeoisie within the working class and disseminators of bourgeois ideology within the class.

#### 2. Non-production workers

These are the non-industrial workers who are not engaged in production and thus do not produce surplus value in producing commodities directly.

is class?  
Member of  
bourgeoisie  
or of  
working  
class.

low-level



**The non-production workers are hospital workers, office workers, clerks, low-paid salespeople, service industry and civil service workers, social workers.**

Most of this sector is not organized into trade unions and many of these jobs have been created artificially by the bourgeoisie to avoid high unemployment and absorb the large amount of college graduates due to the strong petty-bourgeois outlook pushed that industrial workers and physical work is negative and undignified.

The amount of non-production workers has increased in the last twenty years in ratio to production workers 4 to 1. This has been possible due to the superprofits of imperialism and the increased robbery of the surplus value from the urban and rural proletariat and serves as a basis for the bourgeois line that U.S. society is becoming deproletarianized, class distinctions are being eliminated, and that the U.S. is becoming a country of clerks who administer the world.

**3. Proletariat (production workers)**

**a. The urban-industrial proletariat**

The most advanced, revolutionary, and developing class which is related to the most scientific and advanced form of production, and as such is the leading force with the most politically advanced outlook. The industrial proletariat is the class whose labor in commodity production produces surplus value which is the basis for capital accumulation when stolen by the bourgeoisie, and creates the material aspect of the general bourgeois capitalist culture.

In opposition to bourgeois theories such as the U.S. is becoming deproletarianized;

one big "middle class" etc., statistics prove that the industrial proletariat is a growing class, ~~if this were not so there would be industrial stagnation and eventually collapse.~~

The important aspect of this growth has been the steady growth within such basic industries as steel, rubber, textiles, food packing, <sup>and other industries such as</sup> construction, plastics, furniture of national minority workers and oppressed nationality workers, especially women.

b? (B.) Rural agricultural proletariat

What are known as the farmworkers are the wage-laborers of capitalist relations of production in the countryside.

The rural proletariat has within its ranks ex-members of the peasantry from the U.S. and Mexico in addition to other recent or older immigrant workers such as Arabs and Filipinos. With the development of the productive forces and accompanying automation in agriculture, the rural proletariat is dialectically in a state of decline and therefore its members are being forced to immigrate to the cities to seek employment and usually end up joining the ranks of the industrial proletariat.

The farmworkers are members of the proletariat for the objective reason that they create surplus value in the commodities they produce, i.e., agricultural products, through the application of their labor which is also purchased as a commodity under the capitalist mode of production in the countryside.

c? (C.) Lumpen proletariat

The lumpen are the declassed elements who due to the extreme oppression of the working class have been shoved down out of the working class, this does not mean that members of

other classes are not represented within the lumpen, however, the majority have working class origins.

In their relation to production the lumpen have none. Their basic method of making a living is pimping, hustling, prostitution, dealing drugs, etc., that is, leeching off the labor of the working class, as they have no loyalties, discipline they tend to be opportunistic.

### D. Peasantry

The very small and diminishing class of peasantry in the U.S. are members of the petty bourgeoisie as they are small producers who own their own means of production.

The peasantry are to be found in certain depressed and underdeveloped regions within the U.S. where the development of capitalism has been uneven and where <sup>semi-</sup>feudal <sup>type</sup> relations of production still exist to a degree in the countryside. not semi-feudal?

In the stage of imperialism, monopoly-capitalism, and large corporate farming, the peasantry is fast disappearing as a class due to its inability to compete. Many peasants have become semi-proletarians in order to exist -- selling their labor power in addition to working their land.

In 1910 one out of every three persons within the U.S. was a member of the peasantry. Today 5% of the population or less than ten million belong to this class and within the last fifteen years 25% of the small farmers have been pushed out of business and their land taken over by large scale capitalist farms.

## II. THE INTENSIFICATION OF CLASS CONTRADICTIONS

### A. ECONOMIC CRISIS

1. Unemployment - One of the key in-

dicators of the direction of the economy is the pattern of retail car sales. New car sales are to be 10% less in 1974 causing at this point over 85,000 to be laid off by G. M. and by year's end to reach 1/3 of their total work force. Other industries to be hit hard are construction and petro-chemical related industries such as rubber, plastic, etc.

The unemployment rate in October 1973 was 4.5 % which was the lowest in 3 1/2 years. By November of 1973 the percentage had risen to 4.7 %; by December, 4.9 % or an increase over the previous month of 170,000 to 4.4 million unemployed.

The largest sector of unemployed came from non-production workers, minorities, and women. 85.6 million are employed, but many are only working part-time due to shortages of materials.

The number of workers seeking jobs is growing quickly, however, the uneven growth rate in industry and in the availability of materials and markets has caused a contradiction in the pattern of employment. Certain industries have encountered a stabilized or decreasing market for their commodities or services such as autos, new homes, etc., while others such as steel are going full blast without being able to acquire enough materials from the mills. Thus the law of over production is not all that is occurring as a shortage of raw materials and the proper productive forces to refine them are lacking.

The unemployment rate is expected to hit 6% by October 1974 at which time the government will begin public employment projects and has already increased defense spending and government contracts to pump the econ-

omy up.

## 2. Agriculture

Agricultural exports and control of the rural-proletariat will be of key importance to the bourgeoisie.

In 1953 2.8 billion dollars worth of farm products were exported; in 1973 17 billion were exported which was a gain of  $4/5$  over 1972 and triple that of ten years ago. This caused the first trade surplus since 1970 by leaving a surplus of eight billion after deducting imports which offset non-farm trade deficit and pay for oil imports. Farm exports are expected to hit 20 billion for 1974, the prime reason being poor crop yields abroad, and devaluation of the dollar, making U.S. products cheaper.

The U.S. exports  $3/4$  of all the wheat produced;  $2/3$  of its rice;  $1/2$  of its cattle hides and soybeans;  $1/3$  of its cotton and tobacco;  $1/4$  of its feed grains. Within the context of world trade, the U.S. accounted for 89% of the soybeans produced;  $3/4$  of the corn;  $1/2$  of the wheat and flour. This has the effect of raising prices domestically due to scarcity.

Previously the role of food exports in foreign policy was for propaganda purposes, i.e., aid to underdeveloped or starving countries. Now it is a lever and weapon in foreign policy just as oil is. The biggest market, surpassing Europe, is Asia as Japan will purchase 3 billion worth of farm products; China, 1 billion, with a total for Asia of 8 billion. Europe will purchase 6 billion; Latin America  $2/3$  more; and Africa double.

The result of this trend is that the U.S. is reverting back to its economic position during the 19th century of an agricultural exporter dependent on agricultural production - Is it now reverting?

a step backward.

### 3. Stabilization and rationalization of key industries.

Within steel in introduction of productivity clauses, no strike clauses, and forced arbitration.

The transport industry in which the teamsters predominate, the building of a bribed fascist labor bureaucracy and the bribery of *some* transport workers through high wages.

Agriculture - Union busting by the teamsters and the use of the courts, police, laws, etc., to keep agriculture unorganized.

Railroads - Billions of workers' tax money is to be spent by federal government to overhaul certain key railroads and also to benefit the government corporation Amtrak.

The railroads to be subsidized are the Penn Central, Central of New Jersey, Boston of Maine, Reading, Erie Lackawanna, Lehigh Valley, Ann Arbor; on which 85 million will be spent initially. The collapse of these railroads would have laid off 2.7 million workers and hit industrial production in the north-east hard. The new rail corporation subsidized with our money is to be called Consolidated Rail Corporation.

### 4. Inflation

In 1973 wholesale prices rose 18.2% over 1972; farm products increased 36.1%; energy prices 65.1%; oil and gas 12.5%; processed food 20.3%.

The bourgeoisie is caught in a contradiction in that if they halt inflation it will cause a severe recession and more unemployment; while not stopping it is angering the masses and decreasing their real wages and standards of living.

## 5. Contracts up in 1974

1/74, Inter. Longshoremen & Warehousemen Union; 2/74, Steel (Can Industry), I.B.E.W.; 3/74, Steel (Dow); 4/74, U.A.W.; 5/74, Steel (Aluminum), textile; 6/74, shipyards; 7/74, I.B.E.W. (phone company); 8/74, steel (major companies); 9/74, I.A.M., transit workers, U.A.W.; 11/74, U.M.W.; 12/74, R.R., I.L.G.W.U. Already this year (1974) there have been over 600 strikes -- the most in any one 6 month period since the end of World War Two.

(B) Attacks by the monopoly capitalists on the various classes in society.

### 1. Within the bourgeoisie

The monopoly capitalists in order to maintain their superprofits from abroad and maximum profits at home, under the general imperialist world crisis and national economic crisis, must begin a downward push upon the middle-bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, and especially shift the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working class.

The dominance of monopolies in the U.S. which first occurred in the basic industries; then in banking becoming monopoly finance capital; has now moved onto a higher stage of concentration and more intense parasitism of the other classes therefore heightening class contradictions further in its death throes.

This new wave of concentration has especially been evident in the oil industry where independent oil producers, refineries or marketers are being driven either out of business or forced to sell to the monopoly capitalists. This push basically affects the above who are members of the middle bourgeoisie; however, it also harshly affects the petty-bourgeoisie, owners of individual gas stations whose margin of profit is

becoming smaller and smaller and eventually will be swallowed up by the monopoly capitalists and pushed back down into the working-class as have 20,000 so far. This new level of concentration and accompanying attacks have been masked by the capitalist propaganda as an "energy crisis" which caught them all of a sudden unaware; in addition, the use of national chauvinism is used to blame the Arabs for the so-called energy and economic crisis.

This process of concentration is of course happening in other areas of the industrial sector as vertical intergration is proceeding at a rapid pace by the monopoly capitalists.

One of the most evident sectors in which this has occurred is within the food industry where land ownership, processing, and marketing has predominantly come under monopoly control giving rise to a push against the independent food chains and processers of the middle bourgeoisie. Also being driven out in this push are middle bourgeoisie landowners and what is left of the petty bourgeois peasant landowners along with the small grocery store owners - back down into the working class.

The sector of the petty-bourgeoisie other than the small producers and owners affected by the present crisis and downward push are the professionals, i.e., ~~doctors~~, business executives, etc., with cutbacks in employment as corporations are cutting out departments, trimming executives; i.e., unemployment for business executives rose 56% during the last quarter of 1973. This downward push has also affected their standard of living through inflation, gasoline rationing, and restrictions placed on their aspirations for upward social mobility.



## 2. On the working-class

### a. Aristocracy of labor

This bribed and bourgeoisified sector of the working-class will also feel the downward push as mass unemployment means less supervisors, foremen, and managers. Runaway plants cause less union members, or breaking of union shops, which means less jobs for trade union bureaucrats.

Unemployment and less money to spend means less jobs and wages for <sup>highly-paid</sup> craftsmen such as carpenters, plumbers, electricians, salesmen, etc.

### b. Non-production workers

These workers will feel the crisis and downward push very much and in many ways worse than certain sectors of the proletariat for the reason that they are in most cases not organized into trade unions. As such they have less job security and health benefits and possess no right to strike or in any way negotiate for the better sale of their labor power to the bosses.

### c. Production workers

#### Industrial proletariat

The full burden of the present crisis will be shifted over to and carried by the proletariat as productivity per man hour must be raised through speed-ups, forced overtime, industrial hazards, wage freezes, inflation, and unemployment. There will be increased pressure upon the proletariat to increase output through enforced productivity clauses and automation.

### d. Rural proletariat

This sector for the last 20 years has carried the brunt of exploitation in creating enough surplus value and vast profits to overcome low productivity in the industrial sector. The majority of the rural proletariat are not organized

into the United Farmworkers Union, are seasonal workers, and migrants. They will feel the crunch of the crisis severely, while the organized sector will also suffer much as they have been on strike.

As the industrial proletariat will have to carry the burden of the non-production workers as the government creates artificial jobs and programs, so the rural proletariat will see increased exploitation as they will be pushed to produce more in the agricultural sector to offset low-productivity in industry and the growing deficits in trade.

#### E. Lumpen-proletariat

The reaction of the lumpen to the increasing exploitation and oppression of the working-class means less leeching and parasitism, and therefore more violent acts against the working-class and petty-bourgeoisie such as robbery, burglary, mugging, dope dealing, etc.

#### F. Peasantry

The intensification of class contradictions by monopoly capital, and the growing concentration of production within the different phases of the food industry, has accelerated the drive against the small sector of existing peasantry. The concentration of land ownership is proceeding rapidly as are the attacks upon the remaining peasantry in the south, midwest, and southwest. These attacks assume the form of lack of credit, high interest rates, bank foreclosures, high taxes, skyrocketing prices for food, fertilizer, and shipping costs coupled with the inability to compete against larger and more efficient capitalist forms.

With the price of grains and government subsidies shooting up, the monopoly capitalists

are sparing no time in driving these small farmers out of business, thus forcing them to the cities as part of the reserve labor force which is used to drive wages down for the working-class in general .

### III. THE INTENSIFICATION OF CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE SPONTANEOUS CHARACTER OF IT

A. Present struggles of particular classes against the increasing oppression of the monopoly capitalists.

#### 1. Middle-bourgeoisie

The counter-struggle by the sector has been the least spontaneous as they have been able to observe and analyze which direction monopoly concentration has been most rapidly moving.

Economically they have tried to merge with other middle-bourgeois groups in order to protect their supplies, credit, marketing, and assets, from the monopoly capitalist attacks. If merger is not possible then close cooperation is the next alternative method for this sector in struggling against the offensive by the monopoly-capitalists.

Politically, their counterattack manifests itself most concretely within congress where their representatives who are mostly from the south push their struggle on three fronts:

A) Exposure and prosecution of Nixon and company as representatives of the monopoly-capitalists for their political and unconstitutional crimes and excesses. To preserve and expand the power of the legislative branch and curtail that of the executive, that is, the middle-bourgeoisie over the monopoly-capitalists. The majority of the representatives of the middle-bourgeoisie in congress are from the south where their strength lies with such voices as Senators Fulbright, Ervin, Baker, etc.

B) The struggle to preserve states rights against the rapidly growing and highly centralized

power of the Federal Government (Federal Political, even being the designation given to the relationship in an earlier period i.e., the federal system was a loose political federation of the states within the union), is of prime importance for the middle-bourgeoisie as their economic position is consistently being eroded and strangled by new and restrictive laws, regulations, court rulings, and in general political and judicial domination by the monopoly capitalists.

C) Through the media of this sector such as newspapers, where political exposure and agitation is done on Nixon and all other representatives of the monopoly-capitalists in relation to bribes, breaking of laws, etc. In addition, exposures and agitation are constantly printed on monopoly practices in oil, wheat, etc., pay-offs, price fixing; and anything else they can use as ammunition to slander the monopoly-capitalists, hide their crimes, and try and rally the masses behind them as honest and patriotic knights who are the upholders of the constitution, "democratic rights", and "freedom", etc.

## 2. Petty-bourgeoisie

The counter struggle by this lowest sector of the bourgeoisie has had more of a spontaneous character to it as their oppression has given rise to actions of a quick and "radical" nature. Such acts of frustration as gas station shut-downs, blocking roads by truckowners, etc., are examples of the individualistic and impatient nature of this class and the narrow scope of their demands.

Organizations have begun to develop among gas station owners, although their individualistic tendencies have prevented them from carrying out an effective strike as many opportunist owners broke the strike in order to make more business.

Truck owners have organized national organizations and are more unified than gas-station owners, or other small producers who don't hold a central role in the economy (trucking-communications, supplies, materials, food, etc.), such as small store owners.

Others within the petty-bourgeoisie are merely squeezing more out of the working-class such as doctors, landlords, and assorted small businessmen; or they are simply selling out as have over 10,000 station owners.

### 3. Intellectuals

Within this strata there is of course the petty-bourgeois intellectuals, that totally bribed and reactionary sector who are the official ideological apologists for the bourgeoisie's present state of economic and political madness.

The middle sector, the liberals, are becoming much more radicalized due to the political corruption and degeneracy, and pauperization of the masses economically; but most important the political restrictions being placed upon them thus endangering their privileged position of fence straddling, bleeding heart liberals, to be exact, their so-called right of "freedom of sources and criticism."

The attacks on them by the monopoly-capitalists through jailings, court restrictions, and verbal attacks through their lackeys Nixon and previously Agnew have caused many of the newspaper reporters and other writers to use their intellectual talents in exposing, and counter-attacking the bourgeoisie.

This has also occurred with filmmakers as many anti-fascist films and T.V. specials are being produced; also, many filmmakers who were

† are playing an important role in the anti-fascist struggle by writing films, writing books, articles, movement newspapers, defending political prisoners, organizing forums, fund-raisers, etc.

This is very important and strategic to the struggle as not blackballed in the McCarthyite witchhunts of the 1950's have returned to the film industry.

The lawyers, such as the A.C.L.U. (American Civil Liberties Union), are utilizing the courts as much as possible to expand bourgeois-Democratic rights and preserve those which already exist.

There is a strong radicalization of teachers occurring, especially those recently out of college, <sup>working</sup> in the high schools. They have raised demands for more voice in administration, to do away with outmoded bourgeois teaching techniques and content, higher salaries, better facilities, and the right to organize into unions and strike.

1964-1974

40th - 50th

The American Federation of Teachers had only 40,000 members ten years ago, today it has grown close to half a million as teachers are losing the bogey of unionization as "unprofessional". Recent militant strikes back east and in Compton have shown the rising militancy of this sector.

The most advanced sector of ~~the~~ intellectuals, the revolutionary intellectuals<sup>†</sup> under the leadership of the working-class and its party.

It would be a left error on our part to reject, alienate, or attack them, and in general refuse to work with them by placing their talents under proletarian leadership.

It would be a right error to capitulate the leadership of the revolution to them by being overawed by their academic knowledge, of abstract theory and history, but lacking a firm grasp of the practical and concrete everyday struggle.

#### 4. Working-class

##### 1) Aristocracy of labor

\* revolution has ever been successful without the aid and participation of the intellectuals under the leadership

This bribed sector is being pressured and worked overtime to keep the working-class in line.

The labor bureaucrats fearing rank and file rebellions are beginning to mouth somewhat militant slogans denouncing Nixon, the wage freeze, rising prices, etc., however, their opportunism and class collaboration restricts them from taking any further action against their masters.

Others such as poverty program administrators are fighting against cutbacks in their programs and trying to mobilize sections of the "community" behind them to protect their high salaried poverty pimp positions.

## 2) Non-production workers

The lack of struggle at the present time by this sector does not mean that they are not angry, frustrated, and ready to move. The basic problem is that their ability to struggle collectively is hindered by their low level of organization and lack of general unionization.

It is precisely the low degree of organization then which prevents this sector from effectively fighting back against the monopoly capitalists. An example of struggle recently, however, was the strike called by the retail clerks, ~~butchers~~, etc. in California who are unionized.

## 3) Production workers

### A) Industrial proletariat

The lull in the counterattack by this most vital and class-conscious sector is quickly fading out as 1974 is expected to be a year of intense struggle.

Led by the mass struggle of the Farah strikers and their "victory", the meat packing industry and the Shell strikers.

The United Mine Workers after having struggled against Tony Boyle and the other gangsters who were running and robbing the union, have replaced them with a somewhat progressive leadership. At this time the UMW is on strike against the government's policy on the gas shortage and has donated money to the Farm-workers and British Miners to show solidarity. This strike is paralyzing the steel industry in the east.

Chicano miners in Arizona have also been on strike as a union busting campaign has been launched against them and other miners in New Mexico in order to pit them against Mexican national workers without papers who are being used as non-union workers.

The auto workers have, and still continue to struggle against speed-ups, forced overtime and cutbacks. There have been caucuses organized throughout the country within the United Auto Workers Union.

In steel, strikes are expected this year as many contracts are up, and anger within the rank and file over the wage freeze, inflation, and strike clause, and productivity clause, is manifesting itself in the organization of caucuses in locals throughout the country.

Steelworkers have historically within the labor movement been one of the most organized, class conscious, and militant sectors of the working-class, in the struggles within the capitalist countries. The rebellion presently brewing within the rank and file will begin to materialize more fully this year in a counter-attack against the bourgeoisie and their labor lieutenants such as Abel & Co.

The militant struggle of the independent truckers, who are semi-proletarians (not



all), as most either own their truck or rent it in order to sell their services to the capitalists, was significant in the reaction was that of the pan o palo tactic; that is, calling out the national guard and then trying to make concessions. The usual weapon of the bourgeoisie, the Taft-Hartley court injunction, could not be used as the truckers were not union members but members of associations, thus the basic inability to deal with the situation except through guarding scabs with police and having fascist labor lieutenants such as the teamsters Fitzsimmons denounce them.

As the price of gas increases, the struggle by this sector of the working-class will increase as their level of organization develops to a higher degree.

#### B) Rural Proletariat

The struggle within the south-west by the rural proletariat against the exploitation by the U.S. bourgeoisie and its imperialist consolidation, has been constant since the 1880's. The attacks by the bourgeois courts, police, and lackeys like the teamster leadership has not stopped the massive drive for unionization with their tactical weapon which was so successful with the Farah strike - the boycott.

With the growth of the U.F.W. and the struggle, contradictions have developed internally such as a lack of democracy, i.e., not being able to elect officials from their own locals; the domination of the leadership by white liberals, C.P. revisionist, Zionist Pro-Israel elements, and bourgeois-trade unionist ideology in general.

This bureaucratic leadership deals with the rank and file in a paternalistic, missionary, and white chauvinist manner, keeping them

isolated and detached from outside contact and especially proletarian ideology. Slogans which were originally used to organize the union such as "land and freedom" are no longer used, substituting the Virgin de Guadalupe for Zapata who is symbolic of expropriating the large landlords and implementing agrarian reform. The objective of this class-collaborationist leadership is to submerge the fundamental and revolutionary demand for the seizure of the land and keep the farmworker's struggle within the framework of trade unionism, economic demands and bourgeois legality. The struggle by the rural proletariat cannot take a qualitative leap, that is, advancing revolutionary demands rather than reformist demands, until the internal contradictions are resolved. The internal contradictions can only be resolved through a qualitative leap ideologically and this can only be accomplished by the conscious element bringing from the outside an acceptance of Marxism-Leninism through the implementation of a revolutionary working-class education.

C) Lumpen proletariat

The struggles by the politically conscious sector of the lumpen against capitalist oppression will deviate from left to right or vice versa which is a characteristic of their social base.

The actions by this class usually are geared to gang organizing, etc. This is the right tendency as exemplified by the Black Panther Party who shifted from an ultra-left stance.

The ultra left tendency - adventurism, militarism, terrorism - is most concretely represented by the Symbionese Liberation Army - a putchist organization made up of frustrated

**lumpen and petty-bourgeois elements with their accompanying political idealism and lack of working-class consciousness and military romanticism.**

**We must analyze the lack of working-class consciousness and how counter-productive their actions are:**

**1) Designating Safeway as a free food distribution center, giving them millions more in profits and helping to smash the Farmworkers struggle.**

**2) No mention was made of the Herald-Examiner strikers locked out by Hearst over five years ago and never given their jobs back.**

**3) The money for food will go to non-profit charity organizations which means Hearst will simply deduct the money from his income tax, receive it back as a refund, buy new machinery to print more poison and make more profits.**

**4) Giving the bourgeoisie an opportunity to make a heroine of Patty Hearst and win the sympathy of many workers.**

**5) A general contempt for the ability of the working-class to struggle for its victories and to organize and give leadership to the revolution which is a mass political struggle.**

**Thus Hearst and the S.L.A. are ideologically two sides of the same coin; Hearst from the ultra-right has contempt in the ability of the working-class to assume state power and run the country, while the S.L.A. from the ultra-left negates class struggle, the proletarian party and like-wise has contempt for the working-class to organize and take state power.**

**The correct approach to the politically conscious sector of the lumpen is to wage ideo-**

logical struggle and push a strong working-class political line; try to educate and remould them to a working-class outlook; expose their left and right deviations to them and the masses in order to raise the general ideological and political level of all and point out how unscientific and incorrect their positions are.

#### D) Peasantry

This strata finds itself, as most of the small producers of the petty-bourgeoisie do, in a weak situation due to a low level of organization.

The small producer is in the weakest position among all classes in the struggle against the monopoly-capitalist. A positive example, however, is the peasantry of northern New Mexico who organized in the Alianza, have struggled bitterly with the largest thief and landowner in New Mexico - the bourgeois state. The political repression suffered by the Alianza in the form of arrests, jailings, and the imprisonment of Reistjerina dealt a temporary blow to their struggle.

The present period will then be one of reconsolidation and reorganization in order to develop a much more scientific and stable ideology and leadership.

#### IV. POLITICAL CRISIS

The general world imperialist crisis, the struggle for markets, raw materials, cheap labor, and struggles for new spheres of influence in general is being felt within the U.S. with the present economic crisis.

According to the Marxist-Leninist laws of development, and in particular the law of uneven development, an economic crisis-by heightening the class contradictions- will eventually precip-

itate a political crisis by politically radicalizing the working-class and petty-bourgeoisie; not gradually in a neat little pattern, but swiftly in a dialectical leap thus bringing about a revolutionary crisis within the country.

What has brought about the present political crisis so quickly is that it was occurring concurrently with the economic crisis and even began a bit earlier with the watergate, military, and police scandals which had the effect of smearing the bourgeois state, thus losing the confidence of the masses and quantitatively raising their political consciousness thru the political exposures and political agitation carried on by sectors of the "liberal" petty-bourgeoisie. With the deepening of the economic crisis and the heightening of class contradictions and class struggle, the bourgeoisie is trying to shift the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the working-class by unleashing a new offensive against the working class. This is the strategy of the bourgeoisie in the present period, which is used to counter crises, and also after every imperialist war to consolidate and tighten state and economic power over the working-class. The aim of this strategy is the fascization of all sectors of society, especially within the labor movement by building fascist labor fronts; and ultimately a multi-class fascist-Imperialism in order to prepare for new imperialist wars of aggression and a new division of spheres of influence. The tactic of using national and white chauvinism and wars of aggression to distract the masses from the domestic crisis and push the reactionary line - that all classes within the U.S. N.A. have a harmony of interests in exploiting

the colonies and neo-colonies - will be accelerated.

The problem encountered by the monopoly capitalists in consolidating and achieving this strategy at present is the contradictions that exist among them causing internal struggle which is manifested within the bourgeois political structure and their media. It is these internal contradictions within the bourgeoisie in general, and the monopoly capitalists in particular which has put them in a semi-defensive position temporarily and held them back from a full scale all out offensive against the working-class.

However, we should not let these contradictions among the bourgeoisie delude us into not seeing all the signs of advancing fascism within the political sphere. We must not be overcome by what Stalin called loss of tempo, that is, a loss of a correct and scientific analysis of the rapidly changing objective conditions, and estimate of the political situation. We must constantly keep in mind the 470 laws by which the president can suspend the constitution, writ of habeus corpus, seize the means of production, and property in general; the rapidly increasing growth of the political activities and manpower of the F.B.I., C.I.A., military, internal security committees and local police intelligence.

We must view these signs of advancing fascism in a dialectical and not metaphysical and static manner. The aspects of advancing fascism to this point are quantitative, that is, a rapid quantitative increase in spying, bugging, use of provocateurs, goon squads, political bribery and coercion and expansion of fascist laws upon the

population.

We must not make the left error of pushing a political line that fascism is here, fascism is upon us, etc. That is crying wolf before the wolf is upon us, rather than organizing and preparing to struggle against the wolf. On the other hand, to push a right political line, to fall behind in the tempo of rapid changes and our bearings on the political situation, to negate the necessity for the subjective conscious factor and in particular a party of the proletariat and disregard all obvious signs is to repeat the fatal errors of the party in Germany during the 1930's who disregarded the fascist wolf headed by Hitler until it was upon them, leading to the slaughter of the German workers.

The central point that must be grasped at this moment politically is that advancing fascism is developing quantitatively in a rapid manner. If no struggle is organized against this development, it will take a qualitative leap into out-right fascism - an open terrorist dictatorship by the monopoly capitalists of the most vicious character directed against the working-class and the masses in general, in particular oppressed nationality and national minority workers with capitalist wage-slavery being forcefully changed into outright slavery.

It must always be kept in mind that the periods or stages of the socialists revolution cannot be skipped as many impatient petty - bourgeois ultra leftists subjectively wish to do. Within the present period we must see the struggle for expansion of bourgeois democratic

rights within the context of revolutionary tactics and not reformist tactics. That is, reforms for expansion of bourgeois-democratic rights that will lead to the erosion and weakening of the power of the bourgeoisie and their ability to impose fascism, and lead to the strengthening of the political position of the working-class, and its formative party.

Those reforms, those tactical struggles which strengthen and consolidate the political power of the monopoly capitalists, and which theoretically, ideologically and physically disarm the working masses, and defuse their militant and just demands (i.e. end of the wage freeze, the right to strike, the impeachment of Nixon and the indictment of the other bourgeois political gangsters), should be discarded, or, if tailist or backward elements insist upon them, fiercely struggled against.

only through the use of reforms as revolutionary tactics within this strategically important period, can they be raised to a higher qualitative level--to revolutionary demands--in the impending revolutionary crisis with the ultimate aim being the seizure of political power by the working class and the building of a proletarian democracy.

"The revolutionary will accept a reform in order to use it as an aid in combining legal work with illegal work and to intensify, under its cover, the illegal work for the revolutionary preparation of the masses for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

That is the essence of making revolutionary use of reforms and agreements under the conditions of imperialism."



## V. THE ADVANCE TOWARD A PRE-REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION

The Central question we must analyze here is whether the present economic and political crisis will grow much more acute and therefore move us into a pre-revolutionary situation, or can the situation be stabilized by the U.S.N.A. bourgeoisie and normal relations of production and political harmony be re-established through past-proven methods. We must be able to pinpoint the movement of the objective process correctly in order to base our strategy on it. In analyzing the last world capitalist crisis and the revolutionary situation that grew out of it during the 1930's, there were concrete and historically distinct factors which allowed the bourgeoisie to extricate itself from the revolutionary crisis and reconsolidate and expand its economic and political power and temporarily prevent the collapse of moribund and dying capitalism within the USNA.

There were four main factors which enabled the USNA imperialist-bourgeoisie to pull itself out of the general capitalist and revolutionary crisis during the depression years of the 1930's:

A) The tremendous amount of capital accumulated by the USNA bourgeoisie during World War I by selling to both the allies and the entente; the tremendous growth in industry and profits during the decade of the 1920's; the superprofits brought back from the exploitation of the colonies and neocolonies; the exploitation of the USNA workers domestically: These sources of capital accumulation, which those countries which fell to fascism such as Germany, Italy, Japan, Austria, Poland, etc., did not possess, enabled the USNA bourgeoisie to implement certain programs such as the C.C.C.,

W.P.A., and other government sponsored work programs for the unemployed. There was enough capital also to make concessions won through struggles such as unemployment insurance, disability, workmen's compensation, the right to unionize, etc. Thus, this money was used to defuse the growing revolutionary crisis within the USNA.

B) The lack of an ideologically strong and politically correct working class leadership and party, which could give the proletariat its ideological and political independence and maintain it despite the necessary strategy of the united front against fascism.

The petty-bourgeois revisionist and opportunist leadership of the C.P.U.S.A. under Earl Browder and his so-called "opponent" William Foster, which undermined and kept underdeveloped the theoretical and ideological level of the party and proletariat; liquidated its independence within the united front, thus enabling the bourgeoisie to win ideological and political control of the working class through the liberal democratic party.

C) The necessity for renewed imperialist expansion and plunder at the cost of rival imperialist powers, especially Japan within the Pacific basin. Thus the necessity of the second imperialist world war for the forced redivision of spheres of influence and acquisition of new colonies which was planned and forced upon Japan by the USNA who cut off vital oil supplies five months prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor forcing Japan's action.

The imperialist war allowed the bourgeoisie to channel the anger of the masses from the domestic-national crisis onto their "foreign" imperialist and "aggressor" rivals. It also provided the stimulus through war production to revive industry

and the economy in general; at the same time solving the unemployment problem by sending millions of unemployed workers to war and death and gaining time to regroup itself from the militant offensive of the working-class. At the same time, however, this war resulted in a world-wide anti-fascist united front, spearheaded by the USSR under the brilliant leadership of Josef Stalin which resulted in the crushing defeat of the fascist powers and the emergence of a socialist camp with a combined population of 900 million.

While the war temporarily helped the USNA imperialists it meant an overall weakening of world imperialism and a tremendous strengthening of socialism.

D) The post World War II offensive by the bourgeoisie against the working-class was aimed at gaining control of the trade unions through red-baiting, jailing of leaders, anti-labor laws, and installing bribed and gangster leadership within the unions in order to destroy trade-union democracy and stabilize and control the labor movement. This period of McCarthyism was to enforce the aspect of political control over the mass organizations of the working class.

E) With the destruction of the industrial capacities of her rivals, the USNA imperialists had the field wide open to them for expansion and intense robbery of the oppressed nations formerly within the British, French, German and Japanese spheres of influence.

This unrivaled domination and plunder by the USNA brought back immense amounts of super-profits which were used to <sup>expand</sup> create an aristocracy of labor through bribery and the bourgeoisification of this upper sector of the working class. This blood

money was also used to raise the economic level of the working-class and give many a petty-bourgeois standard of living. Coupled with this was intense bourgeois propaganda of rabid anti-communism; "the U.S. is the best place in the world to live"; "free enterprise system is best", "Americans work harder, which is the reason for the high standard of living", "Socialism means starvation", etc.

It was this method then which enabled the bourgeoisie to win the working-class to its side in the aggression against the Korean people and imperialist expansion in general, and thus secure their backyard and momentarily extend their existence as a parasitic class ruling a decaying and moribund social system. It is through these distinct factors; extremely favorable conditions, and a correct reactionary strategy and tactics; that this most intelligent and vicious of all the bourgeoisies escaped the revolutionary crisis of the 1930's and secured for itself a few extra gasps of life.

↓ We must now analyze the motion of the present conditions, and whether the present economic and political crisis can be aborted from developing into a revolutionary crisis by the methods employed by the bourgeoisie previously.

The bourgeois state is becoming less capable of implementing programs to counter the present crisis. The increasing trade and balance of payments deficits, low productivity, expropriation of USNA companies abroad, and the necessity to maintain and expand the imperialist-military machine, are but a few factors which will limit their ability to cushion and slowdown the growing crisis. Under the present conditions there are five factors which will hinder the bourgeoisie from stopping the growth of a

**revolutionary crisis:**

A) At present the capitalists are cutting back welfare and poverty programs, funds for education, health, housing, in addition to slashing workers' wages through inflationary prices, wage freezes, and higher taxes. Since they will not use their own profits, the only way to institute work programs as a shock absorber is to raise the taxes of workers even higher and this of course will only anger the working class further and heighten the contradictions to a higher point. The bourgeoisie will make concessions if urgently necessary, however, the point is that their room to maneuver is becoming restricted as is their capital accumulation by the intense competition from the German, Japanese, and Soviet social-imperialists.

B) While revolution is the main trend in the world, the possibility of world war still exists. The present situation shows that war is a class question. As long as imperialism exists it must drive for super-profits and world conquest, making war inevitable. Lasting peace can only be won through defeating imperialism.

The USNA bourgeoisie will find it very hard to start another imperialist war very soon as it is still recovering from the bloody nose it received in Vietnam.

Everytime the imperialists start a war it hastens their decline further by mobilizing the masses against them in peoples' wars of national liberation in the colonies and neo-colonies and making socialism victorious once more.

The first imperialist world war brought about the creation of the first socialist workers state in the Soviet Union; the second imperialist world war brought into being the peoples' democra-

cies and socialism in eastern Europe, China, Korea, Mongolia, and Vietnam. The invasion of Korea by the combined imperialist powers in 1950 led to their being driven into the sea by the peoples' armies of Korea and China; the Indo-Chinese war waged by the French imperialists led to their defeat in 1954 by the Vietnamese peoples' army. The latest Indo-Chinese war waged by the USNA resulted in victories for the liberation forces in Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia.

The central point being that the imperialists have lost the alternative of starting another major war to find escape from the present crisis as it will only lead to the hastening of their destruction through more defeats, withering away of their resources, and further mobilizing the peoples of the world against them.

C) Another important factor closely related to that above, is the rapidly developing and advancing peoples' wars of national liberation in Africa, Latin America, Asia and Ireland.

The level of organization and strength of the oppressed nations' liberation struggles and their growing victories are slowly chopping away at the tentacles of the imperialist octopus. Every victory over imperialism causes it to lose more markets, raw materials, cheap labor, and capital.

Although the imperialists still use military aggression, it is on regional levels of counter-insurgency "brush fire" wars which are carried out by their puppets such as Iran, Brazil, South Africa, Mexico and by direct overthrow of governments.

The importance of these anti-imperialist struggles is that USNA capital is under attack on an increasing daily basis, with its ability to bring back superprofits to lull the USNA working-class into obedience being curtailed more and more.

The tremendous expansion by U.S.N.A. imperialism after W.W. II and the raping of the colonies and semi-colonies has now dialectically been transformed into its opposite - a shrinking of the spheres of influence and sources of plunder.

D) The once successful strategy of winning over the U.S. N.A. working-class to the capitalist democratic party and bringing the proletariat under the hegemony of the liberal bourgeoisie is in the process of deterioration.

The use of liberal millionaire capitalists politicians such as Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, Johnson, and their vague promises, idealist rhetoric, and hypocrite programs, such as the "new deal", "square deal", "new frontier", "great society", etc., can no longer win the confidence of the masses. They have been thoroughly exposed as a class of degenerates from Ted Kennedy driving his secretary into a swamp while drunk and not being prosecuted, to the widespread corruption, profiteering, and growing fascist acts of the present government.

The last presidential election had the lowest voter turnout this century, and there has been an 8% increase since 1970 of people who have rejected both bourgeois parties.

The mass of workers in the U.S. N.A. are thoroughly disgusted with the greed of the bourgeoisie as a class, and with bourgeois politics and parties in particular. They are seeking clarity and answers to their problems, and an outlet for their building anger, frustration, and confusion. In essence, they want leadership that is of their class, and reflects their class interests. When a political vacuum exists, it will either be filled by a proletarian party of a new type with

deep roots or by latent Hitler types.

E) The last factor, and in the final analysis the most decisive one is the subjective conscious factor - a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party of a new type.

In our study of the working-class struggle in this country, and in particular the struggle of the oppressed nationality workers and the "left" "leadership", we must gain from the experiences; both positive and negative, of the past struggles in order to derive certain objective laws in regard to the elements necessary to give victory to the forces of the proletarian revolution.

Armed then with the lessons of the past, what are our present tasks in this period and why are they important to us? They are of prime importance for the fundamental reason that we do not want the bourgeoisie to derail the revolutionary movement and proletarian revolution once again. We have a tremendous burden on our shoulders of worldwide significance - the overthrow of the bulwark of world reaction and counter-revolution and the building of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our main tasks then within this present period are:

1) To master thoroughly revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory derived from the teachings of Marx, Engles, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao-Te-Tung, and to teach and spread this theory which will become a powerful weapon in the hands of the advanced detachment of the proletariat.

2) Of this complex of tasks, the central link to building the chain of proletarian revolution, lies in building a new multi-national Marxist-Leninist party.



Only a proletarian vanguard possessing and guided by the most advanced theory, steeled in struggle, and tempered with Bolshevik hardening and discipline as taught by comrades Lenin and Stalin, can lead the working-class to victory when the revolutionary crisis arises once more. Only by the building of such a party of a new type, which is distinguished from the old C.P.U. S.A. (a populist party basing its outlook on bourgeois ideology, its social base being the petty-bourgeoisie and aristocracy of labor, and its political work that of social reforms) can the proletariat possess its own general staff capable of leading it into the impending revolutionary war and not be betrayed once again.

Such a party can come about only through participation in intense ideological and political struggle, with eventual unity on a revolutionary political program and line being the concrete basis for a material unity in the form of the new party. Therefore, unity of ideas will bring us unity of organization and political action.

3) To wage ideological struggle specifically against the present day, followers of counter-revolutionary trends based on the left and right deviations from Marxism-Leninism of Kautsky, Bernstein, Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev, Browder, and the present Kruschevites. The two most dangerous trends today are Trotskyism and modern revisionism, both trends act as agents of the bourgeoisie and disseminators of bourgeois ideology within the ranks of the revolutionary working-class movement, and are anti-Marxist-Leninist in essence.

4) To expose, explain concretely, and struggle against fascist ideology.

#### **A) Within the trade unions**

The unity of the trade-union movement can only be achieved from below, through the building of shop nuclei, left-center caucuses, and the winning of the masses in the trade unions by bringing the leadership under that of Marxist-Leninists, and ultimately that of the new party.

This rejects the present United Front strategy being pushed on the left of building up the progressive bureaucrats within the trade unions into a "center-left" leadership. The reactionary nature of this line is best testified to by the resulting capitulation, and liquidation of all their shop units and trade union factions by the C.P. during the 1930's when they pushed this right line.

To win the worker to the side of communism within the trade unions, we must as one of our tasks bring communism into the leadership of the trade unions and reject the opportunist theory of the C.P.'s William Foster of the "neutrality of the trade unions".

#### **B) Within the working-class**

To build a united working-class front by bringing to the forefront slogans and demands which unite the mass of union and non-union workers, different nationality workers, citizens and non-citizens, women and men, employed and unemployed, by showing them their common interests and need for a common front, in struggling for their immediate day to day demands and linking them to their ultimate interests. The objective then is to bring forward slogans and demands which will unite the class in struggle under Marxist-Leninist leadership, raising its class and political consciousness, and showing

that its interests as a class are in contradiction to those of the bourgeoisie. The united working-class front is an intraclass form of the united front.

C) Within the Chicano Liberation Movement

To develop a concrete political line on the national question in order to guide our work, enable us to raise consistent slogans and demands, and unify in a multi-class common front of Chicano workers, intellectuals, students, community, and petty-bourgeoisie.

This aspect of the struggle which is national in form, should bring national slogans and demands to the forefront coupled with a strong working-class line, as this struggle is in essence a class struggle. However, demands must also be raised in connection to the oppression of other classes within this Chicano United Front.

This united front within the Chicano movement should be based upon the mass organizations (workers, students, community, etc.) and given its leadership from the Chicano urban proletariat in close alliance with the rural proletariat under Marxist-Leninist leadership.

D) The most immediate task facing us at this moment is twofold:

A) To principally unite into a pre-party formation which is mainly oppressed nationalities in the present period. This does not restrict the recruitment of comrades of other nationalities into the pre-party form as the basis is that of ideological outlook and class. The composition is derived from objective reality, the composition of the groups uniting

and the sector of the working-class in which we have done most of our political work.

This pre-party form must be seen dialectically as an organizational form that is a transitional stage to the building of a new communist party in the U.S. N.A. The strategic objective of the party must not be lost sight of as some M.L. groups have done who refuse to struggle against their small-group mentality and sectarianism, and place obstacles in the way of subordinating their groupings to a higher form of unity and discipline. In addition, there are those "M-L" organizations who are in essence not pre-party formations since they see themselves as the party itself.

B) The building up of a core of experienced respected, and strong leadership tested in struggle against the class enemy and with a firm and well grounded grasp of revolutionary theory, in essence a core of stable full-time professional revolutionaries.

Directly linked to this is the intense and well-rounded training of cadres at all levels in a party style of work.

E) The 4 main contradictions within the USNA

1. Fundamental contradiction

A) Between the social character of production and the private ownership of the means of production.

11. -Principal contradiction

A) Between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

1. Principal aspect - bourgeoisie

2. Non-principal aspect - proletariat

a. Major characteristic and developing antagonism - national struggles led by op-

pressed nationality workers within the USNA multi-national state.

III. Non-principal contradictions

A) Between the masses of women and the bourgeoisie.

1. Principal aspect - bourgeoisie
2. Non-principal aspect - masses

of women.

A major characteristic and developing antagonism - working class women, in particular oppressed nationality women.

IV. Among the bourgeoisie itself

- A) Monopoly capitalists
- B) Middle-bourgeoisie
- C) Petty-bourgeoisie

F) Strategy for the present stage

Analysis of the balance of forces within the USNA.

A. Bourgeoisie

1. Monopoly capitalists
2. Middle-bourgeoisie
3. Petty-bourgeoisie
  - a. Peasantry

B. Intellectuals

C. Working-class

1. Aristocracy of labor
2. Non-production workers
3. Production workers

D. Lumpen proletariat

1. left wing
2. right wing

Allocation of the balance of forces and the reserves of the revolutionary movement.

A. Strategic aim

1. To isolate the class enemies of the people.

2. To transform the non-principal aspect-  
the power of the proletariat and its allies - into  
the principal aspect: the dominant force.

B. Tactics

1. To bring the spontaneous mass move-  
ment under the leadership of the new party and  
give it a conscious planned character.

2. To build a united front of all the ex-  
ploited and oppressed classes, given guidance by  
the party and its revolutionary political program.

3. Unite the class struggle with the  
national struggle in the USNA.

C. Who is to be isolated

1. the monopoly capitalists

2. the middle-bourgeoisie

D. Who is to be united as allies

1. Working-class

2. Petty-bourgeoisie

a. Peasantry

3. Intellectuals

4. Progressive elements from among the

lumpen

E. Reserves

1. Proletariat in the capitalist countries

2. National liberation forces in the col-  
onies and neo-colonies

F. Disposition of the forces of the United  
Front

a. Party

1. Trade unions

2. Working class

3. Masses

vs.

b. Monopoly capitalists

1. Middle-bourgeoisie

## REPORT ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

I. The general imperialist crisis and the present economic crisis in the capitalist world in general, and the USNA in particular, and its influence upon the four main contradictions in the world today.

A. The economic base of world capitalism and the intensification of the struggle for foreign markets and sources of raw materials.

1. The state of trade and production in major capitalist countries.

a. USNA - Since becoming a creditor rather than a debtor nation beginning in 1915 due to being a non-combatant for the great part of World War I and trading to both sides, the USNA has again become a debtor nation.

*in terms of trade and balance of payments deficits, however, the export of capital is increasing*

Statistics

Percentage of world trade

1913	21.2%
1925	26.6%
1947	32.4%
1957	20.6%
1969	15.6%
1970	15.5%

1/2 of total trade in 1960's was with Asia. Since 1966 <sup>over</sup> trade has begun to decrease. 1971 brought first trade deficit since 1893.

Figures for USNA Arms Sales *Abroad*

1961	2.4 billion	
1971	5.1 billion	
1961-1971	48.4 billion	- <sup>sd to</sup> 6 countries
Vietnam	5.2 billion	
1972	4.5 billion	

- a. Government to government direct sales -  
3.5
- b. Comm. sales private corporations to  
foreign governments: 580,622,000.
- c. Outright grants to governments  
549,892,000  
(1967 - 723,619,000)

USNA is <sup>\*</sup>becoming an agricultural exporter  
~~as in 1900's~~ in order to reverse deficits in trade.

This has influence upon efforts of USNA rural proletariat to organize which will be discussed later.

Production - Throughout most of this century the USNA has had one of the most efficient and productive economies with such innovations as the Taylor system, the mass production assembly line, rationalization of industry, etc. Since the 1960's this trend has reversed itself with productivity decreasing.

1. From 1960-1970, the USNA had lowest rates of increase in man-hour productivity of major industrial countries and the increase is slowing even more.

2. From 1969-70, the decrease in <sup>man-hour</sup> industrial ~~production~~ productivity was 7.6 %.

3. The last 3 months of 1970, industry operated at only 72% of its capacity which is the lowest level in 12 years; since recession of late 1950's.

4. By 1975 what small increase there is will have stopped and <sup>a constant</sup> decrease will begin.

5. By 1985 industrial <sup>product per man-hour</sup> output will fall to the 1965 level.

### Causes

1. Post W.W.II production was geared to internal USNA domestic market and not to for-

\* growing dependant on agricultural exports as in the 1800's & 1900's



eign markets as were competitors, i.e., Japanese.

2. USNA capitalized foreign industry, that is new machinery, production equipment, etc., with loan and military account dollars, 8% of national income is for military spending, much of which was spent in Germany and Japan for occupation forces and wars -- Korea, Vietnam.

3. Pushing of petty-bourgeois ideology that everyone should go to college, get educated, and get a "good job" doing mental and pencil pushing work rather than production work. In other capitalist countries, production work is not looked down upon as <sup>much</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>by the workers</sup>.

### Results

1. From 1950-70 production workers increased by 5.4 million - non production workers increased 20.1 million; 4-1 ratio, 73.3%. Production workers must produce more to support non-production jobs - government jobs, service industries, etc.

2. By 1970 28 million production workers, 43 million non production workers.

3. From 1947-70 manufacturing productivity increased only 97%, while agricultural productivity increased 287% which has prevented ~~even~~ <sup>the</sup> worsening of conditions <sup>for the bourgeoisie</sup>.

4. With increase of demand upon production workers to support non-production strata, overtime <sup>and speedups</sup> must be used.

5. With overtime, output of productivity per man-hour declines.

### Gold and Foreign Currency Reserves in Billions

1949	-	24.5	1959	-	19.5
1969	-	14.6	1970	-	11.7
			1973	-	10 billion gold left

## Unemployment

1971 6%, 5.4 million  
1974 5.2%, 4.7 million  
1975 5.7%, 5.3 million  
(est.)

Figures do not include millions of "hidden" unemployed and underemployed.

## Inflation

1. Amount of currency, banknotes, checks increased 5.4 times in 30 years.

1939-69 37,390 million to 203,600 million  
1971 226,700 million  
1972 246,800 million - rose 11%

2. Prices

1960-65 rose 6.6%  
1965-70 rose 27.0%  
1968-70 rose 15.0%

Purchasing power has fallen 62% in last 30 years.

Major causes - printed more paper money to cover Vietnam war.

## Balance of payments

1. Deficits

1950-70 48,400 billion  
1972 10,000 billion  
600 million above 1971

1973 8000-8,5 billion

Vietnam war added 1 billion yearly to deficit.

2. National Debt

Ceiling has been raised 22 times in 16 years

1945 278 billion, 700 million  
1970 389 billion, 200 million  
1971 405 billion, 000 4

21,000 million interest annually  
\$8,000 owed for every household of 4 (average)

## Raw Materials and Oil Consumption

1. Oil - up to 1970 USNA self sufficient in oil production, more supply than demand.

1971 - ~~planned~~ decrease in production, consumption rising

1972 - 27% imported

1973 - 33% imported

## Agricultural sector

Farm exports

1953 - 2.8 billion

1973 - 17.0 billion

1974 - 20.0 billion

caused first trade surplus since 1970

The 8 billion dollars more of exports, than imports offset industrial trade deficit - will allow USNA to pay for oil. USNA exports 3/4 of all wheat, 2/3 rice, 1/2 soybeans and cattle hides,

1/3 cotton and tobacco, <sup>produced</sup> 1/4 ~~food grains~~ of total world trade, <sup>of food grains</sup> USNA accounts for 89% soybeans,

3/4 corn, 1/2 wheat flour <sup>produced in the world.</sup> Previously food exports were used for propagan-

da purposes - aid to famine stricken countries, etc., now a weapon in diplomacy.

Asia is now the biggest market surpassing Europe

1974 - Japan to buy 3 billion, China 1 billion, ~~all~~ & Asia 8 billion, Europe 6 billion, Latin America 2/7 more, Africa double ~~their~~ 1973 purchases.

Japan - percentage of world trade

Volume

1948

0.4 %

1963-68

1971

1972

1958

2.8%

5 billion in profits

2.2 billion in profits

3.8 billion in profits

Has been shut out of European common markets.

USNA - Number one customer - <sup>account for</sup> 30% of Japan's trade.  
Next - <sup>Japan</sup> Asia, Latin America, Canada - if USNA  
shuts her out, must turn to China and USSR as  
domestic sales and exports cannot keep up with  
production; dollar devaluation has hurt USNA  
trade. <sup>Japan</sup>

### Production Increase

1948 - 1.0%

1958 - 3.5%

1969 - 8.5%

1970 - 9.4%

1951- Industry restored to pre-war level <sup>with an</sup> of annual rate of industrial development <sup>of</sup> 14% as compared to <sup>the</sup> capitalist world average. Rapid concentration of production and capital through mergers 6 big financial groups control 67.2% of total loans on all enterprises undertaken - state monopoly capitalism - Mitsubishi, Mitsui, Sumitomo, Da-ichi, Yusuda. Compared to USNA - produced superior products - cars, iron, steel, ship-building, optics, industry and science, electronics, textiles -- productivity per man-hour, 1960-70 was so great that by 1977 will double that of 1970, by 1981 will triple that of 1970.

### Causes

Infusion of USNA capital, technology during Korea war; however, allowed no direct investments. Tried to attain high rate of growth and quality high profit exports where USNA could not compete.

Price-wise.

Forbidden to re-arm, spent all national income for production purposes. In 1960's began arms production.

### Technology

1950-68 foreign capitalists gave \$5,500 million

worth technical assistance, USNA gave \$3,300 million, 59.4%.

Has led to overproduction in iron and steel products, autos, machine tools, construction materials, appliances, petroleum products.

#### Gold & Foreign Currency Reserves

Holds millions of USNA dollars - yen-stable/foreign exchange reserves - 16 billion.

#### Balance of Payments

Favorable, however, Japanese monopoly capitalism dependent on USNA through 300 treaties. 1950-68 total investment in Japan, <sup>7<sup>00</sup></sup>2,000 million. USNA, 80% through military contracts for occupation forces in Korea, Vietnam, which have been enormous sources of capital for Japan - since 1965 received \$10,000 million in USNA military orders.

Super profits from investments in Phillipines, Taiwan, South Korea, Hawaii, Latin America and USNA.

#### Oil Consumption and Raw Materials.

Depends on USNA trade for oil, iron ore, coke. Majority of oil is imported from Arab countries - 85% imported, 90% iron ore. No natural resources of its own, totally dependent on foreign raw materials - EXXON, MOBIL, GULF, SHELL, BRITISH PETROLEUM sell Japan 60% of its oil.

#### Unemployment

Less than 1%

#### Inflation

Prices of homes doubled - shortages, also shortages of timber, meat \$14.00 per pound. Devaluation of dollar means USNA goods cheaper.

~~Europe~~ Percentage of world production  
Production

A. Britain

<u>1948</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
11.2	9.7	7.1	7.1

B. Germany

<u>1948</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
3.6	9.4	9.4	9.7 slowing

C. FRANCE

<u>1948</u>	<u>1958</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
3.9	4.9	4.6	4.7

*90 & World's*

Trade

A. BRITAIN

<u>1947</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
9.8	9.2	7.27	7.0

B. GERMANY

<u>1947</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
0.5	9.0	12.0	12.3 1/2

C. FRANCE

<u>1947</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
4.0	5.3	6.2	6.4

*90 & World's*

Gold + foreign currency reserves

A. BRITAIN

<u>1949</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
16.88	27.35	25.27	25.61

B. GERMANY

<u>1949</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
2.01	45.22	68.27	124.35

C. FRANCE

<u>1949</u>	<u>1959</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>
8.00	17.00	38.00	47.89

Unemployment

Britain, Germany, France; <sup>Germany:</sup> 270,000 ± 1 million

The characteristic feature in the period 1945-73 is the Marxist-Leninist law of uneven development of production and trade in the capitalist world. This development is dialectical and does not proceed in a smooth even

manner with each capitalist country following one another proportionately.

Certain capitalist countries are developing faster than others and are undergoing a process of growth, others are stabilizing and beginning to decline, while a third group has been declining for a certain period of time now. This manifests itself in a vicious struggle for markets, raw materials, and new spheres of influence.

The economic center is thus shifting from the U.S.N.A. to Asia and the Soviet Union.

It previously shifted from Europe in the period 1919-41; examples:

#### U.S.N.A.

Has begun to decline economically after the last 2 imperialist wars in Korea + Indo-China. Military spending to defend her empire has caused deficits in trade, balance of payments, gold, oil.

#### GERMANY

Has experienced a steady growth since 1945, however has begun to stabilize as production slowing. Econ. growth 1% in 74, unit labor cost since 70-82%, exports-7% U.S. N.A. 8% 1974 U.S.N.A. 14%-11% others.

#### BRITAIN

Been declining steadily from effects of 2 imperialist world wars, loss of colonies, and militant working-class struggles and strikes.

#### FRANCE

Experienced marginal growth since W.W.II, has begun to stabilize, loss of colonies, general strike 1968, more unrest, especially by the *working class and its allies, the petty* petty-bourgeoisie.

#### JAPAN

Rapid development in past was interrupted by defeat in W.W.II - since 1945 has spurred

ahead of other capitalist countries, thus Japan as an imperialist power is in process of development and growth.

### SOVIET UNION

Steady industrial growth, except in agriculture. Is in process of development and growth as an imperialist power. Second highest gold production after So. Africa.

Contradiction between production growth and stability of markets, and <sup>necessity for war</sup> ~~scarcity of raw materials especially~~ <sup>also</sup> oil.

~~Contradictions~~ A. Main contradiction - oil needs †

B. Secondary contradiction - saturation of its markets by foreign imperialists.

### Conclusion

Economic warfare (tariffs, dumping, devaluations, etc.) will lead to a new struggle for a redivision of new-colonies and spheres of influence and new imperialist aggression.

## II. Foreign policy of imperialism and social-imperialism

A. Principal contradiction in the world today - between imperialism and social-imperialism and the oppressed nations.

### 1. Africa

(a) U.S.N.A. capital and imperialism moving in quickly especially into South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique. Portugal is being supported by the U.S.N.A. financially and with arms to stop the liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, Guiana, Bisseau. U.S.N.A. watching with interest latest developments in Portugal.

In return U.S.N.A. receives preferential treatment for its capital in investments, markets, raw materials. e.g. Gulf Oil; also, use of



Azores Islands bases. Is rich in raw materials and as a prospective market.

(b) Build up of South Africa as a sub-imperialist ~~external~~ power to police and repress the <sup>national</sup> liberation struggles ~~for U.S.N.A. interests such as Ford, Frelimo, and the native working-class movements within So. Africa and Rhodesia.~~

French sent troops to CHAD 1968-71 to smash liberation movement, still have troops there.

(c) Resources - coal, phosphates, zinc, lead, magnanese, tin, antimony, silver, molydenum, copper, gold. Congo uranium.

## 2. Mid-east (Arab nations)

Historically controlled since WW.I by French and British whose last political move in the area was in 1956 Suez invasion along with Israel when Egypt threatened to nationalize the canal.

Most Arab nations independent formally, however, neo-colonial relationships set up primarily with U.S.N.A.

U.S.N.A. imperialism

(a) Zionist imperialism of Israel financed and armed by U.S.N.A. as a sub-imperialist power to police area; also, Iran being built up as another sub-imperialist power in Persian gulf area. Recently signed a 20 year agreement to export oil to U.S. N.A.

U.S.N.A. fleet based in Greek ports.

Building with modern arms a U.S.N.A. - Israel-Iran pincer movement against the organization of Arab petroleum exporting countries (oapec); mainly Kuwait, Iraq, Arabia, Jordan. U.S.N.A. investments in Iran and Israel are dominant.

(b) Social imperialism

\* such as that led by FRELIMO in Mozambique, and the native working class movements within So. Africa and Rhodesia for social imperialism.

Since 1960's has moved into fill vacuum left by Britain which had controlled Gulf region and India; also controlled every country and sealane in the mid-east.

The objective of Soviet social imperialism is to gain control economically, militarily (fleets + ports), and politically, the strategic area of the Persian Gulf for southward expansionist drive to Indian Ocean region. The mid-east is geographically strategic area whose airports and sealanes link U.S.S.R. and Europe to the Indian Ocean.

The revisionists try to use the Egyptian bourgeoisie and their nationalism as instruments of their social-imperialist foreign policy and to build influence, gain concessions and build dependence of certain Arab countries. The U.S.S.R. allows the build-up by the U.S.N.A. of the Iran-Israeli pincer against O.A.P.E.C. thus pushing them further into reliance on the revisionists.

The two superpowers do not want peace nor total war and victory in the mid-east nor a final settlement to the Palestinian question. The solution of the Palestinian question would remove the U.S.N.A.'s hold on Israel and Iran as instruments for their imperialist policy in the Mid-east and their necessity to control the sources of oil. For the U.S.N.A. the control of the occupied territories by Israel is necessary for her interests while the revisionists do not want a total Arab victory as this would lessen their dependence on U.S.S.R. arms aid; therefore, the two superpowers must have continuous tension in order to penetrate and manipulate the region economically, militarily, politically in order to

gain access to <sup>the region's</sup> oil at the expense of the Palestinian ~~people~~ <sup>and other Arab people</sup>.

(c) Proven oil reserves in the world (1972) 90,000 million tons 1/2 is in the Gulf region. 1972 oil output was 880 million tons 1/3 world total 80% of oil supplies in world oil markets come from the Gulf region, every 14 minutes a tanker leaves for different parts of the world.

The U.S.N.A. has control of oil production and the marketing network. The revisionists want to send the less expensive mid-eastern oil to the Caucasus and fulfill her contracts with west Europe with their own oil and receive hard currency in exchange; also to retain control over East European oil markets. The Soviets get oil and natural gas from the Arabs for repayment of loans<sup>†</sup> to Europe. Uses Social-imperialist slogan that: "Mideastern oil is international property" - an imperialist logic. Thus by economic and political control over the sources of oil, the revisionists wish to ensure west European dependence on Soviet oil in order to split NATO.

(d) There is a possibility of closer ties between West-European imperialists and the Arab and African countries and a break in the western alliance with the U.S.N.A. over the dollar crisis, trade deficits, and oil.

The basis for a closer unity between Arabs and West Europe is that:

- 1) Europe needs oil, raw materials, and markets
- 2) The Arabs need technology to industrialize, hard currency from non-US.N.A. or British sources, thus oil sales will be oriented to European countries with stable currencies.

<sup>85</sup>  
† or to make up trade deficits, thus forcing down  
the price of oil and raw materials.

### III. Asia

#### A) U.S.N.A.

After second imperialist world war, U.S.N.A. took over Japanese empire and spheres of influence such as markets, raw materials. Developed to become militarily, economically, and politically, the number one power in the region. Filled the vacuum left by other declining imperialist powers such as:

1. Britain: - U.S.N.A. moved into India, Pakistan, Australia, New Zeland, Taiwan, Burma, Malayesia; only Hong Kong remained to British.
2. France: - U.S.N.A. moved into Indo-China.
3. Holland: - U.S.N.A. moved into Indonesia.

The U.S.N.A. financed, armed, and supported Chang Kai Chek to stop socialism in China and keep the status quo and take-over Japan's, Britain's, and France's interests in China - failed, set up puppet state of Taiwan. Financed the armed aggression against Korea in 1950 with intervention of U.S.N.A. troops, failed, set up puppet state of So. Korea taking over Japanese interests. Financed, armed, and supported France to stop independence movements in Indo-China and keep these nations as colonies. Failed, set up puppet state of So. Vietnam, Thailand, Laos.

Smashed the Huk movement in the Philippines after giving independence on paper - setting up a neo-colonial puppet state.

Financed and armed the British to defeat the revolutionary movement in Malayesia. The U.S.N.A. has financed the built up Japan as a sub-imperialist power and junior partner in the pacific and as a future defense against the national liberation movements.

#### B) Japan

1) In the area of capital investments she is becoming the strongest economic power in east Asia to the detriment of U.S.N.A. imperialism. Japan is now the number one investor in Thailand, So. Korea, Taiwan, and controls 60% of all investments in the Philippines. Is now number two investor in Hong Kong, rapidly gaining in Indo-China, especially Vietnam, Indonesia, Malaysia.

Has invested in and built oil refineries in Okinawa, Taiwan, So. Vietnam, Singapore. Textile plants have been built in Taiwan, Hong King, So. Korea. Has invested heavily in mining in Indonesia, Singapore, Malay sia, India.

#### Pacific rim strategy

The U.S.N.A. <sup>has led</sup> ~~will head~~ along with her junior partner Japan <sup>and</sup> ~~along with~~ industrial nations of Canada, Australia, New Zeland, an imperialist integrated market system which would include the rest of the neo-colonial countries in the Pacific region. The U.S.N.A. would export certain raw materials, oil, foodstuffs, machinery, consumer goods, and invest more in Japan and Australia.

Japan - exports textiles, machinery, consumer goods.

Australia, Canada, New Zeland - exports foodstuff and raw materials to Japan

Neo-colonial countries - So. Vietnam, So. Korea, Taiwan, Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, would supply raw materials to industrial countries and provide future markets in an international division of labor. Since this strategy was laid out a few years back, Japan has developed even more rapidly and the U.S.N.A. has declined; Japan is now refusing to play the role

of junior imperialist as she needs new markets and raw materials badly.

The new imperialist policy between Japan and the U.S.N.A. will be to try and share the region in an equal partnership i.e., in Indonesia the U.S.N.A. controls bauxite, oil, rubber, copper, while Japan controls the finance sector, nickel, fishing and lumber.

2) Militarily - Has doubled expenditures for arms and building up the army; has stated that the security of So. Korea is the security of Japan and that Japan will defend So. Korea in case of war or revolution.

Has had problems with Singapore over using the straits of Malaca to transport oil from mid-east; is building an oil pipeline across Thailand to avoid using straits and will need to defend Thai government from national liberation movement. *to safeguard her oil imports from the \**

Will have the military and political role of suppressing national liberation struggles in region and keeping neo-colonialism intact to keep markets, raw materials and especially oil secure.

Has begun to trade more with China and U.S.S.R. to gain more independence from the U.S.N.A.

#### Soviet Union - Economic moves

The revisionists began to move into Asia in the early 1960's with an increase in aid, loans, investments especially in India. Has also begun competing for markets and raw materials in this region.

Trying to lure Japanese into an Asian collective security treaty thru promises of oil from Siberian fields - a joint venture by revisionists and Japanese to build a 2.5 billion dollar

pipeline and refinery which will develop oil resources in Siberia and provide 50 million tons per year to Japan.

### Politically

Has begun to displace U.S.N.A. imperialism in India, helped India in war of aggression to partition Pakistan which is a Chinese ally and created the neo-colonial puppet state of Bangladesh.

Has given no support to the national liberation struggle in the Philippines and has attacked the new communist party and new peoples army. In Cambodia, until recently maintained relations with and supported the reactionary Lon Nol government; is trying to surround and isolate China with puppet states much as U.S.N.A. did in the past.

### Militarily

Had to give arms to the Vietnamese or lose face among socialist countries and national liberation struggles in general.

Thru detente in Europe with western imperialists has been able to mass troops in the peoples republic along the Chinese border along with armored divisions.

Has been building up her fleet and naval bases in the Indian Ocean to counteract U.S. N.A. naval power.

## IV. Ireland

### a) economically

Northern Ireland and the Irish Republic are an outright colony and neo-colony of British imperialism. Earlier in this century when its bourgeois-democratic revolution occurred, the Irish republic declared its independence, however, economic independence was not achieved as the <sup>national</sup> bourgeoisie of Ireland and the

economy remained tied to British imperialism.

b) politically

Britain helped finance the split in the Irish republican army in 1969 by the anti-Marxist and <sup>reactionary</sup> nationalist provisionals. <sup>Reaction</sup> The line of the provisionals is terrorism as a form of struggle and sectarianism in attacking protestant workers and pushing for a united capitalist Ireland which in all likelihood would still be under British economic domination. The provisionals have succeeded in destroying much mass support thru bombings, assassinations of protestant workers, etc., even the republic in the south has turned against them.

The official I.R.A. has ceased military operations, wants to unite the catholic and protestant workers for a united socialist Ireland thru mass political struggles not individual terrorism. *The official IRA are revisionists*

c) militarily

The I.R.A. provisionals purchases arms from the U.S.N.A. and Czechoslovakia for British imperialism which is in a state of economic crisis at home, this is their version of Vietnam, it is a drain because of the military expenditures, the increasing casualties, and bombings within Britain itself by the I.R.A.

The British strategy has been to encourage the terrorism and sectarianism of the provisionals to keep the working-class divided and prevent the establishment of a united, independent, and socialist Ireland.

V. East Europe

a) economically

A neo-colonial relationship exists between east European revisionists and the revisionist - social imperialists of the U.S.S.R. - sphere of

\* Look to the Soviet Union for 90 ideological leadership



influence much like U.S.S.A. and Latin America.  
b) politically

All subordinate revisionist parties are toeing the Moscow line; Tito of Yugoslavia was the first revisionist, now U.S.S.R. and others are aligned with Tito ideologically.

The Soviet revisionists have been trying to pressure, threaten, and isolate Albania which has kept her independence and Marxist-Leninist line.

Aggression and intervention in affairs of other countries shown by invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 as the Dubcek government was becoming more revisionist and capitalistic than the Soviet revisionists themselves and moving toward the U.S.N.A. sphere of influence. Social-Imperialists also threatened to invade Romania which was trying to get out from under control of U.S.S.R. U.S.S.R. has also threatened Albania.

## LATIN AMERICA

USNA imperialist dominance began at the turn of the century, propelled by the expansionist needs of the USNA domestic economy. While on the increase, U.S. private investments in Latin America remained small in comparison with European investments in the region until after World War I. By 1914 USNA direct investments in Latin America amounted to \$1.7 billion, surpassing France (\$1.2 billion), and Germany (\$0.9 billion), but lagging far behind Britain (\$3.7 billion).

USNA investments were highly concentrated in relation to country and sector -- until 1913 2/3's of USNA direct investment in Latin America was in Mexico. In 1914 Mexico's percentage declined due to new investments in Chile, Brazil and Venezuela. In 1913 Cuba and the Caribbean had approximately 20% of the direct investment capital. By 1914 Cuba and Mexico accounted for 2/3's of the USNA direct investments.

In 1914 the USNA economic penetration of Latin America by sector was :

mining --	43.5%
railways --	13.7%
agriculture --	18.7%
oil --	10. %

By 1914 the stage was set for the USNA to pre-empt Britain as the principal source of capital for Latin America. Because of economic problems caused by World War I and the internal contradictions of her economy Britain was surpassed as the investment leader in Latin America by the USNA by 1929. USNA as-

endency (40% of all foreign investment) was primarily due to the rapid decline in Britain's ability to hold the edge in the loan and bond markets. USNA portfolio investments increased by \$1.7 billion from 1914 to 1929. During this period the shift in investments was from Mexico to Columbia, Venezuela and South America in general. However, in 1929 Mexico and Cuba still had 28% and 27% of USNA investment capital respectively.

<u>Percentage of USNA investment</u>		
<u>1914</u>		<u>1929</u>
Argentina	-- 3%	11%
Brazil	-- 4%	9%
Chile	-- 1%	7%

The principal methods of USNA penetration were loans and branch plants. The buying up of British properties (especially railways) and the movement into German investments (which were confiscated under USNA pressure during the War) were also significant.

The shift from geographic concentration in Mexico and Cuba to greater emphasis in the South American countries brought on investments by the Guggenheims in Chilean nitrates, Standard Oil in Argentina, American Foreign Power and IT&T in Brazilean, Argentine and Chilean public utilities. Other companies contributing to this shift were Firestone, Colgate-Palmolive and International Harvester.

Although USNA investments had spurted ahead from 1880 to 1929 the truly gigantic growth of USNA imperialistic investments was to occur

in the decades of the 1950's and the 1960's corresponding to the full development of the multinational corporations.

After World War II USNA investors had little competition from old European Empires, particularly in Latin America. The 1950's saw the USNA government playing an increasingly greater role in stimulating USNA overseas investments. This was facilitated by a foreign policy that sought to "stave off the international conspiracy of godless communism", the product of a state department subordinated to the interests of the multinationals.

Between 1946 and 1950 600 new businesses went into Latin America, bringing the total to 2000 business units, 90% of which were concentrated in the hands of 300 corporations.

#### Direct USNA Investments in Latin America

1946	--	\$3 billion (book value)
1961	--	\$8 billion (book value)

#### Portfolio Investments -- average annual flow

1951-1955	--	\$ 53 million/year
1956-1961	--	\$119 million/year

By 1969 USNA total investments in Latin America rose to over \$13 billion. Between 1945 and 1961 distribution of USNA investments by regions and sectors was still highly concentrated, particularly in Brazil, Argentina and Mexico.

#### Sectors of USNA Investment -- 1957

Petroleum	--	\$3.0 billion
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Manufacturing	--	\$1.7 billion
Mining	--	\$1.2 billion
Public Utilities	--	\$1.3 billion
Agriculture	--	less than \$1 billion

This increase in manufacturing still did not keep pace with other sectors. Between 1955 and 1960 the percentage of USNA capital in manufacturing dropped by 13%. USNA investments were centered mainly on primary extractive industries, particularly petroleum.

The outflow of profits on USNA investments from 1950 to 1960 was \$25.8 billion. Dollar inflow was only \$9 billion.

Mineral Imports into USNA from Latin America

1969

(in raw state—does not include refined minerals)

<u>Mineral</u>	<u>Percentage of USNA needs supplied by Latin America</u>	<u>Countries</u>
Bauxite	99 %	Jamaica 58%
		Surinam 23%
		Dominican Re-
		public 7%
		Haiti 5%
		Guyana 3%
		Venezuela 3%
Manganese ore	36 %	Brazil 35% Guyana 1%
Copper	60 %	Chile 30% Peru 30%

Iron Ore	43 %	Venezuela	34%
		Chile	4%
		Brazil	3%
		Peru	2%
Lead Ore	31 %	Mexico	19%
		Honduras	12%
Zinc Ore	35 %	Mexico	25%
		Peru	10%
Petroleum (crude)	31 %	Venezuela	27%
		Bolivia	
		Chile	4%
		Colombia	

**Earnings on USNA Direct Investments in Latin America - 1969**

Total	\$1.8 billion
Mining & Smelting	\$1.5 billion
Petroleum	\$0.5 billion
Manufacturing	\$0.5 billion
Other	\$0.3 billion

Of course over the years of USNA economic penetration into Latin America they have not hesitated to reinforce their position with armed intervention -- from the invasion of Cuba by Marines in 1909, to the invasion of Nicaragua in 1912. There was also Pershing's "excursion" into Mexico in the 1900's, to the invasion of Cuba in 1961 and the Dominican Republic in 1965.

There is also the "indirect" intervention. In 1954 the USNA engineered the overthrow of the progressive Arbenz regime in Guatemala. Last year the CIA financed and promoted the fascist coup in Chile.

The intensified crisis of world imperialism with the rise of the struggles of the underdeveloped countries of the Third World for liberation

has seen a corresponding rise in the national liberation struggles in Latin America, and a rise in the "nationalism" of certain sectors of the Latin American bourgeoisie. This resulted, in the period from 1952 to 1971, in 37 different expropriations of USNA properties in Latin America by 11 different countries. The only complete break with USNA imperialism was made by Cuba, which in 1959-1960 nationalized all foreign properties. The Chilean nationalizations were, and are being reversed by the ruling fascist junta. USNA response has generally been to force compensation through the credit pressure generated by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the AID program. Countries which expropriate find that all avenues of financial help (credit, bonds, etc.) are cut off to them until "just and prompt" compensation is made for nationalized properties.

In the case of Cuba the USNA imposed a complete embargo of all trade and finance -- which of course was violated by her imperialist "allies" in Europe and Japan.

Attempts, like the Andean Common Market (Colombia, Chile, Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador), have proven largely unsuccessful in halting USNA imperialist dominance over their economies. With Peru the move has been from the frying pan into the fire -- pushing out USNA imperialism through one door and letting in Soviet social-imperialism through the other -- or else combining imperialist investment (and domination) ala Yugoslavia.

### THE SUBJECTIVE FACTOR

The only country in Latin America to suc-

cessfully defeat and drive out USNA imperialism was Cuba. In 1959 the Cuban liberation forces under the leadership of Fidel Castro defeated the last contingents of the Batista regime. In 1961 Cuba was proclaimed the "first free territory of the Americas" -- a socialist country.

The seizure of power in Cuba was accomplished politically by conducting armed guerilla struggle in the countryside combined with mass political actions by the working class in the cities directed by a general staff located in the mountains. Hence, it was not only the guerilla warfare which brought power to the people of Cuba. However, the Cuban revolution generated many revisionist ideas about revolution in Latin America -- the major ones being the following:

1. A vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party of the proletariat was not needed to lead the revolutionary struggles of the Latin American masses;
2. The "model" for revolution in Latin America was armed guerilla warfare conducted in the country side;
3. Guerilla "focos" would generate and lead the revolutionary struggles -- would create the objective and subjective conditions for revolution.

What these ideas (in combination with the betrayal of the revisionist parties) led to was a rise in guerilla activity throughout Latin America and their defeat -- Che Guevara in Bolivia, Los Tupamaros in Uruguay, Marighela in Brazil, the guerillas in Guatemala and Venezuela, etc., etc.

What followed was a turn to the right -- revisionism. Revisionism has strong roots and a long history in Latin America -- as long ago as the 1930's the Communist Parties of Cuba and



Chile were advocating the peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism.

Modern revisionism received its first real test in Chile in 1969. The Communist Party of Chile was the main force in the Allende government with a consistent policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie at the expense of the proletariat, seizing power peacefully by stages, etc. This policy of failing to smash the bourgeois state apparatus and to arm the Chilean workers to seize and maintain power under the dictatorship of the proletariat gave the Chilean fascists an easy entry into power with the resulting slaughter of thousands of Chilean workers and revolutionaries. The principal error made by the USNA left in summing up Chile is that they played down the fact that the Chilean proletariat had no Communist Party of a new type to lead them in their struggle -- without such a party victory cannot be won. The new revisionists also fail to perceive that the "mass movement" was tremendously advanced and militant in Chile -- it did not need to be built. In spite of this, the advances of the mass movement (and the summing up of these advances) did not and could not create a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party. Such are the lessons of Chile

It is not a band of guerilla heroes, or an anarcho-syndicalist mass movement which will smash the imperialist monster in Latin America, but the Latin American masses themselves under the leadership of the proletariat and their respective vanguard parties -- parties guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism.

In Cuba itself, the failure to understand this lesson (e.g., Castro attacking the concept of "Stalinist" parties), has allowed the old Cuban

CP revisionists to slip into power and make Cuba a "satellite" of Soviet social-imperialism.

These bitter lessons of the 1960's and early 1970's are being summed up by the honest Marxist-Leninist forces of Latin America. The Communist Party of Bolivia (Marxist-Leninist) and the Movimiento Obrero de Izquierda Revolucionario of Colombia stand in the forefront of those revolutionaries upholding the banner of Marxism-Leninism. Also in February 1974 was founded the Junta for Revolutionary Coordination (composed of MIR of Chile, National Liberation Movement of Uruguay, National Liberation Army of Bolivia, and the People's Revolutionary Army of Argentina), which called for Mass People's Struggle against Imperialism and its allies under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist Party. It remains to be seen, of course, what their plan for party building entails in practice -- but they pointed out the correct path.

### NEW DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

Trotskyists and other anti-Marxist-Leninists argue that there is not a two stage revolution in Latin America, (or in any part of the underdeveloped world), but only a one-stage socialist revolution. Their argument rests on the premise that there is no longer any traces of feudalism in Latin America, and that all Latin American countries are merely and solely underdeveloped capitalist countries. The actual fact is that Latin America is characterized by a pre-capitalist modes of production in the countryside maintained by USNA imperialism to preserve its hegemony in the area. If these pre-capitalist forms were not maintained the internal dynamic of capitalism would move towards the

conflict with and removal of all obstacles to that growth, including USNA imperialism. The policy of imperialism in the backward countries is geared to maintaining feudal survivals in agriculture which expresses itself in the land tenure structures and the power of the large landholders, even though imperialism allows for some development in industry, etc., which creates a capital market, an investment market, and the maintenance of the international commodity market. In Latin America capitalism and feudalism co-exist with capitalism dialectically on the rise and the feudal survivals in the countryside on the decline.

Therefore before there can be socialist revolution in Latin America the imperialist obstacle with its feudal front must be smashed. The proletariat and their vanguard parties must ally themselves with the masses of the peasantry (as their main ally), and all other sections of the population (including sections of the national bourgeoisie) which seek to overthrow imperialism and to destroy the power of the feudal landlords.

These will not be bourgeois democratic revolutions of the old type, led by the bourgeoisie, but will be new democratic in that they will be led by the proletariat and its party -- leading to the establishment of a democratic dictatorship of all anti-imperialist classes. It is only the proletarian leadership that guarantees that the new democratic revolution will be oriented towards the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat, and it is only this leadership which can permit an alliance with such an unstable ally as the national bourgeoisie. Without the leadership of the proletariat and its party each new-democratic revolution faces the danger of compromise and defeat under the leadership of the bourgeoisie.

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## INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

### **Conclusions:**

Four main contradictions in the world.

1) Principal contradiction in world today between imperialism and social-imperialism, and the oppressed nations of the world.

1) Principal aspect

The main force at the present time within this aspect is still U.S.N.A. imperialism, as it still plays the leading and dominant role in the oppressing of nations and in waging wars of imperialist aggression and spearheading counter-revolution in trying to stop the national liberation struggles.

However, the force of this principal aspect, that is the strength of U.S.N.A. imperialism is on the decrease and a process of decline is taking place. Its strength based upon neo-colonial control and exploitation, unchallenged domination of spheres of influence, and national oppression is under intense attack from the national liberation forces and rival imperialist powers. In addition there is the intensifying class struggle at home.

The decline of the U.S.N.A. imperialist economic base in the form of inflation, trade deficits, overproduction, military expenditures, had restricted the capability of the U.S.N.A. imperialists to strategically defend and maintain their empire.

2) The older and declining imperialist powers such as Britain and France which at a previous stage were the dominant forces in national oppression, and others such as Portugal, Italy, Holland, Belgium, and Germany, will decrease even further in the present stage economically,

\* principal contradiction through the new democratic and socialist revolutions in the oppressed nations become the principal aspect in this contradiction.

politically, and militarily, as the crises they are undergoing are but the tip of the iceberg, especially the growing rejection of the bourgeois parties in those countries.

The national liberation struggles in Latin America, Africa, <sup>the</sup> Mideast and Ireland, coupled with a new revolutionary upsurge at home will accelerate the resolution of this <sup>non-principal aspect of the</sup> ~~non-principal aspect through socialist revolution.~~ <sup>occuring</sup>

Those imperialist powers who are in a rapid process of development and ascendance are Soviet social-imperialism and Japanese imperialism. Japanese imperialism, while experiencing a rapid growth, is also experiencing rapid contradictions which will hinder her further development:

- A) inflation and overproduction
- B) a growing Left within the country
- C) lack of necessary raw materials, especially oil
- D) lack of a large and worldwide military apparatus to expand and consolidate her gains.

The revisionist Soviet social-imperialists are dialectically in the process of rapid growth and development economically with their state capitalism and growing bourgeoisie investing larger amounts of capital in underdeveloped countries. Their political domination and military strength are spreading quickly especially in the Mid-east, Asia, Latin America (Cuba + Peru), and Africa.

The Soviet revisionists are quantitatively and rapidly changing from their ~~non-principal~~ <sup>present</sup> position of being a subordinate force to that of <sup>the</sup> a dominant force. <sup>within the principal aspect</sup> ~~as~~ the principal contradiction in the world.

The growing economic crisis within the major capitalist countries manifested in the growing impoverishment of the masses through attacks on their living standards through inflation is rampant throughout western Europe, the U.S.N.A., and all other areas of the capitalist neo-colonial world. Skyrocketing prices on food staples has caused rioting all over india, threatening the government, and has led to the overthrow of the Ethiopian government.

In addition, the growing political crises caused by the failure of the bourgeois politicians to resolve these basic problems has led to a growing radicalization and rejection of the bourgeois parties. Below are listed some statistics to show the political mood of the masses:

1. U.S.N.A. - percentage of people not identifying with either bourgeoisie party rose from 26% in 1970 to 34% in 1974; the last presidential election had the lowest percentage of votes since the turn of the century.

2. Britain - for the first time in 45 years, the masses refused a parliamentary majority to all parties; thus a politically weak government will stumble along.

3. Denmark - a weak minority government voted in Dec. 1973, with established social democratic party being rejected by voters.

4. France - only 28% of the people, the polls have shown, have any confidence in the governments social or economic policies.

5. West Germany - government under rising criticism for rising prices, social-democrats have dropped in polls from 45% to 35%.

6. Italy - people's confidence in politicians have hit an all time low in the polls taken.

### 3) The transformation within the principal aspect.

A Marxist-Leninist analysis is not metaphysical and static, but scientific and dialectical; therefore, we must view the rapid quantitative changes occurring and <sup>the</sup> growth of force of the ~~new~~ <sup>the subordinate</sup> principal aspect, social imperialism, and the decline of its <sup>new rival within</sup> ~~opposite~~ <sup>which is</sup> the principal aspect, U.S.N.A. Imperialism in a process of change, <sup>and</sup> transformation, <sup>and</sup> decline.

The struggles between the new and old aspects, is best shown by the latest mideast war and Bangladesh. In the latter, the social-imperialists came out stronger and in firmer control of its puppet states while the U.S.N.A. came out weaker. The same is true of the wheat deal last year. It helped the Soviet economy while causing scandals, shortages, and high prices within the U.S.N.A. Contention continues in the mideast.

What is occurring is the universal-dialectical law of the new superseding the old, and the <sup>dominant force within the</sup> principal aspect being transformed into its opposite, that is, the U.S.N.A. imperialists are becoming a subordinate force and social-imperialists the principal and dominant force in the oppression of nations and international counter-revolution. Thus the balance of world reaction is undergoing a major change just as it did when British imperialism was transformed into its opposite as one of the most impoverished nations in Europe today, with only its neo-colony Ireland and the countries of Portugal and Spain worse off.

2) The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist and revisionist countries.



change to p. 105, letter #6, Italy.

7. Israel - war and economic problems have caused a political crisis and much divisiveness.

The class struggles are intensifying due to the economic and political crises and have manifested themselves in the increasing amount of strikes. Also the increasing amount of contradictions within the revisionist countries is growing, such as unemployment, privileged better-paid classes, and profit incentives.

3) The contradiction between the imperialist and social-imperialist countries, and among the imperialist countries

1. Struggles between U.S.N.A. and the Soviet Union; and between them and other imperialist countries for raw materials, markets, cheap labor, and new spheres of influence.

2. The use of sub-imperialist powers in wars of expansion and aggression.

4) Contradiction between imperialism, social-imperialism and the socialist countries.

1. The struggle by Albania and China against all forms of imperialism and especially the two super powers. This struggle to maintain independence also by such countries as Korea, Yemen, and Vietnam is the spearhead of the peoples of the world to build a united front against imperialism and win liberation and independence.

- 13 CL: 2 "left deviation" vs PB
- 14 RU: RIGHT " " " but with some  
"ultra-leftism and sectarianism in form"
- 15 OH: vacillates
- 15 RU + CL: white chauvinism
- 33 class analysis.