

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 4—Continued

2. We should not at this time form separatist-nationalist organizations either inside or outside the party (PL study groups, mass orgs. etc. In those instances where we are working in pre-existing nationalist [next four words illegible] much more vigorously for a revolutionary
3. We should write more anti-racist literature specifically aimed at white workers. The "Don't be a sucker" pamphlet should be revised and updated. It will be printed in large numbers.
4. We should hold discussions via articles and internal bulletins on various strategies for organizing black, Latin, and white workers to fight racism.
 - A. Community defense organizations in ghettos.
 - B. A youth organization (primarily for high-school and community college students) whose basic thrust would be anti-racism. An internal bulletin should be circulated re a programmatic approach to this.
5. We should initiate and organize struggles against racist education and ideology in high-schools, colleges, tv, movies, etc.
6. We should issue a brief public statement in Challenge PL on Bill Epton's expulsion.
7. The student leadership should initiate a major effort to win students in the all-black colleges of the South.
8. A closer investigation should be made of how to use and improve Desafio outside NYC.
9. Develop immediate responses in all sections of the community to anti-racist struggles and ruling-class racist terror.

INTERNATIONAL REPORT

Dear Comrades,

Some time ago we initiated an internal discussion in the party, and among our friends, concerning differences between our party and the Chinese comrades on the question of nationalism. It is our intention to pursue this discussion. We are preparing a draft discussion piece for the party and our friends over the summer. After a thorough discussion in and around the party, we will publish it in the fall-- if this is the feeling of the party.

However, at this moment, the NC would like to point out very briefly a number of unfortunate developments which we cannot overlook:

1. The elevation of Prince Sihanouk to leadership of the Indo-Chinese war.
2. Virtually full restoration of relations between the CPC and the revisionist Kim Il Sung.

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3. Full party and state relations between Rumania and China.
4. Complete elevation of the Black Panther Party as the revolutionary group in the United States.
5. Organizational and political unity with the Yugoslav scabs.
6. Promises of negotiations with the United States.
7. Continued negotiations with the Russian scabs.
8. Total collusion with every nationalist fake the world over, from Nasser to Nkrumah.

A cursory glance through the latest Peking Review (#24) and reading current Hsinuas (the Chinese press service) bear this out completely. For example, in Peking Review p. 3: "Rumanian delegation led by comrade Bondnaras on friendly visit to China." This article deals glowingly with the warm relations between revisionist Rumanian leaders and the CPC.

p. 4: "Pakistan air force commander-in-chief Abdul Rahim Khan visits China." The article sings the praises of this butcher and his pals, who are busy wiping out revolutionaries in Pakistan.

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p. 6: "Premier Chou receives new Yugoslav ambassador to China." This small piece is part of the "rehabilitation" of the international traitors. A recent Hsinua bulletin gave prominence to a statement by Tito extolling the leadership of Sihanouk. A recent Peking Review gave prominence to a statement by the Yugoslavs hailing China's space shot.

p. 12: "Cambodian head of state Sandoch Norodom Sihanouk arrives in Peking." This article dwells on the current love-match at length.

p. 15 "Ambassador Nguyen van Quang gives reception." This article hailing the south Vietnamese revisionist leaders completely omits any of the traditional warnings that the CPC used to give the NLF (at least by implication): "Don't take Soviet aid and don't negotiate."

p. 19: A long speech by Enver Hoxha, excerpts of which follow. It is a tortuous explanation of why the Albanians and, implicitly the Chinese should have unity of action with the Yugoslavs:

Our viewpoints about Yugoslavia are known and we publicly state them. We do not interfere with the internal affairs of the Yugoslav peoples, but we do not hide that between us and the Yugoslav leadership there exist deep irreconcilable ideological contradictions which originate from the fact that the Yugoslav leadership is not Marxist-Leninist. On the contrary, it follows a revisionist line with all its consequences. Such is the opinion of our Party and while we allow to ourselves the right to have and defend through to the end this viewpoint, we do not deny to anyone, likewise, the right to have his own opinion about us. Therefore, our Party will never renounce the principled ideological polemics, but it will fight through to the end against any anti-Marxist and revisionist viewpoint of whatever hue it may be.

But we develop inter-state relations with the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in trade as well as in all the issues of mutual interest. We have stood and stand for the constant improvement of such relations and the goodwill in this direction neither has failed nor will fail on our part also in the future, for as we have said and continually say, we are friends and brothers with the peoples of Yugoslavia. Therefore, we hope that these feelings of friendship that have been forged in the common struggle against the friends, when the Albanian and Yugoslav partisans fought jointly, bandaged the wounds of one another and won together, be developed by us in a correct way and in mutual interest.

(1) At the same time we bear in mind that there exist the U.S. and Soviet imperialists for whom the People's Republic of Albania is a thorn in their side and they continually plot against it. But they will never attain their criminal aims for our people stand on their guard and have their fingers on the trigger. In these last two years the Khrushchev revisionist aggressors have been threatening Yugoslavia and her peoples, their freedom, independence and sovereignty. The people of all nationalities living in Yugoslavia valiantly fought during the anti-fascist war and they will surely know how to fight again and rebuff any aggressor that would attempt to violate their freedom and independence won with blood and sacrifices. The Albanian people, in case of danger, will be on the side of the Yugoslav peoples against the aggressor whatever that would menace the freedom sovereignty and national independence of our peoples. And the aggressor should be convinced that he not only cannot break and defeat us, but in such an adventure he would meet with his death. We have said and continue to say this clearly, unequivocally and openly. And this stand of ours is a principled one.

As is known in Yugoslavia there is a large Albanian population. Our K...ar brothers live and work there. It would be anti-Marxist and a national betrayal if we would neglect the fact, if we would not concern ourselves with their ... Borba, central ... of the Yugoslav leadership, admitted as an undeniable truth the fact that the Albanian people have

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always been a target of foreign invaders, but despite this they have always found strength to preserve their national identity. It is not fortuitous that the Albanians are the most ancient ethnic group living in Europe and have fought for their national independence. We wish that our brothers beyond the border should have all their full rights, like all the other peoples of Yugoslavia.

It should be of interest to our newer members to point out that the touchstone of the initial stage of the anti-revisionist struggle was attitudes toward Yugoslavia. To unite with the Yugoslavs about anything is like PLP uniting with the Pope. Tito & Co. weren't even considered the rails of the running dogs. At this point we would like to print a portion from one of the earlier Chinese polemics against revisionism. It is called: "More on the differences between Comrade Togliatti and us":

- [sic]
- (4) The current great debate was first provoked by the Tito clique/of Yugoslavia through its open betrayal of Marxism-Leninism.

[sic]

The Tito clique/had taken the road of revisionism long ago. In the winter of 1956, it took advantage of the anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaign launched by the imperialists to conduct propaganda against Marxism-Leninism on the one hand, on the other, to carry out subversive activities within the socialist countries in co-ordination with imperialist schemes. Such propaganda and sabotage reached a climax in the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Hungary. It was then that Tito made his notorious Pulo speech. The Tito clique did its utmost to vilify the socialist system, insisted that "a thorough change is necessary in the political system" of Hungary, and asserted that the Hungarian comrades "need not waste their efforts on trying to restore the Communist Party." (cf.'s speech at the National Assembly of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia,, December 8, 1956.) The Communists of all countries waged a stern struggle against this treacherous attack by the Tito clique. .. had published the article "On the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat" in April 1956. Towards the end of December 1956 aiming directly at the Tito attack, we published an article "More on the Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." In 1957, the Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the socialist countries adopted the famous Moscow Declaration. This Declaration explicitly singled out revisionism as the main danger in the present international communist movement. It denounced the modern revisionists because they "seek to smear the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism, declare that it is 'outmoded' and allege that it has lost its significance for social progress." The Tito clique refused to sign the Declaration, and in 1958 put forward their out-and-out revisionist programme, which they counterposed to the Moscow Declaration. Their programme was unanimously repudiated by the Communists of all countries.

But in the ensuing period, especially from 1959 onwards, the leaders of certain Communist Parties went back on the joint agreement they had signed and endorsed, and made Tito-like state-

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ments. Subsequently, these persons found it hard to contain themselves; their language became more and more akin to Tito's, and they did their best to gratify the U.S. imperialists. They turned the spearhead of their struggle against the fraternal Parties which firmly upheld Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles laid down in the Moscow Declaration, and made unbridled attacks on them.

After consultation on an equal footing at the 1960 Meeting of Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties, agreement was reached on many differences that had arisen between the fraternal Parties. The Moscow Statement issued by this meeting severely condemned the leaders of the Yugoslav League of Communists for their betrayal of Marxism-Leninism. We heartily welcome the agreement reached by the fraternal Parties at this meeting, and in our own actions have strictly adhered to and defended the agreement. But not long afterwards, the leaders of certain fraternal Parties again went back on the joint agreement they had signed and endorsed, and they made public attacks on other fraternal Parties at their own Party congresses, laying bare before the enemy the differences in the international communist movement. While assailing fraternal Parties, they extravagantly praised the Tito clique and wilfully wallowed in the mire with it.

Later on, more vituperative statements were made by the CPC-AFL concerning the Yugoslavs -- this one is mild. Obviously, current CPC and Albanian attitudes have little in common with these.

Following a host of laudatory pro-nationalist exercises, there appears on p. 25 a "Statement by responsible member for the Information of the U.S. Black Panther Party." The "responsible" member turns out to be Eldridge Cleaver. Cleaver has probably replaced Robert Williams for U.S. Intelligence. (See clipping at end.)

After a few more Sihanouk statements, the following appears on pp. 29-30:

However, people of scrupulous intellectual honesty have given the lie to this false pretext.

In this connection, allow me to quote a very recent statement by Senator J. William Fulbright: "The Nixon administration intended to wage a full scale war by proxy in Cambodia to prop up the Lon Nol government ... it is equally clear that the purpose of this proxy military campaign is not to eliminate communist border sanctuaries...but to sustain the feeble Lon Nol military regime in Phnom Penh."

Senator Mike Mansfield has repeatedly pointed out to your government the very obvious territorial ambitions towards our country of the republic of Saigon and the kingdom of Bangkok, both satellites of the U.S.A.

These parts of the Prince's statement in Peking Review hailing U.S. liberals are just another expression of things we certainly disagree with. This would be like printing David Dellinger's or Huey Newton's statements about unity with U.S. lib-

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erals in Challenge. If we did it, it would be more than mere "Courtesy."

In summary we point these things out because we feel they are very serious. In each instance they are against every aspect of our line. We want our members to know that the .C is inanimously opposed to these developments. And we plan to issue a serious to the party in September or October to try to analyze these developments and point the way forward for the working class. Obviously, either the CPC or PL is following a wrong line. Both of these positions can't be correct.

Finally, the key to arriving at a correct position is to carry forward the line of the party over the summer. Let's not be diverted: In the fall, we will be in a much better position to analyze events if we have CONSOLIDATED some of our good work. CONSOLIDATION IS CRUCIAL. If we don't accomplish this, our differences with the CPC will be like an academic argument--but of context with life. The reason we raise some of these things now and ask for some discussion over the summer is that the class struggle is raging sharply. It appears that the CPC has abandoned or at least toned down the anti-revisionist struggle. We know from our experience when we go to the masses and to the party and its friends against opportunism, we move ahead. THE ANTI-REVISIONIST STRUGGLE HAS ALWAYS PROPELLED US FORWARD. As the mass struggle mounts in and out of the party, the party grows. We welcome this struggle. We can move ahead only by relying on the masses. Bring our line to them. Consolidate with them.

We can have an invigorated party after this summer which will strengthen us for the protracted struggle ahead. AS THE CPC USED TO CORRECTLY SAY, "DRAW A CLEAR LINE BETWEEN US AND THE ENEMY---NO UNITY OF ACTION WITH THE REVISIONISTS."