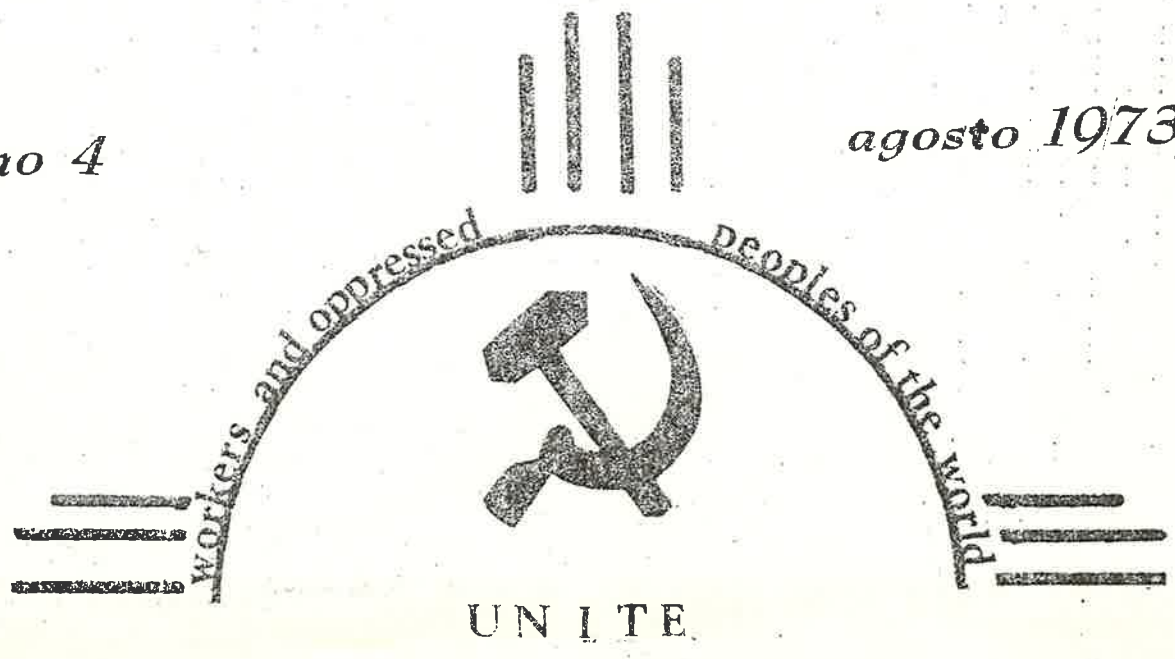


political paper of the  
Communist Collective of the Chicano Nation

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# EL AMANECER ROJO

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CLARIFICATION: The Watergate article in the last issue of El Amanecer Rojo was described as a "slightly abridged" version of an article in the People's Tribune. It should have read, "slightly abridged and edited."

NIXON-BREZHNEV

President Nixon and Soviet Communist Party First Secretary Lennid Brezhnev met in Washington on June 16-24 in what the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the USNA bourgeois press have termed "one of the most significant agreements in contemporary international relations". The Brezhnev-Nixon meeting was indeed significant but not because of the reasons stated in public by the imperialists and their revisionist lackeys. This visit must be interpreted as a giant step in the intensification and institutionalization of USNA-Soviet collusion and therefore as a major threat to proletarian and people's liberation struggles world-wide.

The keystone to the summit meetings was supposedly a pact to avoid nuclear war. A summary of agreements includes nine "major" USNA-Soviet pacts. These are as follows: 1) An agreement not to provoke nuclear conflict by straining relations with other countries. 2) Principles defined for more negotiations on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. 3) Expansion of air and sea transportation between the two countries. 4) Pledged cooperation in solving all transportation problems. 5) Expanded cultural, scientific and technological exchange between the two countries. 6) Establishment of a USNA-USSR Chamber of Commerce. 7) Agreement to reduce income taxes on citizens living in the other country. 8) Cooperation in agricultural research. 9) A cooperative study of the world's oceans.

But one would be gravely mistaken in believing that these mutual "backscratches" comprised the major part of the Brezhnev-Nixon meetings. If the Pentagon Papers and the Watergate Affair have taught us anything, it is that all we are allowed to see in these affairs of state is a carefully prepared pantomime.

We can, however, accurately assess what they're really up to if we stop to consider what their past actions have been. More specifically, one can summarize their mutual aim as preservation of the status quo in the international situation via mutual recognition of one another's spheres of influence, and mutual dedication to protection of the division of the world between the two superpowers from either revolutionary or nationalist movements.

Such a goal will necessitate certain mutual actions by the USNA and the USSR. We can therefore expect further demonstration of

Soviet-USNA collusion such as Brezhnev's support of Nixon's treaty-breaking crimes in Vietnam and Brezhnev's refusal to support the Royal Government of National Union headed by Norodom Sihanouk in Cambodia.

The collusion between the USNA and the USSR is under the control of the USNA, which is definitely the dominant power. This fact implies that the USNA could use the USSR to attack socialist China. The USNA could then step in to pick up the pieces that were left after such a war. This is the main danger involved in the process of USNA-Soviet collusion because the People's Republic of China is the largest bulwark of socialism in the world today.

The harm that can be done the world by this unity of USNA imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism is virtually unlimited. This threat calls for heightened Marxist-Leninist vigilance against all forms of revisionism, especially against the CPUSA (with its national chauvinist slogan "Welcome Brezhnev, More Trade Means More Jobs"). The only way to ensure a sound defeat for USNA imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism's plans is a socialist revolution through the building of a multi-national Communist Party in the USNA.

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#### REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT AND THE PARTY

The preaching of spontaneity, as the ideology of opportunism in the labour movement, is spearheaded, in the first place, against the necessity of the Marxist-Leninist theory and party. The modern revisionists are spreading the illusion that in capitalism especially in the developed industrial countries, socialist consciousness springs from the spontaneous movement itself, that the push towards socialism comes spontaneously from the development of the productive forces and from the change of the ratio of forces in the world to the detriment of imperialism, that is these conditions all sorts of parties and organizations, from the liberal-bourgeois and social-democratic parties to the national liberation fronts and the trade unions in the service of the bourgeoisie, can become

(cont. on p. 7)

#### W A T E R G A T E

The series of events named the 'Watergate Affair' is an indication of the bourgeoisie's attack on the people's movement against the Indochina war, and on the democratic rights of the national minorities. The bourgeoisie ordered its state apparatus to launch a coordinated offensive on the people's movement because of the threat it represented to the imperialists' ability to wage aggressive counter-revolutionary wars against the heroic struggles of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian peoples.

Bourgeois-democratic liberties (freedom of speech, freedom of the press, of assembly, of religion, etc.) are preserved by the bourgeoisie only as long as they are useful to the bourgeoisie. Democratic rights (of the proletariat mainly but also of the petty-bourgeoisie) are set aside whenever the bourgeoisie feels challenged by another class, usually the proletariat. Democratic movements frequently challenge the policies of the bourgeoisie - thus they too must be met by force, irregardless of legal niceties.

The events known as the 'Watergate Affair' are an instance of the violation of the democratic rights of the people by the state apparatus of the ruling class. This happened because the mass democratic movements of that time (late 1960's, early 1970's) impeded the bourgeoisie's ability to act in its interest both in Indochina and on the home front.

The bourgeoisie, at a point of time when it is seriously challenged (or sees the potential for such a challenge) needs criminal activities to maintain its power. "Fascism in power is the open, terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital" (George Dimitroff). The USNA is not fascist at this stage, but there is a definite move on the part of certain ruling-class circles towards fascism. This fact is demonstrated concretely by the 'Watergate Affair'.

Fascism is the result of the class-struggle working out in such a way that the situation is ripe for proletarian revolution, but the revolution is not ready to seize power. The bourgeoisie of the

USNA lives in a perpetual state of fear of the people, as is evidenced by John Dean's testimony. The anti-war movement, though it lacked revolutionary leadership, frightened the bourgeoisie. They concocted an elaborate plan to destroy the movement. This attack was also mounted on the democratic movements of the Negro, Puerto Rican and Mexican national minority peoples.

The incident that gave the 'Watergate Affair' its name was the invasion of the Headquarters of the Democratic National Committee in the Washington, D.C. Watergate Building on June 17, 1972. The state apparatus focused a part of its attack on what was left of the Democratic Party because the people's movement had largely fallen under its hegemony, due to the tactics of betrayal and class collaboration practised by the revisionist CPUSA. The people's movement, under the control of a bourgeois party, was a pushover for the Nixon thugs. But the attack on the Democratic Party was only the tip of the iceberg. The people's movement as a whole was subjected to murder, illegal arrest, break-ins, bugging, physical beating, agents-provocateur, etc.

These fascist attacks on the democratic and anti-war movement should not be shrugged-off with cheap cynicism by communists and consistent democrats. That is an opportunist road that can lead to the ultra-left idiocy of wishing for fascism to force the people into action. The demands for the resignation of the government and for new elections must be raised wherever possible because only by doing so can communists lead the proletariat in the political arena.

The CPUSA's betrayal of the proletariat is the major factor leading to the bourgeoisie being left to investigate itself through the agency of the Ervin Committee. The bourgeoisie will not prosecute or condemn itself. Only the proletariat, with revolutionary communist leadership, can do that. A revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party could have furnished a stable backbone to the people's movement, leading the movement away from the bourgeoisie and toward the proletariat. The CPUSA did precisely the opposite.

But above all else, a Communist Party of the New type is needed to defeat fascist tendencies by proletarian revolution. Fascism would

mean concretely the application of bourgeois (counterrevolutionary) terror to the proletariat and to all progressive forces: censorship of the press, banning of organizations, imprisonment, violent attacks. The organization of the class can equip it to meet counterrevolutionary terror with revolutionary terror.

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#### SUGGESTION

A communist is a person who is committed to a socialist revolution and is constantly analysing local-world events to clarify what needs to be done at any given historical period in a given situation to advance the revolution. Marxist-Leninist theory is essential to do this, but practice is primary. Part of our everyday work has to be to determine what is happening. For this reason we strongly suggest that our readers subscribe to the following three newspapers (in addition to reading ours, of course).

EL GRITO DEL NORTE, Box 2116, Las Vegas, New Mexico (\$4 per yr, monthly, English and Spanish): contains good basic information on oppression within the Chicano Nation; also some national and international news and analysis; anti-imperialist perspective.

GUARDIAN, 32 West 22nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10010 (\$10 per year, weekly, English only: probably the best national mass paper with socialist perspective; excellent international news coverage.

PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE, P.O. BOX 3774, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, Illinois 60664 (free, monthly, English and Spanish): best communist newspaper published in the Anglo-American Nation; most articles are on a cadre level; Marxist-Leninist analysis is consistently outstanding.

## FASCIST ATTACK ON SPANISH SPEAKING PEOPLES

The arrest, beating, murder deportation, and the complete disregard of the basic democratic rights of tens of thousands of Latin American citizens in large urban centers that is presently occurring is another obvious example of how the machinery of government is used to serve the ruling class (the bourgeoisie). A brief outline of some of the events that are occurring and the history of deportation cycles will show how the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) acts to maintain a labor force in this country that best suits monopoly capitalist interests.

On Sunday evening, January 7, 1973, three young Mexican national minority workers were killed "when they jumped from cars being stopped at the San Onofre (Cal) check station and ran into traffic." (1) On the same evening 428 "illegal aliens" were also taken into custody there. Mass arrests in movie theaters, restaurants, factory gates, and subways is a common occurrence. 200 "suspects" were arrested after Catholic services one Sunday in May. In Los Angeles alone, over 10,000 were arrested during the month of June, and the goal is for over 200,000 before the end of the year. The horrors of how men, women and children are dragged out of busses, from laundromats, shopping centers and taken into custody if they cannot prove that they are American citizens are untold. Children and spouses often come home to find members of the family missing - and it may take weeks before they determine where their loved ones are.

But why does this occur? Because Spanish-speaking people are dangerous in the streets of America? Because the INS has gone berserk? Because these "aliens" are natural enemies of the people of this country? Of course not, on all counts. The only reason is because a tiny minority in this country, the ruling class, needs it that way.

Mexican workers have been killed every week for the last 60 years crossing the border. Beginning in 1915 due to the growing industrial and agricultural business in the United States of North America, large numbers of Mexican workers began to immigrate to

the USNA. The capitalists took advantage of the revolutionary situation in Mexico (i.e. the Mexican Revolution of 1910) with the resultant wage differential (difference in the higher wages paid in the USNA as compared to Mexico) and unemployment. To develop an overabundance of labor to break worker's strikes, force wages down and force speed-up conditions. The attainment of this large "labor pool" enabled the capitalists to expand their industries as their markets expanded.

World War I resulted in a labor shortage in the USNA. Following the war a period of prosperity ensued. Thus provisions of the then recently enacted immigration laws relating to the head tax, contract labor laws and literacy requirements were waived for Mexican laborers by the Commissioner-General of Immigration (2)

But this period of prosperity did not last long. The "Great Depression of the 1930's" as an example of what Marx calls the "periodic crises of capitalism." Since the USNA unemployment rate was tremendously high during the 1930's the capitalists had no need for Mexican labor and thus, Mexican laborers were deported by the thousands. The state of the USNA passed the Deportation Act of March 4, 1929 and the May 4, 1929 law to deport these same workers.

World War II brought "prosperity" to the USNA. The Bracero Agreement of 1942 was passed to insure the influx of Mexican laborers into the USNA. After the war, thousands of soldiers returned, so the Mexican laborers were no longer needed by the Capitalists. "Zoot-suit race riots" in Los Angeles were used as an excuse for deporting thousands of Mexicans again.

The period from 1954 until fairly recently is a period in which the capitalists again have needed Mexican "cheap" labor. Armed with the Green Card Agreement, the greedy capitalists could bring Mexican workers to the USNA when needed and send them back when not.

But today the USNA capitalist class is facing another crisis: growing unemployment, overproduction, returning veterans, liberation struggles in the colonies, etc. Thus they are stepping up

their fascist attacks on the working class. In 1970, 10,000 people were deported in a single week. This year, "Operation Cleanup" of the INS will deport well over 200,000 workers. But these workers will come only from urban centers because these "aliens" are still needed in rural areas (especially California) to break up agricultural unions and strikes.

Another method which has proved to be an effective device for exploiting the working class is that of establishing USNA capitalist owned factories in Mexico. A 12 mile "free-zone" for USNA capitalist expansion has been established in Mexico along the border (The Border Industry Program). Here the pay is 30 cents an hour. Over 400 factories have been established to date. Thus the USNA capitalists get super profits, alleviate the unemployment crisis somewhat, and use these factories as a threat against the USNA working class as a whole.

And what has been the position of the revisionist lapdogs of the USNA capitalists, the Communist Party of the United States and other groupings? The CPUSA is for the deportation of "illegals". At a recent conference in Los Angeles the CPUSA came out in support of Cesar Chavez's pro-deportation line. Chavez (head of the United Farm Workers Union) "has come out with open calls for deportation of 'illegals' and support for the fascist Dixon Arnett Law, a law in California blaming unemployment on so-called 'illegals'." (3) The UFWU sees the "green-card problem" as the most important problem hampering the organization of American workers." (From the testimony of Jerry Cohen, legal counsel of UFW in the 1968 Western Hemisphere Immigration Hearings). Using this excuse Chavez says that not only are the "green carders" hindering the organization of "American workers in general, but most particularly, they are hindering the organization of farm workers. This position of the CPUSA is an attempt to divide the working class by blaming one sector of the class (the Mexican national minority workers) for the problems created by capitalism (unemployment, low wages, etc.).

The working class must not be confused by these lackies of USNA imperialism. The border between Mexico and the USNA is man-made and militarily maintained. We need not recognize such fiction. The Southwest was robbed from Mexico over 120 years ago. The border is

illegal. The military occupation of this area has resulted in the impoverishment of the majority of its population. Our brothers and sisters live on both sides of this so called border. The USNA state apparatus serves the interests of the ruling class. (If you are interested in a short and clear presentation on how government is used by one class to oppress the others, read The State by V.I. Lenin - 15 cents)

The role of Communists and workers in the USNA is to unite and fight the real enemy of the working class, the USNA imperialists and their running dogs, the CPUSA. We have seen that the bad condition which the Mexican national minority workers in the USNA are a result of the exploitation of Mexico by the USNA imperialists. Therefore, the question of the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat must never be separated from the question of the liberation of the colonies and the neo-colonies. "The victory of the proletariat cannot be a lasting one unless the non-sovereign nations and colonies are emancipated from the yoke of imperialism." (4)

OPPOSE ALL LAWS RESTRICTING THE PROLETARIAT!!!!!!!  
STOP FASCIST ATTACKS ON MEXICAN WORKERS !!!!!!!  
WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE !!!!!

- 1) San Diego Evening Tribune, January 9, 1973
- 2) Samora, Julian; Los Mojados: The Wetback Story, Univ. of Notre Dame, Indiana, 1971, p. 38.
- 3) "CPUSA's Line Pro-deportation Laws," People's Tribune, Dec. - Jan., 1972-73, Vol. 4, No. 11, p. 15.
- 4) "Marxism and the National Colonial Question," Chapter 5 of Negro National Colonial Question, Communist League, 1972, p. 65

DEFINITIONS

BOURGEOISIE: The class of modern Capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage-labor.

PROLETARIAT: The class of modern wage-laborers, who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labor power in order to live.

DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT: The class alliance between the proletariat and the laboring masses of the peasantry for the purpose of overthrowing capital, for achieving the final victory of socialism on the condition that the guiding force of this alliance is the proletariat. (J. Stalin, The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists). The D. of the P. is not the end of the class struggle, but its continuation in new forms. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the class struggle of the proletariat, which has won victory and has seized political power, against the bourgeoisie, which although vanquished has not been annihilated has not disappeared, has not ceased its resistance, has increased its resistance." (Lenin, Vol.xxiv, p.311.

NATION: A historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture. (Stalin, Selected Works, pg. 53. Cardinal Publishers, Davis California. 1971)

IMPERIALISM: "1) the concentration of production, capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life; 2) the merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation of the basis of the "financial" of a financial oligarchy; 3) the export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance; 4) the formulation of international monopolist combines which share the world among themselves; 5) the territorial division of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed. Imperialism is capitalism in that stage of development in which the dominance of monopolies and finance capital has established itself, in which the division of the world among the international trusts has begun, in which the export of capital has acquired pronounced impor-

tance, in which the division of all territories of the globe among the biggest capitalist powers has been completed." (Lenin Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1965, p. 106).

SOCIALISM: The first stage of the development of communist society. The dictatorship of the proletariat has centralized the ownership of the means of production in the hands of the worker's state. The class struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat continues during this stage.

UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA (USNA): The state of the USNA is the basic organ of violence and repression in the hands of the Anglo-American imperialist bourgeoisie. It arose from and was based on the consolidation of the original separate 13 states. Today, this State is a powerful multi-national state that exercises hegemony over the Anglo-American nation, the colonial Negro Nation, the colonial nation of Puerto Rico, and conquered areas from Mexico and the Indian peoples. The State exercises its dictatorship over a number of peoples, including the Mexican national minority, the Indian peoples, the Alaskan Eskimos, the Aluet and Hawaiian peoples. It is properly referred to as the USNA to differentiate it from the United States of Mexico and the United States of Brazil, etc.

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If there is to be a revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a revolutionary party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs.

MAO TSE - TUNG

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## CONFERENCE OF NORTH AMERICAN MARXIST-LENINISTS

Proletarian revolutions, wars of national liberation and struggles for socialism are being waged all over the world. In the USNA the working class is in motion and demanding correct leadership to combat the fascist tyranny and oppression of imperialism. The revisionist CPUSA has long held the interests of the ruling class, and struggles to crush the proletarian revolution. Working class people of this country will never realize their potential power to overthrow capitalism and build socialism as long as CPUSA leadership and bourgeois ideology lead their struggles. The most important weapon of the working class in realizing their power is a Communist Party of a New Type that represents working class interests for the overthrow of capitalism. Lenin has said and history has confirmed that a Party of a New Type can only be built on the basis of struggle against revisionism and opportunism. It is with this strategy of party building that the Conference of North American Marxist-Leninists met in May.

The Conference provided an opportunity for all honest revolutionaries to present their analysis of how to apply Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions in the USNA and the discussion of the building of a Party of a New Type. 255 official delegates and some observers attended the Conference, 137 of the delegates being men and 118 women. The national breakdown was 89 Anglo-Americans, 76 Negroes, 42 Chicanos and Mexican national minority members, 16 Puerto Ricans, 10 Ethiopians, 3 Indians, 6 Asians, 1 Filipino, 1 Italian and others. There was excellent regional representation as well as 60% of the attendance being working class in origin. The discussion of Marxism-Leninism was at its highest level in over 30 years.

Workshops were held on the 5 main issues in the class struggle at this time: Party Building, National Colonial Questions (specifically concerning the Negro, Chicano, Indian, Puerto Rican and Filipino peoples), Trade Unions and Un-organized Labour, Woman Question, and the Youth Question. The task of the workshops was common theoretical and practical polemics on the correct line to combat revisionism in the class struggle. The following is a summary of the unity the workshops yielded:

**PARTY BUILDING:** The party building workshops presented a concrete move toward unity on the main aspects of a Communist Party of a New Type. These main aspects are: education of the workers in Marxism-Leninism, organized proletarian leadership, revolutionary press as a collective organizer for political exposure, and the struggle against revisionism in party building.

**BUILD A MULTI-NATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY OF A NEW TYPE!**

**NATIONAL COLONIAL QUESTION:** The national colonial question is the question of completing the proletarian revolution by the emancipation of the colonies. For the unity of the class, the only solution to the national colonial question is maximum democracy, that is the right of secession, the right to choose between oppression and freedom.

**Negro Colonial question:** The position taken is the call for independence for the Negro Nation and equal rights for the Negro national minority.

**Southwest question:** Again the resolving of the national question is the job of a multi-national Communist Party. Two organizations presented positions at the Conference as a solution to the Southwest question: 1) the call for regional autonomy for the Southwest and 2) the call for independence of the Chicano Nation within the Southwest. Although unity on this national question was not reached both organizations recognize the uneven development of capitalism in this region and the urgent need for further study and research on this aspect. Keeping in mind that the Party's goal is the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Conference raised the following demands with the intent to use them to build the Party and fight for democracy and socialism: 1) An end to the border patrol, 2) full equality for the Spanish language, 3) an end to the fascist immigration laws and exposure of the CPUSA's support of these laws, 4) an end to USNA military installations in the Southwest region, 5) a return of control of the land to the oppressed people in the Southwest, and 6) unity among the industrial proletariat, the rural proletariat and the peasantry.

**Philippines:** The resolution on the Philippines united the Conference around the call for proletarian internationalism and the formation of a Party.



Puerto Rico: Representatives from Puerto Rico presented a concrete Marxist-Leninist analysis of the working class struggle against Yankee imperialism. The Revolutionary Socialist Party of Puerto Rico has begun the tasks of building the proletarian revolution there.

Workshops were not held on all aspects of the national colonial question, and the proposal was made for further study on the question of all Indian groups, the Panama Canal Zone, the Samoan Islands, Virgin Islands, Hawaiian Islands, and the Native Americans of Alaska.

**TRADE UNIONS AND UN-ORGANIZED LABOUR:** In The USNA The working class is the most revolutionary force and in this period of party building we must work on three fronts in trade unions and unorganized labour: political, economic, and theoretical. The Conference united around the tactical struggle of exposure of ideologies that divide the class. Our overall strategy must be to win over the advanced of the advanced to build an independent Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of a New Type.

**WOMAN QUESTION:** The woman question is the question of women's oppression in the capitalist society. The fight for Women's equality must be taken into the working class in order to draw in women and to fight for the unity of the working class. National minority women workers in particular are exploited not only as part of the working class and as women but also because of white chauvinism. This means that as revolutionaries we must also struggle against the ideology of white chauvinism as it relates to the special situation of national minority women.

**DOWN WITH MALE SUPREMACY  
AND WHITE CHAUVINISM FOR UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS!**

**YOUTH QUESTION:** It will be the task of the Party to establish a youth movement that will not only organize the energy and enthusiasm of youth into the revolutionary struggle for socialism, but also expose the counter-revolutionary line of the CPUSA and their agents. In the youth culture the new morality (free love and drugs) further enclaves and causes more degeneration. It is the duty of the Party, through youth fraction, to provide alterna-

tives to such exploitation, and to recruit the most advanced members of youth organizations.

In the building of a multi-national Communist Party of a New Type we are seeing history in the making. The call has been made for a Congress in one year to form a Party of a New Type. It is the duty of comrades to do their utmost in supporting the Continuations Committee of the Conference, which will lay out the steps to be taken toward the building of the Party. We must educate the working class and popularize Marxism-Leninism for the victory of the proletarian revolution.

**BUILD A MULTI-NATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY OF A NEW TYPE!**

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(cont. from p. 7)  
scientific consciousness, they rise against Lenin's thesis that without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement, they deny the role of the vanguard armed with the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism, they oppose the necessity of working out clear political programmes, scientific strategy and tactics. According to them the important thing is to start and carry out the revolution; while the question of who leads it: the Marxist-Leninist party or other political forces, is of no importance. The revolutions, they say, are led by revolutionaries whether they adhere to the party or not, there are no mathematical equations equating the vanguard with the Marxist-Leninist party, the guerrilla is the party in embryo, the people's army will be the nucleus of the party and not vice versa, etc., etc. In the practice of our days too, life confirms great Lenin's conclusion that the roots, the ideological sources of opportunism, both right and left, reside in advocating spontaneity in the revolutionary movement.

In his report delivered at the 6th Congress of the PLA (Party of Labour of Albania), comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that "it has already been historically proved that without its party, the working class, no matter what the conditions in which it lives and acts, does not become conscious by itself. That which transforms the working class from a class 'in itself' into a class 'for

(cont. on p. 23)

MARXISM-LENINISM, THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY  
OF THE WORKING CLASS -- PART 3

In this, the third and last part of this series of articles, we will finish our presentation of the three component parts of Marxism-Leninism with a discussion of capitalism in the present day; Imperialism. We shall explain how at a certain point in time, in the advanced capitalist countries, there is a need to expand. This leads to the present-day situation: the vast majority of the world's people are slaves of modern day capitalism-imperialism in the colonies and dependent nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. This makes the prospects of socialist revolution much better and presents new problems for Communists to solve.

In the first of the series (EAR # 2) we saw how dialectical and historical materialism provides the philosophical basis for a scientific analysis of capitalism. In the second article (EAR # 3) we saw how history is made by the struggle between classes, and how under capitalism the struggle is reduced to much simpler terms: to the working class against the capitalist class. We saw how Marx's economic doctrine uncovered the basis of capitalist production, which is the expropriation by the capitalist of the product of workers' labor. Let us move on and conclude this series with a discussion of:

Imperialism, the Final Stage of Capitalism

Marxist-Leninists call the present-day stage of capitalism imperialism. What exactly is imperialism; why is it an inevitable result of capitalism; and what does this mean in terms of making a revolution? These questions were answered in full for the first time by V.I. Lenin in his famous work, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism.

At a certain point in the development of capitalism, monopolies are formed which more or less control the economic life of the country. The controlling force in these monopolies is what is called "finance capital" for investments, loans, and other uses. Around 1880 in the advanced capitalist countries (England, France,

Germany, the U.S.), the exploitation of the people of these countries themselves was not enough for the capitalists of Western Europe and America. The big capitalists were forced to expand to buy more labor power, sell more and more products, and particularly to find a market for capital, a way to invest money. So the big monopoly capitalists of the Western countries started to open factories and banks in the more technically and economically backward nations of the world.

The American capitalists expanded mainly to South America and the Pacific regions in the beginning, the Europeans to Asia, Africa and to Russia. By 1913 over 75% of the "working capital" in Russia was actually controlled by foreign interests. In 1862 Great Britain had only 3.6 million francs in foreign investments; by 1914 this was up to about 75 to 100 million francs. This (around 1900) was a period in which the imperialists actually held as colonies huge areas: over 90% of Africa, over 85% of Polynesia, over 56% of Asia and all of Australia. (V.I. Lenin, Imperialism)

Nowadays the imperialists have for the most part abandoned direct control. They concentrate on setting up puppet governments (like the Brazilian regime or the Thieu regime in South Vietnam) which will allow the imperialists to use the underdeveloped nations for their own economic purposes. Thus, while the largest industrial corporation of the world, Standard Oil of New Jersey (a Rockefeller corporation), does not "own" any country, the U.S. government makes sure that it can invest all over the world. Thus 52% of the Standard Oil of New Jersey's assets are abroad, in over a 100 nations primarily in Latin America. It owns 95% interest in Creole Petroleum Corporation in Venezuela; 100% interest in Esso Inter-American in all of the continent; 99.9% of International Petroleum Company in Columbia, Peru, Equador, Venezuela, Jamaica, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Argentina; and the list goes on and on. (The Rockefeller Empire: Latin America. NACLA) 1969 pp. 9-10

Imperialism brings with it the division of the world among the big imperialist powers. The U.S. is the strongest imperialist country in the world, thus this country controls huge sectors of the colonies and dependent nation: almost all of Latin America; Southeast Asia; Canada; the Middle East; and so forth. The Russian social-imperialists also control huge areas, notably in Eastern Europe.

The Japanese imperialists, the English, French, German and other imperialists all are fighting for a bigger piece of the pie; but the U. S. has almost unchallenged control of most of the world at this time. Only a few countries, notably China, North Vietnam, North Korea, Albania, are free of imperialist domination.

Lenin summarized what imperialism like this:

1. The concentration of production and capital has developed to such a high stage that it has created monopolies which play a decisive role in economic life;
2. The merging of bank capital with industrial capital, and the creation of the "finance capital", of a financial oligarchy;
3. The export of capital as distinguished from the export of commodities acquires exceptional importance;
4. The formation of international monopolist capitalist associations which share the world among themselves, and
5. The territorial divisions of the whole world among the biggest capitalist powers is completed.

(Lenin, Imperialism)

What does imperialism, the last stage of capitalism, mean for the revolutionary worker's movement? Comrade Joseph Stalin summarized very well the ways in which battle lines are drawn in the age of imperialism, and what this means for the working class and oppressed people.

The first contradiction is the contradiction between labor and capital. Imperialism is the omnipotence of the monopolist trusts and syndicates, of the banks and the financial oligarchy, in the industrial countries. In the fight against this omnipotence, the customary methods of the working class--trade unions and cooperatives, parliamentary struggle and parliamentary parties--have proved to be totally inadequate. Either place yourself at the mercy of the capitalists, eke out a wretched existence as of old and sink lower and lower, or adopt a new weapon--this is the alternative imperialism puts before the vast masses of the proletariat. Imperialism brings the working classes to revolution.

The second contradiction is the contradiction among the various financial groups and imperialist powers in their struggle

for foreign territories. Imperialism is the export of capital to the sources of raw materials, the frenzied struggle for monopolist possession of these sources, the struggle for a redivision of the already divided world, a struggle waged with particular fury by new financial groups and powers seeking a "place in the sun" against the old groups and powers, which cling tenaciously to what they have already seized. This frenzied struggle among the various groups of capitalists is notable in that it includes as an inevitable element imperialist wars, wars for the annexation of foreign territories. This circumstance, in its turn, is notable in that it leads to a material weakening of the position of capitalism in general, to the acceleration of the advent of the proletarian revolution and to the practical necessity of the revolution.

The third contradiction is the contradiction between the handful of ruling, "civilized" nations and the hundreds of millions of the colonial and dependent peoples of the world. Imperialism is the most barefaced exploitation and the most inhuman oppression of hundreds of millions of people inhabiting vast colonies and dependent countries. The purpose of this exploitation and of the oppression is to squeeze out super-profits. But in exploiting these countries, imperialism is compelled to build their railways, factories and mills, industrial and commercial centers. The appearance of a class of proletarians, the emergence of a native intelligentsia, the awakening of national consciousness, the growth of the liberation movement--such are the inevitable results of this "policy". The growth of the revolutionary movement in all colonies and dependent countries without exception clearly testifies to this fact. This circumstance is of importance for the proletariat inasmuch as it saps radically the position of capitalism by converting the colonies and dependent countries from reserves of imperialism into reserves of the proletarian revolution."

(Stalin, Foundations of Leninism. Chapter 1; 1924)

We might add that since Stalin's time two important things have happened. First, the Soviet Union and various other countries which were once socialist have been temporarily captured by the revisionists and have reverted back to capitalism. Thus, the

Soviet Union must now be ranked among the top imperialist powers. Second, a fourth important contradiction has been added to the list: the contradiction between the socialist "world" (China, Albania, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea) and the capitalist "world". The working class and oppressed peoples now have the aid and assistance of these socialist countries in our fight against the common enemy, capitalist imperialism.

What all this means to us is that:

- 1) Imperialism is the era when contradictions are heightened, and when the working class is most imbued with revolutionary ideas. Imperialism is the era of socialist revolution.
- 2) Imperialism is the era of world wars between the imperialist powers (like WWI).
- 3) Imperialism is the era of national liberation struggles, when the struggles for independence of the colonies and dependent nations of the world are merged with the struggles of the working class of the "advanced" imperialist nations. This means that we all fight a common enemy: imperialism. The people of Vietnam, Angola, Palestine, Chile, Indonesia, the Phillipines and around the world are fighting against imperialism. And here in the USNA, in France Germany, Britain and elsewhere in the "advanced" countries, working people are also fighting against imperialism. We are fighting a common enemy; we must unite in a common revolutionary front of all workers and oppressed people around the world, lead by the working class and its Communist Party in each country, against the common enemy. This is why Communists in the era of imperialism raise the slogan: Workers and Oppressed People of the World, Unite to Defeat Capitalist Imperialism!

Thus we see that imperialism is the final stage of capitalism, thus we see why imperialism is called the age of proletarian revolution.

Let us sum up. We have seen how dialectical and historical materialism provides the philosophical basis for a scientific analysis of capitalism. We have seen how history is made by the struggle between classes, and how under capitalism, this struggle is reduced to much simpler terms, to the working class against the capitalist class. We have seen how Marx's economic doctrine uncovered the

basis of capitalist production, which is the expropriation by the capitalist of the product of the worker's labor. We have seen how present-day capitalism, imperialism, is the era of proletarian revolution. Let us quote from Lenin:

"Marx's philosophical materialism alone has shown the proletariat the way out of the spiritual slavery in which all oppressed classes have hitherto languished. Marx's economic theory alone has explained the true position of the proletariat in the general system of capitalism.

"Independent organizations of the proletariat are multiplying all over the world, from America to Japan and from Sweden to South America. The proletariat is becoming enlightened and educated by waging its class struggle; it is ridding itself of the prejudices of bourgeois society; it is rallying the ranks ever more closely and is learning to gauge the measure of its successes; it is steeling its forces and is growing irresistibly."

(V.I. Lenin, "Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism")

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(cont. from p. 17)

itself' is the party."Of course, a certain level of revolutionary, socialist consciousness does emerge from the objective conditions themselves or from the revolutionary struggle itself, but this is only a very low level; it is, as Lenin has called it, a trade-union consciousness. The high level of socialist consciousness is not formed spontaneously, but by the Marxist-Leninist science and this is first mastered by the most advanced part of the class, which organizes itself into the proletarian party and then educates the entire class with it, clarifying the revolutionary aims and objectives, indicating the correct road for their attainment and leading it in its historic struggle.....

("The Objective and Subjective Factors in the Revolution", Albania Today, Jan.-Feb., 1973, by Foto Cami, a member of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania who is a specialist in problems of Marxist philosophy)

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In Africa, our people's republic is the principal target [of U.S. imperialism]. Our revolution's courageous example is a stimulus to all African people who wish to carry the national liberation revolution to its successful conclusion.

By their own statements, the imperialists want to nip our revolution in the bud. They do not want a second Cuba. They will increase provocations, subversive maneuvers, attempts to divide the revolutionary leadership and they will even use aggression.

But the revolution will survive all these blows if we organize ourselves, if we strengthen and consolidate the PCT [Congolese Labor party] according to political, ideological, and national plans; if we oppose the unjust war of imperialist and reactionary aggression with the people's war, the war of the masses who are conscious of the justice of their battle.

To do this we must persevere along the socialist path, since as Ho Chi Minh said, "Only socialism can liberate the oppressed peoples and the workers of the world from slavery."

But what have we heard, even from some "progressives?"

"The foundation of the people's republic is an adventure because a small country such as our Congo, with a million inhabitants, cannot construct socialism." As if Marx and Engels had established the laws of Marxism only for big countries. Twenty years ago, Albania had just slightly more than a million inhabitants. "The foundation of the people's republic would be an adventure because our working class is numerically weak and has been created only recently." If it is true that our working class is embryonic, it is no less certain that it was this class that led the three great campaigns of August, 1963, that overthrew Youlou Fulbert—that is to say that, although it is embryonic, our working class, because of its concentration in the cities, has a greater national impact than the more numerous peasantry.

Moreover, the contact with modern techniques impels our working class to break with feudalism, its myths, its superstitions, and its mystique. In a country where the bourgeoisie is weak, in a neocolonial country, and especially one which is a market for the manufactured products of the industrialized nations, to wait for the working class to develop in order to make the revolution, is to capitulate in the face of its historic mission to liberate work from the domination of capital.

We, the Congolese revolutionaries, believe the role of the forces of progress in Africa is that of completing, or realizing the independence conceded by the colonizer. Actually, the struggle for independence awakened Africa in the fifties. The Africans wanted their part of that liberty they had helped the colonizer to reconquer. The colonizer, in order not to be dispossessed overnight, had to concede independence to our territories, retaining important positions in them.

But we know that imperialism, which presided over the colonial expeditions and occupation of our countries, is developed capitalism which has left its national boundaries. From that point, imperialism cannot tolerate the development of a national capitalism which is not its appendix, its extension, its shield, its front.

It is, therefore, impossible and illusory to carry out a national liberation revolution following the capitalist road.

For the PCT and the authentic Congolese progressives, the essential question is to know where lies the weight of forces for the battle of today and what reserves exist.

The working class, the youth, the soldiers and the revolutionary intellectuals are the weight of the revolutionary forces right now.

Of course, the youth is not a social class. But in our country youth feels the exploitation and supports the revolutionary uprising because of the fact that it suffers a double exploitation.

Exploited as wage earners, youth also suffers the feudal exploitation of the tribal leaders. This double feudal and capitalist exploitation makes Congolese youth determined fighters in the national democratic revolution whose two essential tasks are to end imperialist domination and sweep out the vestiges of feudalism.

We, the Congolese revolutionaries, must rely solidly on the weight of the revolutionary forces to permit the basic masses (workers and peasants) to play their historic role through mobilization and education.

We are conscious that, to place the peasants beside the working class and the revolutionary intellectuals, to develop the great revolutionary capacities of the peasant at a high level, to achieve the construction of the worker-peasant alliance, constitutes the basic condition by which we can insure the success of the revolutionary movement. A strategic principle of Marxism-Leninism, a universal necessity valid for all proletarian revolutions, the problem of this alliance assumes great importance for a country such as ours. The working class, although numerically weak, has been able to struggle effectively against the colonial regime because it had such a natural and trustworthy ally: the entire rear guard of the country, which is the peasant.

This alliance is the base but it does not prevent other alliances. The PCT is prepared to accept into the ranks of the revolution, those elements of the bourgeoisie maltreated by imperialism who are stimulated and awakened by the revolutionary agitation of the workers and peasants, and are becoming increasingly committed to the anti-imperialist struggle.

We must strengthen the unity of the people to carry out the national democratic revolution, but on the base of this fundamental alliance—that is, recognizing and defining the present stage of the revolution without losing sight of the final objective which is the construction of a socialist society. In fact, it would be dangerous to forget the essential, the strategic objective.

*Marien N'Gouabi is the president of the People's Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville). He and his party, the Congolese Labor party (PCT) came into power in 1968 following a "crisis of national unity" that led the previous president to resign. In March, 1970, the PCT prevented, through prudent armed action, a coup d'etat instigated by reactionary forces. Following is an excerpt from a speech he gave at that time before a PCT Congress discussing the basic strategy of the Congolese revolution.*

# N'Gouabi

JUNE 23, 1971 / GUARDIAN