

WORKERS'

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Brief Historical Notes

The History of Marxism-Leninism in the United States of America

The historical struggle of the United States working class was carried forward by the formation of the Communist Party in 1921 with its acceptance in the Third International. With few members and under the direct attack of United States imperialism, the Party waged a struggle against the capitalist system. During the course of its development the Party in 1927, was forced to deal with the presence of Trotskyites - a counter-revolutionary faction, headed by Cannon and Shachtman within its ranks, and waged a successful struggle against them and all those representing bourgeois ideology in its midst.

The Communist Party of the United States of America courageously led the working class in battle and fought for the right of self-determination for all nations oppressed by United States imperialism. The Seventh World Congress of the Communist International, held in 1935, marked a turning point in the further development of Marxism-Leninism. This degeneration of scientific socialism in theory and practice was tied to and conditioned by the pursuit of Dimitrov's united front tactics from above. Incidentally, it was at this point in history that the seeds were sown that gave rise to today's modern revisionism on a world scale. (For a Marxist-Leninist analysis of this era read the MLOB's report on The Origins of Modern Revisionism.)

All in all, certain leaders of the CPUSA attempted to withdraw the correct position of the right of self-determination for the Negro Nation in the South and for Puerto Rico, and to pursue an incorrect line on the national-colonial question. With the help of Comrade Stalin, the Third International did not uphold this erroneous position.

However, sometime later when the united front tactics from above were being put into effect in every country without exception, and under the pretext of mobilizing and uniting the peace-loving forces to oppose the fascist-imperialist aggression of Germany, the CPUSA completely abandoned the position of the proletariat, denounced the right of self-determination for the Negro Nation in the South and for Puerto Rico and sided with the peace-loving US imperialists. This point represented part of an opportunist tendency of class collaboration within the leadership of the Party resulting in the compromising of established Marxist-Leninist principles, developing under Browder into blatant and shameful revisionism. Finally, in 1944, the revisionists proceeded to liquidate the Communist Party in the United States of America.

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WORKERS' TRIBUNE

THE TRIBUNE OF ALL THE OPPRESSED AND EXPLOITED

WORKERS' TRIBUNE is the political organ of the working class and all oppressed and exploited people. It is a fighting organ daring to speak the truth! We urge all workers and oppressed people to keep us informed of the struggle going on in their factories and communities.

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... along with the right revisionist faction, felt secure enough to expel its opposition.

However, these individuals who were expelled (because they opposed the revisionist and opportunist bankrupt policies of the CPUSA) were not entirely free of these tendencies themselves and consequently were not able to, nor did not desire to re-establish a communist organization to continue the struggle of the working class in the USA. Consequently, many individuals who were evicted from the CPUSA, or who left on their own accord, formed a multitude of splinter organizations, not only opposed to the CPUSA and the Khrushchevite revisionism of the Soviet Union, but also opposed to each other, and with no concrete political program of action. This situation signified a complete decay of the workers' political struggle in the US and a temporary victory for US imperialism. This victory, however, was more than just a national one; these events were following a similar pattern taking place on an international scale. The revisionist seeds sown in the Seventh World Congress were well into full blossom.

The theory of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the question of whether to make revolution or not to make revolution has always been the dividing line between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists. The 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union made it clear that there existed two different lines within the international communist movement on this question of principle. At the 22nd Congress, the revisionist line of "peaceful co-existence" was put forth by the leaders of the Soviet Union and certain fraternal parties. As a result, the ugly features of modern right revisionism were fully exposed. Members of the CPUSA, Browder in particular, had long beat Khrushchev to the draw in expressing the view that socialism could be achieved without armed struggle, without proletarian revolution, through parliamentary channels and relatively peacefully. The revisionist Communist Party of the United

Because of international criticism against Browderite revisionism, the CPUSA, in 1945, was reconstituted, but only in name. The period from 1945 to 1956 saw the full implementation of a modern revisionist theory and practice within the Party. Under this situation, such a party could do nothing but degenerate into a social-democratic party defaulting in its historical role as that of the vanguard party of the working class, totally void of scientific socialist content. In 1956, the Party's conversion into a party of the liberal bourgeoisie was all but complete. Under the centrist leadership of William Z. Foster, the con-

States of America fully endorsed and supported, and continues to fully endorse and support, the right revisionist theories put forward by the Khrushchevite revisionists. This consequence further exposed the CPUSA and its class collaborationist policies in the service of US imperialism.

One by one, the members of the once-powerful monolithic socialist camp surrendered to the forces of world imperialism and to those bourgeois forces within their respective countries - a grand betrayal of which the world's proletariat and oppressed peoples have never before witnessed. The heroic Marxist-Leninists within the Albanian Party of Labor and later followed by the Marxist-Leninists in the People's Republic of China staged an unprecedented struggle (the Great Debate) against the decadence of the socialist camp and the heresy of the modern revisionists on an international scale and within their own ranks. Today, with the exception of Albania, there has been a temporary victory of the bourgeoisie and its ideology over the workers and peasants in every country within the once-socialist camp. In the People's Republic of China, where the struggle against the national bourgeoisie assumed a most violent form - a civil war - there culminated a most deceitful and most demagogic counter-revolution in the name of a cultural revolution and in the person of Mao Tse-tung. As Moscow is the radiating source of right revisionism, so is Peking of left revisionism.

This all but total defeat of the world's workers, peasants, and oppressed peoples has no doubt temporarily set back the international proletarian movement but it has in no way discouraged or eliminated it for the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie *still* exists. The international Marxist-Leninist movement is growing, with Marxist-Leninists objectively analyzing, re-evaluating and synthesizing past events, re-organizing themselves along new lines, reconstructing communist parties, and, equally important, rebuilding a communist international based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The tasks of the M.L.O.U.S.A. is to energetically assist in

Continued on page 25

A NEW COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL IS BEING BORN!

This Joint Declaration, adopted by the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Britain, the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Germany, and the Marxist-Leninist Organization of the USA, is intended to serve as a program which will further the theoretical and practical unity of Marxist-Leninists within each nation, as well as among nations. Although the new Communist International is only embryonically represented here, this joint statement is proof that the future Marxist-Leninist leadership is growing unremittingly and that the world's oppressed and exploited wage-slaves are one step nearer to their victory over the world's capitalists and imperialists.

The contemporary phase of the General Crisis of Capitalism represents a period in which the world capitalist system has become weaker and more riven with insoluble contradictions than ever before, a period in which the objective conditions for decisive advance by the world working class have never been more favorable. On the other hand, at no previous time in the history of the world working class movement have the dangers facing the working classes of all lands from the forces of imperialism been more insidious or tactically diversified.

After the end of World War Two, the international working class and communist movements achieved advances which wrought fundamental changes in the relations of forces between the camp of the world proletarian-socialist revolution and the camp of imperialism. These important advances were manifested, particularly in the wresting of an entire chain of countries in Eastern Europe out of the sphere of the world capitalist system to form, along with the Soviet Union, a camp of socialist states.

Following the death of Stalin, however, the new leadership of the Party and state in the Soviet Union intensified their attacks upon the scientific revolutionary teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. They incepted policies designed to bring about by successive stages, the dismantling of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the replacement of socialism by bureaucratic forms of state capitalism. As a result, with the exception of the People's Republic of Albania, these vitally important bases were temporarily lost to the working class and these formerly socialist countries have now degenerated into a new, though highly unstable, capitalist bloc dominated by the - now imperialist - Soviet Union. As a consequence of the historically unprecedented acts of betrayal committed by the revisionist leaders of the communist and workers parties, the international communist movement has been virtually destroyed and the working class of the world left without any organized Marxist-Leninist ship.

These adverse developments were counterbalanced to some extent by the progressive upsurge, from about 1955 onwards, of national liberation movements developing into national-democratic revolutions throughout Africa, Asia and Latin America. The focal point of these movements has been the heroic struggle of the people of Vietnam for national independence from, first French, later US imperialism, and for democratic rights and liberties. On their part the imperialist powers have greatly intensified their colonial wars of aggression and are engaging in ever fiercer attempts to defeat the just aspirations of the oppressed peoples of the colonial-type countries, seeking to incorporate them into their respective spheres of influence and to subjugate them permanently to the yoke of finance capital. To this end they are combining feverish war preparations with a rapidly accelerating rate of economic penetration and capital investment in these countries. This is bringing about an equally rapid proletarianization of the peasant and urban petty-bourgeois masses, laying in turn the objective basis for the young, emerging working class of the colonial-type countries to assume the leadership of the developing national-democratic revolutions.

Thus, in one colonial-type country after another, a fierce ideological and political struggle is developing between the most advanced representatives of the emerging working class and the representatives of the national bourgeoisie - a struggle to determine which of these two classes, proletariat or national bourgeoisie, shall lead the national-democratic revolution in these countries.

The basic strategy of the revolutionary proletariat in the colonial-type countries must be to achieve the uninterrupted transformation of the national-democratic revolution into the socialist revolution, and the essential prerequisite for this is that the proletariat should have won the leading role in the national-democratic revolution. Only when this fundamental strategic class factor is present can the national liberation movements and the developing national-democratic revolutions be regarded as a constituent part of the world proletarian-socialist revolution. When this factor is absent, the proletariat

and petty-bourgeois masses in the colonial-type country that is engaged in national liberation struggle will fall inevitable under the ideological and political influence of the national bourgeoisie, which will then be able to utilize its leading role in the national liberation movement in order to halt the revolutionary process at the stage of the completion of the national and democratic tasks and prevent the uninterrupted transformation to the socialist stage of the revolution, thus diverting the newly-emerged nation on to the path of capitalist development, leading to its ultimate integration into the world capitalist system.

However, the development of national liberation struggles in the colonial periphery of the world imperialist system is increasingly whittling away imperialism's sources of super profits and obstructing the expansion of its foreign exploitation. This is increasing the contradictions between the rival imperialist blocs, but even more importantly - is rapidly undermining the economic basis of reformist and social-democratic deception of the working class in the developed capitalist countries. This, in turn, heralds the onset of a new stage in the development of the world proletarian-socialist revolution, one characterized in general by the revolutionization of the proletarian masses in the developed capitalist countries and the consequent shifting of the sphere of anti-imperialist struggle from the colonial periphery to include also the developed heartlands of imperialism.

In reaction to this increasingly favorable objective situation for the development of the world proletarian-socialist revolution, the forces of world imperialism are themselves attempting to prepare a more favorable social and political terrain for their counter-offensive against the proletariat and working people of the developed capitalist countries. They are striving, as has already largely been accomplished in the USA, to deprive the working class of its independent mass organs of struggle and to absorb them into corporate state frameworks under the direct control of the monopoly capitalist class. In particular, they are actively promoting new concealed detachments serving the interests of imperialism within the working class movements, the dual aim of which is to foster "new" reformist conceptions with a pseudo-left bias to replace the illusions of classical social-democracy concerning "peaceful" social advance for the working class within the capitalist system - illusions which are in process of being shed - and to retard the development of genuine Marxist-Leninist vanguard parties having as their aim the preparation and leadership of the working class for the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

One of the most important of these new concealed detachments of the capitalist class within the working class movement consists of the former communist parties of most countries. The revisionist leaderships of these parties preach the possibility of "peaceful, parliamentary transition" to "socialism" - the old reformist conceptions of the now discredited social democratic parties in a false "Marxist" wrapping: the world headquarters of this right variant of revisionism is Moscow, where the leading clique headed by Brezhnev and Kosygin represents the interests of the new Soviet imperialist bourgeoisie and has succeeded in temporarily transforming the Party of the Soviet working class into a center of counter-revolutionary betrayal.

A second concealed detachment is formed by the Maoist parties and groups. The leaders of these, while denouncing the right revisionists for "betraying Marxist-Leninist principles," have themselves repudiated Marxism-Leninism for the pseudo-left variant of revisionism known as "Mao Tse-tung Thought." By means of the most unbridled demagogy and pseudo-revolutionary phrasemongering, they work to divert militant activity into divisive, reactionary racialist and nationalist channels. The world headquarters of this "left" revisionism is Peking, where the leading clique headed by Mao Tse-tung and Lin Piao - following the counter-revolutionary "cultural revolution" of 1966-68 directed against the Chinese Marxist-Leninists, the Communist Party of China and new democratic state - have established a military dictatorship on behalf of the Chinese national capitalist class.

A third concealed detachment of the capitalist class within the working class movement consists of the "centrist" revisionist parties, headed by the Workers' Party of Vietnam, the Workers' Party of Korea and the Communist Party of Cuba. These parties have established in their respective countries forms of state capitalism masquerading as "socialism" and represent the interests of the national bourgeoisie of these countries, national bourgeoisies which were and are in sharp contradiction with the U.S. imperialists. For this reason, during the Khrushchov era when the cardinal point of Soviet foreign policy was collaboration with US imperialism, these national bourgeoisies found this foreign policy unacceptable and their parties took up a "centrist" position, a position critical of Soviet revisionism. Following the reorientation of Soviet foreign policy since 1965 towards collaboration with capitalist classes and other social forces opposed to US imperialism, the leaderships of the "centrist" revisionist parties have moved closer to the position of the Soviet revisionists, and now function as a semi-independent "left-wing" of Soviet revisionism, serving its purposes in spheres where this has become discredited and, in particular, in its struggle against the pro-US ultra-revisionists in the leadership of certain communist parties, such as those of Romania, Britain and Italy.*

* Over recent weeks evidence has accu-

Thus there have arisen on a world scale three principal forms of modern revisionist theory and practice: the right revisionism of the Soviet neo-imperialists, the "left" revisionism of the Chinese national capitalist class; and the "centrist" revisionism of the North Korean, North Vietnamese and Cuban national bourgeoisies. These three variants of modern revisionism fulfill essentially complementary roles on behalf of imperialism in its offensive against the maturing world proletarian-socialist revolution and its small but developing Marxist-Leninist vanguard. Soviet right revisionism is directed primarily at the long-established working class movements of the developed capitalist countries, where the bourgeoisies want revolution not at all; Chinese "left" revisionism is directed principally at the young, emerging working class movements of the colonial-type countries, where the national bourgeoisies need revolution in order to win their national freedom from the yoke of imperialism; and the "centrist" revisionism represents a semi-independent "left" wing of Soviet neo-imperialism in its bid to win the support of the national bourgeoisies, their petty-bourgeois political representatives and the working masses generally of certain smaller and weaker countries newly emerged from domination by one or another of the established imperialist powers behind the attempt of Soviet neo-imperialism to extend its world spheres of influence at the expense of the established imperialist groups, above all of United States imperialism. Soviet right revisionism and Chinese "left" revisionism also serve the expansionist interests of the Soviet neo-imperialists and the Chinese capitalist class respectively, whilst small-state "centrist" revisionism serves the aim of the North Korean, North Vietnamese and Cuban national capitalist classes in seeking to influence their ultimate master, Soviet neo-imperialism, to grant to them the status of comprador-type overseers of its developing imperialist-type acquisitions amongst the emerging and underdeveloped nations.

In the present period of the General Crisis of Capitalism, international contradictions between capitalist classes in different countries, and between alliances of such capitalist classes, have greatly increased. This situation is leading inevitably towards yet another global war for the redivision of the world - this time between two vast imperialist groups

- * mulated that the "centrist" revisionist leaderships of North Vietnam and North Korea have shifted their allegiance from Soviet neo-imperialism to Chinese state-capitalism, and hence onto a course leading ultimately to alliance with the U.S.

dominated respectively by the United States imperialists and the Soviet neo-imperialists. As this process of polarization develops, the imperialist powers of Western Europe, Japanese imperialism, India and the small-state bloc of North Korea, North Vietnam and Cuba are beginning to move towards the Soviet pole, while China, Albania, Pakistan and those neo-capitalist states of Eastern Europe which have broken (or will at some future date have broken) free from Soviet domination are beginning to move towards the US pole.

A future imperialist world war, which is even now at an embryonic stage of preparation, would almost certainly destroy the world capitalist system. But it would also bring such mass slaughter and suffering to the working people of the world as would make the two previous world wars pale almost into insignificance. Since the continuation of imperialism makes such a world war inevitable, the strategic task of the working people of all countries is to destroy imperialism prior to the outbreak of such a war, or, if this should not be possible, to snuff it out at its onset by transforming the imperialist world war into civil war on a world scale against the imperialists.

At this crucial moment in history, when the world working class is faced with the acute danger of fascist-type repression and devastating war, yet when the objective conditions for decisive advances for the world proletarian-socialist revolution are developing most favorably, the world working class finds itself without the leadership of organised Marxist-Leninist Parties. In this situation, when the course of world history hangs in the balance, a tremendous responsibility rests upon the Marxist-Leninists, as yet few in numbers, of the developed imperialist countries, including our own countries, the United States of America, Germany and Britain. Once again the contradictions of the General Crisis of Capitalism are operating to shift the main center of revolutionary confrontation towards the developed countries of the imperialist heartlands. On us falls the proletarian-internationalist duty of taking up the tasks of theoretical analysis, political leadership and organizational regrouping which the modern revisionists of right, "center" and pseudo-left have so hideously betrayed, and of developing Marxism-Leninism to new heights in preparation for the violent, revolutionary class upheavals which lie ahead.

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The following are the main tasks which must be solved before the world proletarian socialist revolution can secure important advances in the coming period:

In the developed imperialist countries:

1) the ideological and political influence of the social-democratic and the right, ultra-right, centrist, and 'left' revisionist parties and organizations must be decisively broken and their honest members won over to the Marxist-Leninist vanguard.

2) Marxist-Leninist parties of the working class must be built on the basis of a correct program combining broad united front with vanguard armed revolutionary forms of struggle, and with a firm and disciplined democratic-centralist structure.

3) mass anti-imperialist united front movements must be built with the proletariat as the leading force, based on the independent organs of the working class, the whole under the overall leadership of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard Party.

In the colonial-type countries:

1) the ideological and political influence of the 'left' revisionist agents of the counter-revolutionary faction headed by Mao Tse-tung, as well as of the small-state centrist revisionist leaders representing the interests of the North Vietnamese, and Cuban national bourgeoisies and their ultimate patron, Soviet neo-imperialism, must be decisively broken

2) Marxist-Leninist Parties of the emerging working class must be built on the basis of a correct program of striving to gain and maintain proletarian leadership in the developing national-democratic revolutions and of striving for the uninterrupted transition to the socialist revolution, and with a firm and disciplined democratic-centralist structure.

3) mass national front movements, embracing all classes which have an interest in the victory of the national-democratic revolution (including, if and wherever possible, the national bourgeoisie) must be built under the leadership of the working class, the whole under the overall leadership of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard Party with the inevitable desertion of the national democratic revolution along these lines, this national front must be transformed into a narrower united front embracing all classes which have an interest in the victory of the socialist revolution under the leadership of the working class, the whole under the overall leadership of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard Party.

On a world scale:

1) a Marxist-Leninist International must be established on the basis of a firm democratic-centralist structure in order to integrate the revolutionary programs and policies of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of the various nations and national sections of the world front of struggle

2) a world anti-imperialist united front must be built and organized in a

integrated structure, with a world leading center composed of representatives of the various anti-imperialist national fronts and united front organizations in each nation and national section of the world front of struggle.

The present stage of development of the world proletarian-socialist revolution represents nothing less than the first onset of a world pre-revolutionary situation. We are now witnessing, as a necessary pre-condition for the growth of this pre-revolutionary situation into a fully developed world revolutionary struggle on all fronts, the re-awakening of the proletariat in the developed imperialist countries from their long reformist slumber and the first wave of a new intensive round of class struggles which will lead to the opening up of the front of the world proletarian-socialist revolution in the central strongholds of the world imperialist system.

As in the case of a pre-revolutionary situation within a single country, the primary aim of the class struggle now unfolding between proletariat and bourgeoisie is to determine which of these two fundamentally opposed classes shall win the allegiance of the intermediate classes and strata and so secure for its class the decisive strategic advantage in the coming final stages of the world proletarian socialist revolution. To enable the truly revolutionary class, the proletariat, to seize the decisive initiative in each nation and national situation, and in particular to enable it to pass over to the offensive and to realize in practice the unfolding of the world proletarian-socialist revolution on a worldwide front, the key factor is the establishment of programmatic and organizational unity between the Marxist-Leninist vanguard parties that must be built in every nation and every national sector.

The representatives of the MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANIZATION OF THE U.S.A., the MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANIZATION OF GERMANY, and the MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANIZATION OF BRITAIN call upon all Marxist-Leninists throughout the world to begin now the urgent and essential task of re-establishing in every country genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties of the working class. In this way the nucleus of the new Marxist-Leninist International can be formed, which will carry forward the great revolutionary traditions of the Communist International and re-apply to the new world situation of heightened class antagonisms and inter-imperialist contradictions the principles of scientific revolutionary leadership and organization first developed in theory and practice by Lenin and Stalin, and so begin the task of elaborating a common international program of struggle based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the world situation and the perspectives of advance of the world proletarian-socialist revolution.

The future victorious outcome of the world proletarian-socialist revolution depends to a considerable degree on the speedy and successful accomplishment of these historic tasks of revolutionary

leadership on the part of the emerging and developing Marxist-Leninist world vanguard.

Marxist-Leninist Organization of Britain
 Marxist-Leninist Organization of Germany
 Marxist-Leninist Organization of the U.S.A.

* Because of an oversight in formulating this section of the Joint Declaration on the main tasks in developed imperialist countries" as was originally published in RED FRONT (organ of the MLOB), a joint decision has been reached to amend the text to include right and ultra-right revisionism among the ideological trends which must be abandoned before the world proletarian-socialist revolution can secure important advances...

* * * * *

MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANIZATION OF GERMANY FOUNDED

The Political Bureau of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Britain announces that a Provisional Committee for a Marxist-Leninist Organization of Germany has recently been formed. A representative of the Political Bureau of the M.L.O.B. recently held extended and detailed talks with a representative of the Provisional Committee, M.L.O.G. at which he was informed that the primary aim of the new brother organization is to work for the speediest possible establishment of the Marxist-Leninist vanguard party of the working class in Germany and in the meantime to strive by all possible means to forge unity between potential Marxist-Leninists through the waging of a principled struggle against all forms of modern revisionism and so to assist in the essential tasks of theoretical and programmatic clarification.

As heir to the glorious Communist Party of Germany which up to the triumph of Hitlerite fascist counter-revolution in January 1933 had played, under the leadership of Cde. Ernst Thaelmann, the leading role within the Communist International in developing the strategy and tactics of the mass revolutionary Red Front and of the principles of socialist revolution in a developed monopoly-capitalist society, the Political Bureau of the M.L.O.B. extends to our German Comrades its warm fraternal good wishes and expresses the firm conviction that its struggles on behalf of the German working class will result in the restoration of the great traditions of the revolutionary vanguard of the German working class and to a great new upsurge in its contributions to the international treasurehouse of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice, and so to the development by German Marxist-Leninists of an important and leading role in the building of the fundamentally necessary instrument of the world revolutionary proletariat, the Marxist-Leninist International.

BRITISH IMPERIALISTS ATTEMPT TO SQUELCH IRISH NATIONAL STRUGGLE !

One of the thorns in the side of the British imperialists just won't go away. They have again been forced to show their true hand on the Irish question." On March 24th, 1972, the chief representative of British imperialism, Prime Minister Heath, declared that Northern Ireland would be governed directly from Westminster in Britain, rather than Stormont in Ireland. What precipitated this move on the part of the British imperialists? Nothing less than the continuous and untiring struggle of the oppressed Irish people, which has now reached a new height in fierceness and determination to win national emancipation.

The history of the Irish peoples has been one of continual oppression and subjugation, but also one of relentless struggle against this oppression. From 1169, when British rule first took over, to today, the Irish peoples have been refusing the lot cast upon them by their masters. The year 1916 tells of a dauntless armed struggle of Irish working people for their own self-determination - the Easter Week Uprising. This struggle, although defeated, gave spirit to numerous ensuing battles until, in 1921, the 26 southern counties were declared "free" of British rule. This freedom

however, is one in name only, since the working class of the southern Irish Republic does not govern itself, but instead, is governed by capitalists of a comprador nature loyal to Britain. The 6 northern counties, known as Ulster, remained under the direct domination of British imperialism.

Today Ulster is the site of the most savage and repressive acts on the part of the British imperialist troops, who, under a special governmental act, are allowed to: enter homes at any hour without warrant; arrest without warrant, imprison without trial and to whip and beat prisoners - just to name a few. It is the scene of fascist lackeys like Ian Paisley and William Craig, who obediently lick the boots of their British masters and help to divide the Irish Peoples by playing up the Irish national question as a religious one. Not only do these toadies point their fingers, they boast of organizing vigilante groups among the "unconscious" Protestant workers to raid Catholic ghettos with machine guns and fire bombs - parallels of the Ku Klux Klan in the Black Belt Nation.

The particular kind of oppression meted out to the Catholic population in Ireland had its birth with the rise of capitalism in Britain. The new state needed a new form of religion to serve its needs that the Catholic church, loyal to the old feudal state, no longer provided. Hence, the birth of Protestantism and of a scapegoat that still faithfully serves the British imperialists. From here on the British had an able tool with which to keep the entire Irish population divided. As in the United States the imperialists sow trouble between the national minorities and the Anglo-American workers and contribute blame to the "inability of the races to co-exist", in Britain and Ireland the imperialists mask their foul deeds as conflict of "religious strife."

The Irish population suffers as a result of the colonial status of Northern Ireland. Unemployment here is extremely high and is the cause of much of the unrest of the Catholic minority, who bear the biggest burden. In Britain, where many of Ireland's unemployed go to work in the big cities, Irish national minorities live in ghettos, suffer from the highest level of unemployment, and the lowest wages. In turn, the British workers see their wages and their chances for employment driven down by the presence of the Irish workers and they take their wrath out on these, their working brothers, rather than on the real criminals, the British imperialists.

As long as British imperialism is able to divide along these lines it will be able to remain the conqueror. Karl Marx remarked of these very conditions in 1870:

"Every industrial and commercial center in England now possesses a working class divided into two hostile camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker, he feels himself a member of the ruling nation and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists of his country against Ireland thus strengthening their domination over himself. He cherishes religious, social, and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude towards him is much the same as that of the "poor whites" to the "niggers" in the former slave states of the USA. The Irishman . . . sees in the English worker at once the accomplice and the stupid tool of the English rule in Ireland. . . . This antagonism is the secret of the impotence of the English working class . . ."

onism is the secret of the impotence of the English working class . . ."

(Marx to Sigfrid Meyer and August Vogt: April 9, 1870.)

But to put an end to these conditions to the extreme and brutal subjugation of the Irish peoples, several steps have to be taken:

Firstly, under the leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party the working class of Ireland must gather all progressive, anti-imperialist forces to its side to build a *united front* against British imperialism. Protestant workers must be made to see that fascist groups like Craig's Ulster Vanguard Movement are a tool to continue the oppression of the total Irish working class, regardless of religion.

Secondly, this united front must work in conjunction with the working class movement in England itself. The MLOUSA stands with the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Britain when they state:

"British Marxist-Leninists and progressives stand shoulder to shoulder with the people of Northern Ireland. Both are fighting the same enemy -- the British imperialists. Every blow struck against this enemy in Belfast and Derry helps the struggle of the British working people for their social liberation. Every blow struck against this enemy in London and Manchester helps the struggle of the peoples of Northern Ireland for their national liberation." (RED FRONT; December 1968; p. 17).

Today one of the primary tools to impede these struggles is the presence of imperialist agents in the working class struggle. The influence of all revisionist elements, the British Communist Party, who claim a "peaceful road to socialism;" the trotskyites who want "socialism now;" the Irish Communist Organization, who ably serve the needs of their British masters by proclaiming two nations in Ireland: one Catholic and one Protestant; all these must be smashed so that the workers and oppressed people can be guided by the only correct ideology, Marxism-Leninism, under the hegemony of a Marxist-Leninist Communist Party. The MLOUSA supports the MLOB in its drive to build such a party and smash the forces of right, "left" and "centrist" revisionism.

SUPPORT THE MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANIZATION OF BRITAIN!

DEFEND THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR IRELAND!

BUILD THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!

THE DECLINING RATE OF PROFIT:

U.S. IMPERIALIST CRISIS

The present capitalist crisis ("recession") is becoming more acute every day. The unemployment rate has remained at 6% nationally for more than 18 months and inflation continues to eat away the workers' wages. The wage-price freeze implemented by Nixon last August is indicative of the acuteness of this crisis and is also an attempt by the imperialist bourgeoisie, through their politicians, to counteract the tendency of the falling rate of profits.

As capitalism develops the organic composition of capital rises. This means that the quantity of constant capital (machines, raw materials) used is increasing at a much faster rate than the quantity of variable capital (wages). Since wage labor is the *only* source of profits, the consequence of a higher organic composition of capital is the tendency towards a declining rate of profit. This, however, does not mean that the total mass of profits falls, only that profits increase at a slower rate. For example, from 1939 to 1955 corporation profits increased from \$7 billion to \$47 billion. Profits increased during this fifteen year period at a rate of 85%. From 1955 to 1969 corporate profits increased from \$47 billion to \$85 billion or at a rate of increase of 45%. (Statistical Abstract, 1971, and Internal Revenue Service; Statistics of Income, Business Income Tax Returns).

Karl Marx, the discoverer of the law of the tendency of the declining rate of profit, stated that: "This mode of production (capitalism) produces a progressive relative decrease of the variable capital as compared to the constant capital, and consequently a continuously rising organic composition of the total capital. The immediate result of this is that the rate of surplus value at the same, or even a rising, degree of labor exploitation, is represented by a continually falling general rate of profit." (Capital; Vol. 3, pp. 212-213, International Publishers.)

It should be obvious that the capitalist-imperialist class is not going to sit down and watch their rate of profit decline. They will try many ways to counteract this law and the principle is to increase the degree of exploitation of the working class.

One of the many ways in which the imperialist bourgeoisie tries to counteract their declining rate of profit is through a general speedup. This speedup results in a higher rate of output per worker. At this higher rate of output the capitalist-imperialist class needs less workers to maintain or increase their level of production. This cheapens production, which serves to increase profits, in the short run, and decrease demands for workers. This is one of the underlying factors for the enduring high rate of unemployment.

Another way the imperialist bourgeoisie is trying to counteract the declining rate of profit is the implementation of a 7% tax credit for investments in new capital. This tax credit has resulted in a savings of more than \$4 billion for the US imperialist class.

Of course the increase of investments in new capital in relation to variable capital, will result in an even higher organic composition of capital, thus advancing the declining rate of profit. So the imperialist bourgeoisie, in an attempt to cushion the effect of the present crisis (on themselves) are laying the grounds for future, and even more devastating, crises for the US working class.

The blame for the present crisis is being put on the workers shoulders. The propaganda arms of the imperialist bourgeoisie (the newspapers, television, radio) are all singing the same chorus, "the workers must sacrifice wage increases." Of course there is not a single whimper for the capitalist-imperialist to make similar "sacrifices" concerning their profits.

Since the implementation of Nixon's "New Economic Policy" (wage-price freeze) profits have increased by an average of 25.3%. The profits for the first quarter of 1972 took such a giant leap that "Business Week" magazine, in its April 22 edition, stated that "corporations earned more money in the first quarter of 1972 than in any previous three month period in history."

It should be mentioned that the exorbitant increase of profits in the first quarter of 1972 in no way refutes or invalidates the law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall. On the contrary, it confirms this law. Quarterly profits are evaluated in relation to the preceding quarter or the same quarter of the previous year (i.e., first quarter 1971 vs. first quarter 1972) or both. Therefore an increase in total quarterly profits will sometimes be reflected from quarter to quarter, but in the long run a decrease in the rate of increase of profits will be reflected.

On the other hand, workers wages have been severely restricted by Nixon's "New Economic Policy" (NEP). The Longshoreman Union saw their previously won wage increase cutback by the Payboard, despite the threatening strike rhetoric of their President, Harry Bridges. Not a squeak has been heard from Bridges since the cutback.

The implementation of NEP for the benefit of the imperialist bourgeoisie is fairly obvious. The freezing of workers wages while profits are allowed to increase unrestricted is yet another attempt by the US monopoly capitalist to counteract their declining rate of profit.

The US capitalist-imperialist is in trouble. Whenever a crisis comes about, this class of wretched parasites, through legislation and outright terror, strives to repress the workers. To repress the,

workers they attempt various tactics of divide and conquer. Presently there is an attempt to split union workers from non-union workers.

The imperialist class says that rising wages in general, and rising union wages in particular are the cause of rising prices (inflation) therefore non-union workers' real wages are, in effect, decreasing because of increasing union wages. Of course this is an out-and-out lie. Wages, regardless of how "high", unionized or non unionized, are no more than a mask for the exploitation of the working class by the owners of the means of production, the capitalist class.

As Marx stated: "Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wages for a fair day's work', they (the working class - Ed.) ought to inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watchword: 'Abolition of the Wages System.'" (Karl Marx VALUE, PRICE AND PROFIT; International Publishers, p. 61.)

The attempt to blame the workers for the present crisis and the attempt to split the working class into union and non-union workers is by no means an accident. On the contrary, this is a methodical plan of the capitalist-imperialist for the purpose of gaining more control of the labor unions. As the bourgeoisie gains more control over the labor unions they gain more control over workers' demands, thus turning the labor movement into a cradle of reformism.

The outright buying off of union leaders is another method used by the monopoly capitalist to gain control of the labor unions. At a Congressional Labor Sub-Committee hearing in April, George Meany, President of the AFL-CIO, stated that he was "anti-strike." Thus, Meany has given the monopoly capitalist class his word that he will do everything in his power to keep the workers on the job, with or without a contract, during labor negotiations. In short, the flow of monopoly capitalist profits will not be interrupted by a strike, if Meany has anything to do with it--excepting, of course, in the case of overproduction, when it is most profitable for the bourgeoisie to have a strike in order to temporarily curtail production. Here we can expect these labor lieutenants to assume an extremely militant facade.

The buying-off of union leaders, the freezing of workers' wages and the attempt to divide the working class are clear indications of the intensified struggle of

of the capitalist-imperialist class to increase the exploitation and oppression of the working class in an attempt to counteract the declining rate of profit.

The tendency toward a lower rate of profit aggravates the contradictions of capitalism. The contradiction between the working class and the capitalist-imperialist class becomes more acute, primarily because the principle way to counteract the declining rate of profit is to increase the exploitation of the workers, thus worsening their position. In the draft program of the Bolshevik Party, Lenin wrote that: "Crisis and periods of industrial stagnation... increase the dependence of wage-workers on capital and more rapidly lead to a relative and sometimes absolute worsening of the position of the working class." (Lenin COLLECTED WORKS: Vol. 29, Fourth Russian Edition, p. 81).

High unemployment rates, declining real wages, a general speedup, a cessation of workers' strikes through the use of violence and the increasing control of the labor unions by the monopoly capitalist are all indicators of the worsening of the position of the US working class.

Exploitation and oppression are characteristics of capitalism. One cannot exist without the other. The present crisis clearly demonstrates the need for a revolutionary change from capitalism to socialism, which will put an end to the exploitation and oppression of the working class by this handful of parasites--the monopoly capitalists. The US working class needs a party that will take workers' interests to heart. No longer will the US working class be deceived by the rhetoric of the Democratic and Republican parties, as it has become crystal clear that the aspiration of both these parties is to serve the US imperialist class and not the US working class. The task of eliminating US imperialism can only be carried out under the guidance of a *genuine* MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY, the party of the working and oppressed people. The building of a MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY is the first step toward the smashing of US imperialism.

**WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE UNITE
TO BUILD A MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY!**

**UNITE TO SMASH THE DICTATORSHIP OF
THE IMPERIALIST BOURGEOISIE AND
ESTABLISH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE
WORKING CLASS!**

WORKERS !! Beware of Wolves in Sheep's Clothing!

A holy alliance has been formed between the Maoites, Trotskyites, and the Khrushchovites to wipe out all remnants of Marxism-Leninism within the ranks of the working class. They have all exercised extreme hostilities towards our organization, which is small and weak, but at the same time strong and growing. Like the Trotskyites who have been smashed into a thousand splinters, who even bicker among themselves, the Maoites are doomed for the same history.

The M.L.O.U.S.A. is absolutely convinced of the correctness of its position towards these modern revisionists, and the new actions of this bloc of Maoites, Trotskyites, and Khrushchovites only serve to reinforce its stand. Their actions are the actions of all classes on the verge of extinction; they increase their resistance in order to live and resort to any and all acts of violence in order to survive. History has shown that, in the end, they cannot win against the

power of the working class but they continue to try.

The increased violence against the Vietnamese People - perpetrated by the U.S. imperialists' aim to dominate Asia - coupled with the increased repression in the U.S., testifies that the U.S. imperialists have been given greater confidence by the modern right and left revisionists to trample underfoot the right of self determination for the oppressed nations not only of Asia, but the world over. We see parallel phenomena going on within the U.S. The Maoites pay lip service to the destruction of U.S. imperialism but, in fact, aid and abet it; the Trotskyites pay lip service to the destruction of U.S. imperialism but, in fact, aid and abet it; the Khrushchovites pay lip service to the destruction of U.S. imperialism but, in fact, aid and abet it; they all sing the same old tune, only in different keys. They all try to intimidate Marxist-Leninists, to isolate and separate Marxist-Leninists from the working class and oppressed people. But, little have they learned that Marxist-Leninists are made up of a special stuff and cannot be daunted, eradicated or exterminated. As long as there exists a class struggle, the working class and oppressed people will have need of us. Hence, they are only picking up a big rock to drop it on their own toes.

What are some of the acts of violence and hostility directed against the M.L.O.U.S.A., its comrades and friends? At the demonstration sponsored by the April 22nd coalition, there were many organizations present, many which claim to represent the interest of the working class. Among them were the Khrushchovites, and the various trends of Trotskyites and Maoites. At one of the Khrushchovites (the Gus Hall clique) tables set up for selling literature, a comrade representing the M.L.O.U.S.A. initiated a polemical debate around the revisionist concept of peaceful coexistence etc., which openly exists in the so-called C.P.U.S.A., and proceeded to point out how these revisionist scabs are direct collaborators of U.S. monopoly capitalism. The handful of traitors to the cause of the working people squirmed in their seats as passersby listened on in awe at the truth, openly and candidly being levelled at the band of renegades. These traitors pleaded with our comrade to cease his principled ideological exposure of the revisionist Gus Hall clique, claiming that he was being "divisive," and thereby "jeopardizing" the cause of the peace demonstration, and put forth the view that there was a "time and place" for such ideological disputes. Our comrade saw through this tactic, realizing that the time and place was not, as these disgusting revisionists had implied, behind closed doors over tea, but out in the streets where all could hear and participate; therefore, the comrade continued. Suddenly one of their henchmen, embarrassed and unable to put forth a principled rebuttle, jumped to his feet and demanded that the comrade leave the vicinity immediately. When our comrade refused, demanding the right to speak and be heard in the streets, the henchman, acting typically like a brown

shirt fascist thug, climbed over the table posing a threat to the comrade's right to speak and be heard in public and again demanded that he leave the area. The lone comrade, realizing that he was not in a position to do physical battle at this time, preserved his strength and immediately reported the incident to his other comrades. Besides, the comrade had more than proved openly his point: that revisionism and opportunism cannot stand the slightest criticism and are thoroughly reactionary to Marxism-Leninism.

The encounters that the comrades of the M.L.O.U.S.A. have had with the "left" revisionist Maoites have been similar and parallel, with the exception that these revisionist scum are more readily prone to reactionary violence and lumpen mentality - probably because of their recent but temporary victory over the Marxist-Leninists in the People's Republic of China. A woman comrade of the M.L.O.U.S.A. was circulating amongst the crowd of demonstrators selling the "Proletariat," the theoretical journal of the M.L.O.U.S.A., when she was accosted by a Maoist inquiring why she was selling such "counterrevolutionary trash." She replied that the "Proletariat" was not counterrevolutionary, but truly revolutionary, because it pointed to the truth which existed in the social world and that, contrary to the Maoist publications, it did not deify Mao but uncloaked and exposed his treacherous counterrevolutionary revisionism, and placed its faith in Marxism-Leninism and on the millions and millions of workers, peasants and oppressed and exploited that Marxist-Leninists looked to the material basis in society for an understanding of the development of society and not on the "thoughts" of "geniuses." Upon hearing these words from our brave and undaunted comrade the Maoist picked up his megaphone and summoned more of his male cohorts to the scene where they surrounded her and tried their utmost to intimidate her, tongue-lashing her and calling her all sorts of names. It was only with the help of two other sisters in the area that our comrade was rescued from being jumped on and even possibly physically assaulted by this Maoist gang of fascistic acting thugs.

These street gang tactics on the part of the Maoists, particularly the so-called Revolutionary Union and the Venceramos groups in the San Francisco Bay area are testimony to the lumpen mentality of these revisionists and opportunists. These bankrupt bourgeois tactics of the bloc of Maoites, Trotskyites and Khrushchovites are becoming increasingly lucid with each passing day. Let it be known to the world that the international working masses are not fools and morons to be deceived for long by "wise" phrases, slogans and quotations, and by "theories" of "peaceful" social revolution. And let it be known that Marxist-Leninists and the working class will not idly stand by and permit their comrades, friends and the working people to be intimidated and bullied by anyone. The comrades of the M.L.O.U.S.A. have pledged to defend

Marxism-Leninism, the working people, their comrades and themselves, even with their lives if need be, against the intrigues of the bourgeois-imperialists, all their agents and lackies who have dissembled themselves as Marxist-Leninists and insinuated themselves into the ranks of the working class and the masses of the people.

DOWN WITH THE NEW EFFORTS OF THE MAOITES, TROTSKYITES, AND KHRUSCHOVITES TO THWART THE REVOLUTIONARY TIDES OF THE WORKING CLASS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD!

DOWN WITH ALL SHADES OF REVISIONISM AND OPPORTUNISM!!

ALL POWER TO THE WORKING CLASS!

LONG LIVE MARX, ENGELS, LENIN & STALIN!

read

**RED
VANGUARD**

**Theoretical Journal of the
MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANISATION of BRITAIN**

contact the MLOUSA or the
MLOB
26 Cambridge Rd.
Ilford, Essex, England

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE RANK-AND-FILE OF MAOIST PARTIES, ORGANIZATIONS AND GROUPS (reprinted from a publication of the MLOB)

Although this open letter, written by the Marxist-Leninist Organisation of Britain, was intended for the Maoist groups and organizations in Britain, the Marxist-Leninist Organization of the USA contends that its contents is germane to the USA. It is in the spirit of "curing the illness to save the patient" that we publish this letter; it is also hoped that the rank-and-file Maoists will follow the suggestions of this letter, instead of following the blind faith of Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai et al, in Peking, and the Maoist leaders in the USA who plainly represent obstacles to proletarian revolution.

The MLOUSA would be happy to answer any questions you may have concerning our position on the People's Republic of China. Please address all inquiries to:

M.L.O.U.S.A.
1550 Steiner St./Station A
P.O. Box 15094
San Francisco, CA. 94115

Dear Comrade(s):

In January 1968, just 2½ years ago, the Central Committee of the MLOB rendered its Report on the Situation in the People's Republic of China. This represented the first scientific Marxist-Leninist analysis of the Chinese revolution, of the history of the Communist Party of China and of the personal leading role in that revolution and that history of MAO TSE-TUNG. This was followed in February 1968 by the Report of the Central Committee of the MLOB "Proletarian Internationalism: the Key to Victory in Anti-Imperialist Struggle and Socialist Revolution," in which the significance of the counter-revolutionary "cultural revolution" to the International Communist movement was assessed. In the Spring of 1970 the MLOB published the first part of a detailed, fully documented history of Mao Tse-tung, in which his bourgeois origins and the reactionary nationalist character of his thought, together with his many acts of betrayal against the Chinese Revolution and the Chinese proletariat and poor peasantry are described, documented and subjected to the searchlight of Marxist-Leninist analysis.

There should, of course, be no need to stress that the theoretical critique of Maoism which was initiated by our Central Committee has absolutely nothing in common with the various attempts at such a critique essayed from time to time by the right-revisionists of Moscow and their hangers-on and sycophants in the various right and ultra-revisionist parties. On the contrary, in every example of polemical analysis made by our Central Committee, we have sought to reveal and to stress the complementary inter-connection between Soviet right and maoist left revisionism. We have been concerned to *prove conclusively* by means of rigorous Marxist-Leninist analysis that these two complementary forms of modern revisionist teaching in fact reflect and serve the interests of the new bourgeoisie which has developed in the U.S.S.R. since the death of Stalin and of the national capitalist class which held a share in state power from the very inception of the People's Republic of China in 1949, and which, since the counter-revolutionary "cultural revolution" of 1966, has succeeded in transforming that partial shared dictatorship within the framework of the revisionist "New Democracy" - the first "state of the whole people" pre-dating

in Mao's exposition of 1949, Khrushchev's notorious formula by 16 years--into the direct, brutal and terrorist military dictatorship of the Chinese national capitalist class itself.

Since then, every development in the history of the People's Republic of China has demonstrated the correctness of the M.L.O.B.'s analysis.

In March 1970, with the publication of our Central Committee's Report on the Role of "Centrist Revisionism, we analysed the growth of inter-imperialist rivalries, of the new mode of operation of the law of uneven development in the contemporary phase of the General Crisis of capitalism and of the new inter-imperialist balance of power which is every day emerging in ever greater clarity, as one in which

"... international contradictions between capitalist classes in different countries, and between alliances of such capitalist classes, have greatly increased. This situation is leading inevitably towards yet another global war for the re-division of the world--this time between two vast imperialist groups dominated respectively by United States imperialism and Soviet neo-imperialism. As this process of polarisation develops, the imperialist powers of Western Europe, Japanese imperialism and India are beginning to move towards the Soviet pole, while China, Albania, Pakistan and those neo-capitalist states of Eastern Europe which have broken (or will have broken) free from Soviet domination are beginning to move toward the U.S. pole."

At the present time, two events of world-wide importance also underline the correctness of that Marxist-Leninist analysis. For, with the outbreak of the just struggle of the working people of Bangla Desh, the growing alignment of the counter-revolutionary Mao regime with the USA was given the clearest possible expression with the official support given by the Mao faction to the reactionary comprador regime of Yahya Khan in its massacre, with the aid of automatic and other weapons supplied by the People's Republic of China and the Mao leadership, of the working people. Finally, it was announced over a week ago that the butcher-in-chief of US imperialism, Nixon, had arranged to visit Peking for talks to resolve any residual contradictions remaining between the two states. Thus as revealed the culmination of a process of capitalist growth in the People's Republic of China which is now, with the adoption of an *open* comprador relationship under the most powerful single imperialist power on earth, US imperialism and with its

acceptance of a relationship of support for an arch reactionary pro-US semi-colonial regime in Pakistan, stands on the brink of an imperialist stage of development.

A most careful examination of the history and origins of modern revisionism reveals that it was no later than 1935, at the 7th World Congress of the Communist International, that the first policy lines of revisionism were laid down which later were to reach their fulfilment in the out-and-out betrayals in theory and in practice of N. Khrushchev. For it was at that event, signifying nothing less than a turning-point in the history of the International Communist Movement, that the correct policy of the revolutionary mass Red Front (united front of working class forces built from below) was abandoned and the policy of reaching unprincipled agreements with the *leaderships* of social-democratic and reformist parties and organisations (united front from above) and ultimately of "Popular Front" (unprincipled agreements reached with the leaderships of *openly bourgeois parties*) was substituted in its place. It is of significance that the chief example of the latter unprincipled strategy--one which for the first time since the founding of the Communist International opened the flood-gates of social-democratic and reformist thinking, permitting them to enter the international communist movement--was none other than Mao Tse-tung, who only a few months previous to the opening of the Congress had led the Communist Party of China, over which his faction by then held complete control, in issuing an appeal to all "patriotic" forces in China, including the Kuomintang and its army, to enter into such a united front from above.

Now, with the establishment of a military dictatorship in the name of "Mao Tse-tung Thought", the lessons are being hammered home with the relentless logic peculiar to history, whose wheels grind exceedingly fine. As the Report of the Central Committee of the M.L.O.B. irrefutably demonstrates, it was not Mao and his faction, but the developing Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Communist Party of China, headed by Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping and Peng Chen, which in 1959 had removed Mao from all positions of authority in the Party and state (the remaining office of Chairman of the Central Committee of the Party having been a mere sinecure) and so had armed itself to begin the magnificent and world-renowned critique of Soviet modern revisionism contained in the 9 Editorials of Renmin Ribao and Hongqi and the equally famous Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement. Since the victory of the counter-revolutionary "cultural revolution" the "struggle" against Soviet modern revisionism has been emptied of all scientific content and effectively abandoned, as the pronouncements of the Mao clique take on more and more the character of national-chauvinist exhor-

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tations to war against the neo-imperialist rival to China and chief enemy on a world scale of its master, US imperialism: the Soviet Union.

Now, as in 1935, the most perfunctory examination of the activities of the various Maoist parties and organisations in the international arena reveals that, in spite of the much-vaunted theoretical brilliance of Mao Tse-tung Thought, *absolutely no progress has been made* in the fundamental theoretical and programmatic tasks of analysing the developing contemporary world situation and the new mode of operation of capitalist/imperialist laws of motion or, flowing from this, of elaborating in a world programme of advance towards the final stages of the world proletarian-socialist revolution. There can now be no doubt but that the prime responsibility for this confusion and its resultant disruption and sabotage must be borne by the counter-revolutionary Mao Tse-tung faction—which, were it truly a Marxist-Leninist world leadership, as it claims, would at the very inception of the struggle against Soviet modern revisionism have taken steps to bring the enormous international prestige of the C.P.C. behind the necessary steps to form a new Marxist-Leninist International, as Lenin and the Bolsheviks in 1919 in relation to the then vital struggle against the betrayal of the old-style revisionists of the Second International. In those few cases where some kind of a programmatic analysis and perspective has been drawn up, such as with the Communist Party of Germany (ML) (Bochum), we find the hoary "united front" precepts being dusted up and put on show as Dimitroff first put forward at the 7th World Congress in 1935.

At this crucial juncture, and as a consequence of the principled struggle outlined above, the Mao faction in Peking and its opportunist place-seekers in the leaderships of the various Maoist groups in Europe and the Americas have been exposed. They have failed completely to produce a single theoretically valid defence of Maoist "left" revisionism. Consequently, they are now compelled to attempt to sweep under the carpet the growing evidence of the bourgeois, not to say fascist, character of the Mao faction, its policies and particularly of its counter-revolutionary "cultural revolution." In those cases where these bogus "left" revisionist parties are propped up by finance from Peking, there is small wonder that such an analysis, with its inevitable outcome in essential self-criticism, is being avoided like the plague and for as long as possible, and an attempt made instead to drown the ensuing dissension under buckets of pseudo-left demagogy. As a last resort, some of these "left" revisionist groups are trying to save themselves from the now imminent exposure of Maoism as a whole by essaying a type of

"criticism of Mao's errors" which picks on specific aspects of the Mao policy and "criticises" them whilst both avoiding making a principled fundamental analysis of the history and character of Maoist "left" revisionism and attempting to ignore that made by the M.L.O.B. Typical amongst these groups is the neo-trotskyite Irish Communist Organisation.

The Marxist-Leninist Organisation of Britain therefore issues the following appeal to the rank-and-file of the Maoist "left" revisionist parties, organisations and groups:

- * Demand discussion of the Mao question and of the "cultural revolution" in your cell or at other levels;
 - * Whenever the "left" revisionist opportunists attempt to impose a gag or to use their positions to brand those who demand principled discussions as "disruptors" and "splitters", as happened recently with the so-called "Communist Federation of Britain (M.L.)" *hit them hard* with the facts outlined in the Central Committee of the M.L.O.B.'s Report, give them *no peace, agitate* continuously and relentlessly inside your organisation and outside it for a *public* discussion, and above all, attend the rank-and-file forums and discussion meetings to be organised by M.L.O.B. and the Red Front Movement;
 - * In the case of officially recognised parties and organisations, *expose* the unprincipled manoeuvres, compromises and agreements reached by the leaderships of these parties and organisations in their relations with the bureaucratic cliques in the embassies and other agencies of the People's Republic of China from whence they draw their financial life-blood, and without which, to name but one example, the political mountebank and life-long reformist Birch, "General Secretary" of the "Communist Party of Britain (M.L.)"—a man married all his life to the most fossil tenets of narrow economism, — would collapse overnight.
- Comrades! *Now is the time* to strike at these new-style "left" demagogues and to strip them of the last remaining tatters of prestige adhering to them. If this is not done *now* the effect will be simply to facilitate the manoeuvres they will ultimately attempt to carry through a 130% turn overnight, to pretend that they have "understood all about Mao" from the very beginning, that they have been "waging a secret battle within the leadership" and especially to ignore the M.L.O.B. analysis and critique of Maoism as if it had never existed. For, at a certain stage, these opportunist parties and organisations and their leaderships will attempt to jump on to the anti-Mao bandwagon and being so, as they hope, sheltered for a while longer from exposure — to plan new, bigger and even more serious betrayals and disruption in the future. These would-be party bosses" must be exposed and eliminated *now*, for time is running short; already, the imperialist system is beginning to enter into crisis and to align itself into two vast hostile groups, headed by U.S. imperialism

and Soviet neo-imperialism respectively, in preparation for a third imperialist world war. The tasks of elaborating Marxist-Leninist programmes of revolutionary advance, of beginning the revolutionary enlightenment of the masses, of beginning the construction of Marxist-Leninist vanguard parties in every land, and finally of constructing the Marxist-Leninist International --- essential if the world proletarian-socialist revolution is to be led to final victory, *must* be taken in hand *now*, even if the initial results are only embryonic in size and capacity.

Above all, therefore, we appeal to all rank-and-file members of maoist parties, organisations and groups to *establish contact with M.L.O.B.* to begin their contribution to the struggle for the above aims by joining with us in developing a scientific, carefully organised and integrated campaign to lay anew the foundations of a regenerated, steeled and disciplined Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the British and world working class, of which the utter rout and destruction of all forms of modern revisionism is a most fundamental component.

The Marxist-Leninist vanguard party and the Marxist-Leninist International can *only* be established, take root in the spontaneous class struggle of the working class and succeed as a scientific instrument of leadership in guiding those struggles through to the victory of the proletarian-socialist revolution *provided that they continuously, unremittingly and at all times conduct a fierce, uncompromising struggle* against all forms of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois theory and practice posing within the working class movement as "revolutionary", "Marxist" or "progressive." We feel confident that

the rank-and-file of the maoist parties, organisations and groups, who for so long have suffered their revolutionary zeal to be abused and exploited for reactionary purposes by their opportunist leaderships, will answer this appeal by shaking off the ideological blinkers of a crippling allegiance in every way as harmful as that towards the ultra-revisionist "Communist Party of Great Britain," and so at last take their rightful place in the ranks of genuine Marxist-Leninists.

Such a positive development would constitute *the beginning of the end of maoist "left" revisionism*, as indeed of every other spawning variant of modern revisionism. The transformation of the existing Marxist-Leninist nucleus, the M.L.O.B. into the future Marxist-Leninist vanguard party, the moment of birth of the most essential component of the coming proletarian-socialist revolution, could then be said to have taken place.

Each and every rank-and file member of these "left" revisionist organisations should take steps to ensure that he takes his place in the ranks of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary vanguard *now*, before the inescapable exposure of counter-revolutionary "maoism" itself makes this yet more difficult.

Sunday, July 25th, 1971

The Editorial Committee,

Marxist-Leninist Organisation of Britain

Interim Policy on Recruitment & Membership to the MLOUSA

In order to build a strong Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, the Central Committee of the MLOUSA has adopted the following policy with regard to the question of membership and recruitment. The policy is based on the application of Marxist-Leninist principles to the concrete situation of building a revolutionary proletarian organization. This is an interim statement approved by the Central Committee (pending ratification by the First National Congress).

Conditions of Membership to the MLOUSA

- A. Membership to the MLOUSA is open to any resident of the United States of America who does not exploit the labor of others, accepts the program and Declaration (the Constitution when approved) of the decisions of the Organization and pays dues as required.

Duties of Members

- B. Members of the MLOUSA have the following duties:
1. To study Marxism-Leninism and unceasingly raise the level of their social consciousness and theoretical understanding and to synthesize and corroborate Marxist theory with on-going practice.
 2. To safe guard the solidarity of the MLOUSA and consolidate its unity.
 3. To faithfully carry out the policy and decisions of the MLOUSA and to energetically fulfill the tasks assigned them by the Organization.

4. To strictly observe the principles of the Declaration (until the Organization constitution is adopted) and of communist ethics. No exception is made for any member, whatever his services and position.
5. To place the interests of the MLOUSA and the masses of the people above their personal interests, and in the event of conflict between the two submit unswervingly to the interest of the Organization and the masses of the people.
6. To serve the masses of the working and oppressed people conscientiously to create and strengthen ties with the working class, to listen with an open mind to their wishes and opinions and to report these without delay to the Organization, to explain the Organization's policy and decisions to the people.
7. To set a good example in their organizational work and constantly raise their productive skill and professional ability in their work.
8. To practice criticism and self-criticism, expose shortcomings and mistakes in work and to strive to overcome and correct them; to report such shortcomings and mistakes to the leading organizational bodies up to and including the Central Committee, and to fight both inside and outside the Organization against everything detrimental to the interest of the MLOUSA and the working and oppressed people.
9. To be honest and truthful with the MLOUSA and not to conceal or distort the truth.
10. To be constantly on the alert against the intrigues of the enemy and to guard the secrets of the Organization. Members of the MLOUSA who fail to fulfill any of the above mentioned duties shall be criticized and educated. Any serious infraction of these duties, splitting the Organization's unity, violation of its discipline, damaging its interest, or deception toward the Organization constitutes a violation of organizational discipline and disciplinary action shall be taken against it.

Rights of Members of the MLOUSA

- C. Members of the MLOUSA enjoy the following rights:
1. To participate in free and practical discussion at organizational meetings or in the organizational press on theoretical and practical questions relating to the policy of the MLOUSA.
 2. To make proposals regarding the Organization's work and to give full play to their creative ability in their work.
 3. To elect and be elected within the MLOUSA.
 4. To criticize any organizational body or any function at organizational meetings.
 5. To ask to attend in person when an organizational body decides to take disciplinary action against them or to make appraisal of their work.
 6. To reserve their opinions or submit them to a leading body of the Organization in case they disagree with any decisions which, in the meanwhile, they must carry out unconditionally.
 7. To address any statement, appeal or complaint to any organizational body, up to and including the Central Committee. Organization members and leading cadre of any organizational body who fail to respect these rights of any member shall be criticized and educated. Infringement of these rights constitutes a violation of organizational discipline, and disciplinary action shall be taken against it.

Recruitment Policy

- D. The following is the recruitment policy of the MLOUSA:
1. Applicants for membership must undergo the procedure for admission individually. New members are admitted to the Organization through the basic political unit, the cell. An applicant must be recommended by two full members of the MLOUSA and is admitted as a probationary member after being accepted by the general membership meeting of the cell and approved by the next higher organizational body. The applicant may become a full member only after the completion of the probationary period of three months. Under special conditions applicants may be admitted to the Organization directly with the approval of the Secretariat.
 2. Organizational members who recommend an applicant for admission to the MLOUSA must be highly conscientious in furnishing truthful information about the applicant's ideology, character and personal history, and must explain the program of the MLOUSA and its Declaration (constitution) to the applicant.
 3. Before approving the admission of an applicant for membership, the committee concerned must assign a functionary to have a detailed conversation with the applicant and carefully examine his application form, the opinions of his recommenders and the decisions made by the organizational cell on his admission.

Probationary Membership

- E. The following is the policy on probationary membership:
1. During the probationary period, the organizational bodies concerned shall give the probationary member an elementary political education and observe the probationary member's political qualities. Probationary members have the same rights as full members except that they have no rights to elect or to vote on any motion.
 2. When the probationary period of a member has expired, the organizational cell must discuss without delay whether that member is qualified to be transferred to full membership. Such a transfer must be accepted by a general membership meeting of the said organizational cell and approved by the next highest organizational body. The cell may also decide to prolong the probationary period for three months, after which time a final evaluation must be made. If the probationary member, at the end of six months is found to be unfit for transfer, then the status of probationary membership shall be annulled. Any decision by the cell to prolong the probationary period of a probationary member or to deprive him of his probationary status must be approved by the next higher organizational body.
 3. The probationary period of a probationary member begins from the day when the general membership meeting of a cell accepts the applicant as a probationary member. The organizational standing of a member dates from the day that the general membership meeting of the cell accepts the member.

Transfers Within the MLOUSA

- F. Members transferring from one organizational body to another become members of the latter organizational body.

Withdrawal From the MLOUSA

- G. Members are free to withdraw from the MLOUSA. When a member asks to withdraw, the cell to which that member belongs shall, by the decision of the general membership meeting, strike that member's name from the rolls and report the matter to the next higher body.

Reasons for Disciplinary Action

- H. A member who over a period of three months and without proper reason fails to take part in the life of the Organization or pay membership dues, is regarded as having quit the MLOUSA. The cell to which that member belongs shall by decision of the general membership meeting strike his name from the rolls and report the matter to the next higher body.

Disciplinary Action

- I. Organizational bodies at appropriate levels may, according to each individual case, take disciplinary measures against any member who violates the discipline of the MLOUSA, such as warnings, serious warnings, removal from post held in the Organization, placing on probation within the Organization, or expulsion from the MLOUSA. The period in which a member is placed on probation shall not exceed six months. During this period the rights and duties of the member shall be the same as those of a probationary member. If after being placed on probation the member shows that he has corrected his mistakes, his rights as a full member shall be restored and the period in which he is placed on probation will be reckoned in organizational standing. If that member is found to be unfit for membership to the MLOUSA he shall be expelled.
- J. Any disciplinary measures taken against a member must be decided on by a general membership meeting of the cell to which the member belongs and must be approved by the next higher body. Under special conditions, the cell has the power to take direct action against a member, but it (the action) is subject to the approval of the next higher body.
- K. Any decision to remove a member or alternate member of the Central Committee, or to place that member on probation or to expel that member from the MLOUSA must be taken by the National Congress. In conditions of urgency, such decisions may be taken by a two thirds majority vote of the Central Committee at a Plenary session, but it must be subject to subsequent confirmation by the next session of the National Congress.
- L. Expulsion from the MLOUSA is the most severe of all inner-organizational disciplinary actions. In taking or approving such an action, all organizational bodies must exercise the utmost caution, thoroughly investigate and study the facts and material evidence of the case, and listen carefully to the statements made in that member's defense by said member and all else concerned.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

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May/June 1972

ALBANIA

In November of 1971 the Albanian Party of Labour held its Sixth Congress. Among the significant passages in the report of the Central Committee presented to the Congress by First Secretary *Enver Hoxha*, was the following:

"Facing the peoples stands a great, insatiable and barbarous enemy.

For this reason the struggle against U.S. imperialism has become the supreme duty for all the revolutionary forces of our time...

The attitude to imperialism, and in the first place to U.S. imperialism, is the 'touch-stone' for all the political forces of the world. This is not just a tactical question or a temporary question in the existing circumstances... It serves as a gauge for assessing practical actions, as a demarcation line which divides into hostile camps those who defend the vital interests of the peoples and the future of mankind from those who trample them underfoot, dividing revolutionaries from reactionaries and traitors.

The Communist Party of China did not send a delegation to the Albanian Congress.

BANGLADESH

With the speedy victory of the *Bangladesh forces of national liberation* (RED FRONT, July/August 1971 p. 19-20) following the intervention of Indian armed forces in November 1971, Bangladesh had by March 1971 been recognised as an *independent state* by most of the powers except the United States and China, which had given their full support to the attempts of the Pakistan military dictatorship to suppress the national liberation movement in the East.

In March 1972 Bangladesh signed a 20-year treaty of 'friendship and cooperation' with *India*. India is holding 90,000 Pakistan prisoners-of-war pending Pakistan's recognition of Bangladesh.

In line with the developing Moscow-New Delhi axis, in March the *Soviet Union* was awarded the contract for clearing the harbours of Bangladesh, and agreed to supply the new state with fighter and transport planes.

In April 1972 Bangladesh formally joined the *British Commonwealth*.

CHILE

The government of the Popular Unity Front in Chile, exponent of the revisionists' 'peaceful road to socialism' illusions (RED FRONT, July/August 1971 p.19) was further weakened in January 1972,

when the government candidates were decisively defeated by extreme right-wing candidates in two key congressional by elections. The country's foreign exchange reserves are being rapidly depleted by interest on and repayment of the massive foreign debts accumulated by previous governments, which the Popular Unity Front regime, faithful as ever to the rule of law, insists on honouring.

The strength of the forces ranged against the government was further revealed in March, when American columnist Jack Anderson published confidential documents of the huge *International Telephone and Telegraph Company* which describe the large-scale financing by the company, in collaboration with the Central Intelligence Agency, of counter-revolutionary movements in Chile. In April John McCone, a former director of the C.I.A. now on the board of I.T.T., confirmed the genuineness of the documents in an interview with *Business Week*.

CHINA

In October 1971 the reactionary despot of Ethiopia, *Emperor Haile Selassie* (RED FRONT, July/August 1971 p.20) was welcomed to China on an official state visit.

In the same month China was admitted to the United Nations, to the accompaniment of hypocritical noises of disapproval by the U.S. government, and the name and person of Mao's deputy, *Lin Biao*, disappeared without explanation from the Chinese scene. The concurrent attacks by the military dictatorship upon 'ultra-left elements' suggest that Lin headed a faction of the Chinese capitalist class which was opposed to the dropping so early of the 'revolutionary' mask of the cultural revolution as manifested in the open Sino-U.S. rapprochement.

In February *Nixon* paid his official visit to Peking, to the accompaniment of a Chinese band playing *Home on the Range*, and spoke of the *Long March* which China and the United States had embarked upon together.

In March *Britain* and China agreed to raise their diplomatic relations to ambassadorial level, and in April Chou En-lai told a group of visiting American scholars that the *US bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam* would not affect the development of relations between China and the United States.

CYPRUS

In September 1971 a campaign was launched by the Greek fascist regime, in collaboration with the US imperialists, for the *overthrow of the Cyprus government* of the patriotic front headed by

Archbishop Makarios and representing the Cypriot national bourgeoisie.

In this month Greek General *George Grivas* was landed secretly and illegally on the island and given sanctuary in the Greek military headquarters, from where he proceeded to issue communiques denouncing Makarios as a "traitor" for opposing Enosis (the union of Cyprus with Greece).

Faced with the opposition of Turkey to full Greek control of Cyprus, at the end of 1971 a secret meeting of representatives of Greece and Turkey took place in Lisbon under the auspices of NATO, at which plans for partitioning the island between the two NATO states were agreed upon.

In an effort to defend itself, the Cyprus government - which has no armed forces of its own apart from a small Presidential bodyguard - imported arms from Czechoslovakia. The Greek government then sent an ultimatum to the Cyprus government demanding the surrender of the arms and the formation of a "government of national unity", which would include pro-Enosis politicians. It was planned that, if this ultimatum was rejected, the Greek-officered "Cypriot National Guard" would overthrow the government.

However, when the Soviet imperialists, anxious to prevent the passing of the strategically important island into the control of the bloc dominated by US imperialism, intervened and declared their full backing for the Makarios government, the US government - anxious to avoid for the time being a direct confrontation with their Soviet rivals in the Mediterranean - forced the Greek fascist regime to hold up its planned coup.

GUINEA

Following the defeat of the invasion launched from neighbouring Portuguese Guinea in November 1970 (RED FRONT, July/August 1971; p.20), trials were held in January and June 1971 of a number of Ministers, army officers, businessmen and civil servants who had collaborated with the invaders. Two former ambassadors to the USA, Karim Bengoura and Fadilla Keita, admitted at their trial that they had been working for the CIA. Sixty eight of the accused were sentenced to death, 66 to life imprisonment.

The developing Moscow-New Delhi axis (RED FRONT, March 1970 p.28) underwent a further significant development in August 1971 with the signing of a treaty of 'peace, friendship and co-operation' between the Soviet Union and India.

Following the successful Indian military intervention in support of the Bangladesh national liberation movement in November/December 1971 (see: BANGLADESH), the ruling new *Congress Party* headed by Indira Gandhi, - and to a lesser extent the right-wing Communist Party of India - scored resounding suc-

cesses in the *elections to state assemblies* in March 1972: the ruling party won more than 70% of the seats, winning control of all but 3 of the 21 Indian states. The centrist Communist Party of India (Marxist) suffered a resounding defeat at the polls even in its main stronghold of West Bengal.

IRAQ

Following President Anwar Sadat's coup of May 1971 against the pro-Soviet faction within the Egyptian capitalist class headed by former Vice-President Ali Sabry (RED FRONT, July/August 1971 p.20), the Soviet imperialists have increasingly turned their predatory attentions towards another Middle East country - Iraq. Soviet technicians have played a prominent part in opening up the new Rumailah oilfield, a large part of the output of which has been earmarked for the Soviet Union and its semi-colonies in Eastern Europe.

In February 1972 Iraq signed a trade and aid agreement with the *German Democratic Republic*, under which Iraq is to receive an East German loan of \$75 million, a large part of which is to be used for the further development of Iraq's oil resources. The GDR will take Iraqi oil in part payment of the loan.

IRELAND

The abolition of the parliament of Northern Ireland in March 1972 marks a further important stage in the plan of British imperialism to convert divided Ireland, in collaboration with the comprador bourgeoisie of North and South, into a united, nominally independent but in fact neo-colonial, Ireland.

This plan meets the needs of the southern comprador bourgeoisie, represented politically by the dominant faction of the Fianna Fail party, headed by Jack Lynch. The Republican government has on several occasions announced its readiness to secularise the Catholic constitution to make it acceptable as a basis for a united Ireland.

This plan also suits the needs of the northern comprador bourgeoisie, whose economic interests can no longer be served by the retention of a separate, fascist, colonial state in the North. This change of economic interest on the part of the comprador bourgeoisie of the North is reflected in the disintegration of its former political instrument, the Unionist Party. At present the interests of the Northern comprador bourgeoisie are represented politically by such parties as the Social Democratic and Labour Party and the Communist Party, but new political parties corresponding to Fianna Fail in the South are already beginning to emerge from the decay of the Unionist Party.

The Vanguard movement, led by William Craig, boasted of repeating the rebellion of the beginning of the century which led to the establishment of the

state of Northern Ireland. But in 1912 Orange "loyalism" represented the ideology which served the interests of British imperialism and of the comprador bourgeoisie of the North; today Vanguard is capable of isolated bombing attacks, of organising rallies and strikes among the politically backward "loyalist" workers who are living ideologically in the past, but *because it represents no class* it has no power to alter the course of development of Irish history. It is interesting that side by side with the right-wing Vanguard movement stands the trotskyite British and Irish Communist Organization (formerly the "Irish Communist Organization") which, with its "theory" of "two nations" in Ireland, stands for the right of self-determination of the "Protestant nation" of the North.

But a united, neo-colonial Ireland - the extension of the existing "Republic" of the South to the whole country - cannot meet the needs of the Irish national bourgeoisie or of the Irish working people, whose interests require the establishment of a *united Ireland which is genuinely independent*. The political representatives of this genuine independence movement in the Provisional Irish Republican Army and the left-wing of Fianna Fail understand that *such genuine independence can be attained only by armed struggle* against British imperialism and its treacherous quislings within the Irish nation. Whatever the success of British imperialism's plans for a united neo-colonial Ireland, therefore, the *Irish struggle for national liberation will go on*, and will have the support of all progressive people throughout the world. At present the main role of the Social Democratic and Labour Party and of the Communist Party is to serve British imperialism by striving to detach the Irish masses from support for the IRA.

The great deficiency in the Irish movement for national liberation is that, with the perversion of the Communist Party into a revisionist political instrument of the comprador bourgeoisie, the working class of Ireland has at present no political party which represents its class interests, which can work to transform the Irish national revolution into a socialist revolution. But *this is a deficiency which the inexorable forces of history will remedy in the not-too-distant future*.

JAPAN

In January 1961 Japanese Prime Minister *Eisaku Sato* visited the United States and had talks with President Nixon.

In an effort to win some concession from the Japanese imperialists in relation to the high trade barriers they have imposed against American goods, the US government agreed to bring forward the date for *the return of US-occupied Okinawa* to May 15th. The hoped-for concessions from Japan were

not, however, forthcoming, and the final communique made it clear that Japan would pursue an independent foreign policy.

JORDAN

In March 1972, after secret agreement with Israel, the imperialist puppet *King Hussein of Jordan* launched a plan for the peaceful solution of the Palestine problem under which the Israeli-occupied East Bank of the Jordan and Gaza Strip would be incorporated in an enlarged Jordanian kingdom to be called the "United Arab Kingdom".

The Israeli rejection of the plan on its publication was designed to make the plan more acceptable to politically backward Arab opinion.

THE DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF KOREA

In July/August 1971 we said that the ruling national bourgeoisie of North Korea saw in the developing Sino-US rapprochement

"...the possibility of securing the peaceful reunification of their country within this bloc with the approval of United States imperialism" (RED FRONT, July/August 1971; p.13.)

During the past six months, North and South Korea have reached agreement for the first time on *the reunification of a number of communications facilities* and on a number of *joint projects*. In March 1972 the North Korean government, headed by revisionist Kim II Sung, announced that the withdrawal of US forces from Korea need not precede *the development of friendly relations with the United States*.

LIBYA

When the Libyan government nationalized the holdings of *British Petroleum* in December 1971, the company withdrew all its technicians from the country, and Libya's oil production fell by 225,000 barrels a day.

In these circumstances, the Soviet imperialists magnanimously agreed to forget the Libyan government's savage anti-Communist bloodbath of a few months before, and in March 1972 an agreement was signed between Libya and the Soviet Union under which the two states would "cooperate" in prospecting for extracting and refining oil as well as in power generation and other branches of Libya's economy, in prospecting for minerals and in training Libyan technicians.

MALTA

In March 1972, the long negotiations between the British imperialists

and the government of the Mediterranean island of Malta, headed by Dom Mintoff, on the rent to be paid for the retention of British bases on the island, ended with the signing of an agreement under which this was fixed at 14 million lbs. a year: of this Britain will pay 5 million lbs., the balance coming from NATO countries interested in preventing the bases from being leased to the Soviet imperialists.

PAKISTAN

Following the catastrophic defeat of the Pakistan armed forces in the East in November/December 1971 and the secession of the eastern province of Pakistan as the independent state of Bangladesh (see: BANGLADESH), Yahya Khan was ousted as President and Chief Martial Law Administrator and replaced in these posts by Zilfigar Bhutto, leader of the Pakistan People's Party, the political instrument of the national bourgeoisie of the southern provinces of the remains of Pakistan.

The new administration took steps to reduce the wealth and power of the large landowners and the wealthiest of the comprador bourgeoisie and to nationalize key industries. In April it abolished martial law and introduced a new Constitution which, while retaining the despotic presidential powers of the 1962 Constitution and the power of imprisonment without trial, accorded a certain measure of autonomy to Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province in an effort to appease the national bourgeoisies of these regions, who have the support of the Soviet imperialists.

POLAND

In March 1972 Jozef Cyrankiewicz - the last member of the Gomulka clique imposed on the Polish United Workers' Party in 1956 by the Khrushchovites (RED FRONT, July/August 1971 p.14) to hold important office - was removed from the position as President and replaced by Henryk Jablinski.

Soon after its installation in December 1970, the new government headed by Edward Gierek began a policy of seeking a rapprochement with the reactionary hierarchy of the Catholic Church by granting to the Church the title to the lands it held in the western territories of Poland acquired from Germany in 1945. In March 1972 the government carried forward this policy by relieving the Church of its obligation to pay income tax on its agricultural land.

ROMANIA

As the Romanian ultra-revisionist leaders continued their independent capitalist policy in opposition to the pressure of Soviet imperialism (RED

FRONT March 1970; p.32), in March 1972 President Nicolae Ceausescu paid a state visit to Zambia. A communique issued at the end of the visit revealed that Romania had offered to Zambia a 50 million lbs. credit for developing joint Romanian-Zambian economic enterprises, particularly in the field of mining. The Romanian state enterprise GEOMIN already holds three concessions to prospect for copper in Zambia.

SOUTH AFRICA

The 350,000 Ovambo tribesmen who provide the bulk of the labour force in Namibia (formerly South West Africa) have long been presented to the world by the white racist regime in South Africa as "models" of the way black people should behave. In 1971 (following the United Nations decision of June 1968 that South African occupation of Namibia was illegal) Prime Minister John Vorster still felt so confident of the loyalty of the Ovambos that he offered to hold a plebiscite in the territory to determine its relations with South Africa.

The plebiscite was never held for in December 1971 13,000 Ovambo workers went on strike and returned to their homes in Ovamboland, crippling Namibia's gold, diamond and copper mines and virtually halting all services in the major towns of the country.

The strike was principally directed against the so-called "contract labour system" in operation in Namibia. Under this system a black worker seeking work had to apply to a government agency, the South West Africa Native Labour Administration, which might allot him a job provided he signed a contract of employment for 18 months at a fixed wage. The worker was denied the right to choose his employer or type of work, or even to bring his family with him into the area of his employment. Incitement to break a contract of employment, i.e. to strike, was an offence punishable by six months' imprisonment.

In March 1972 13 "ringleaders" of the strike stood trial in the capital Windhoek, identified by numbers pinned to their clothing, on charges of such incitement. The evidence at the trial revealed that the workers involved received under the system an average wage of \$2.12 a week.

As a result of the strike and of the publicity resulting from the trial, Namibian employers agreed to raise the minimum wage to 10 cents an hour - just one-third of the minimum wage for unskilled labour in South Africa itself - and workers were granted the right to change employers on notice. However, no more than 1,000 of the striking workers had returned to work by April following these concessions.

By January 1972 the general strike had, despite repressive emergency regulations, developed into a political struggle, out of which a national liberation movement will undoubtedly develop.

SOVIET UNION

In February 1972 *West Germany's* state-owned Salzgitter AG signed a contract with Soviet Technopromimport and Sojus Chemical to construct a \$38 million polyethylene plant at Kazan on the Volga.

In March the *West German* company Badische Anilin-und Soda-Fabrik AG signed a contract with Soviet Technomashimport for the construction in the USSR of a plant to produce hydroxylamine, used in the production of synthetic fibres.

In March Lord Erroll, who headed a mission to Moscow from the London Chamber of Commerce, said that negotiations were proceeding for joint British-Soviet exploitation of Soviet iron ore recently discovered in the region of Murmansk. He said that the Soviet government was "extremely interested" in joint industrial enterprises with "Western countries" on a very large scale.

SPAIN

In the thirty years since the establishment in Spain of the fascist *corporate state*, under which trade unions and strike action are illegal and the workers are enrolled in state-controlled "syndicates" along with their employers, the Spanish workers have evolved new methods of class struggle from which, as the British imperialists move step by step to impose a "corporate state" in Britain, the British workers can learn much of value.

In 1970 Spain had more strikes (all illegal) than any other European country except Italy. These struggles have been led by shop stewards' committees known in Spain as workers' commissions, a coordinated network of which has been built up throughout the country.

During the winter of 1971-72, 20,000 miners in Asturias waged one of the longest industrial battles in Spanish working class history. In October 1971 all miners in state-owned pits, and many of those in privately-owned pits, went on strike, and shopkeepers closed their doors in sympathy until compelled to reopen by the police. The miners held out for seven weeks when they were forced back to work - after 2,800 miners had been arrested - by a combination of hunger and the assistance to the fascist regime rendered by the Polish revisionist government, which sent coal to Spain to help break the strike. As a reward for their services, Polish government "experts" were called in to advise on the "rationalisation" of the Hunosa mines: one of the main recommendations of their report is that 4,000 miners should be made redundant.

In March 1972 an event unique under the fascist regime took place. Following police action to clear the state-owned Bazan shipyards (in north-west Spain) of striking workers, workers in the neighbouring town of *El Ferrol del Caudillo* (Franco's birthplace) went on

protest strike and staged a mass demonstration which drove the armed police back into their barracks and took over the town for several hours, until the authorities "restored order" with army reinforcements sent to the town.

TANZANIA

In recent years the ruling class in Tanzania (formed in April 1964 by the union of *Tanganyika* with the island of *Zanzibar*) has begun to move into ever greater dependence upon the Sino-US power bloc.

This policy of the mainland federal government, headed by *Julius Nyerere*, has met with growing opposition from the Zanzibar bourgeoisie, which favours dependence upon British imperialism. In the first months of 1972 economic relations between the island and the mainland have been virtually severed, and a number of pro-Chinese politicians, including Abdulrahman Babu, have been dismissed from the Zanzibar state government. In April the account of the Zanzibar state government in the London branch of the Moscow Narodny Bank (representing more than 25 million lbs. of Zanzibar's foreign exchange earnings from its only export, cloves) was transferred to the personal name of the head of Zanzibar state government, Sheikh Abeid Amani Karume, to prevent the money from falling into the hands of the federal government.

In April 1972 *Sheikh Karume* was assassinated by army officers associated with the Maoist *Umma (Massas) Party*, headed by *Abdulrahman babu*.

UNITED STATES

In December 1971 the twenty-five-year period of world history in which United States imperialism was the dominant economic power in the world came formally to an end with the decision of the Washington conference of the Group of Ten countries that *the US dollar should be devalued*.

The action has left foreign central banks holding some \$52,000 million of US dollar notes - once "as good as gold" but now no longer, European imperialists, led by those of France, are now discussing the possibility of buying out US owners of industrial enterprises in their countries with these paper dollars - in effect expropriating them to pay America's bad debts.

In March 1972 the *Soledad Brothers*, Fleeta Drumgo and John Cluchette, were acquitted in San Francisco on trumped-up charges of murder - despite intensive security "precautions" in the court designed to convince the all-white jury of the "desperate character" of the defendants.

In April 1972 International Telephone and Telegraph (see: CHILE) was involved in a Senate investigation into

the fact that the Justice Department dropped an anti-trust case against the company following its offer to underwrite \$400,000 of the expenses of the Republican National Convention to be held this August in San Diego. 'Pure coincidence' said Acting Attorney-General Richard Kliendienst.

VIETNAM

The present large-scale offensive of the Vietnamese forces of national liberation is directed in the first place not so much at the liberation of territory as at the demoralization and destruction of the American-armed and American-trained forces of the puppet regime of South Vietnam. The just national cause of the liberation forces, the military skill of their generals, the bravery of their soldiers, the substantial equipment they have received in recent years from the Soviet Union - all these factors combine to make it virtually certain that *they will succeed in their aim.*

However, the changed international situation resulting from the developing Sino-US alliance necessarily gives a *changed significance to the war in Vietnam*, for in this new situation the puppet regime in South Vietnam has become - like the Chiang Kai-shek regime in Taiwan - a liability to the US imperialists, a liability of which they are anxious to rid themselves as soon as possible. The withdrawal of American forces from Vietnam is often attributed to public opinion at home but although the movement of opposition to the war was commenced by progressive elements, it must be remembered that in recent years it has been encouraged and made respectable by imperialist circles, by the capitalist press, by members of Congress. This has been because *withdrawal from Vietnam has come to be in the interests of US imperialism.* To try not to add too much to their reputation of betraying their "loyal allies" when it suits them, the US imperialists have resorted once more to the indiscriminate bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, but it is admitted that this bloody gesture cannot change the course of the fighting. A significant pointer to US aims lies in the fact that the US military advisers to the puppet forces are flown out to safety as soon as the liberation forces come anywhere near their bases.

The new aim of the US imperialists in relation to Vietnam, with which they are now in full agreement with the Chinese revisionists, is that when the puppet army of South Vietnam has been destroyed as an effective fighting force, *the recalcitrant puppets in Saigon will be overthrown and replaced by new elements which will agree to the peaceful reunification of the country within the framework of the Sino-US power bloc.*

YUGOSLAVIA

In December 1971 the Tito regime in Yugoslavia struck at *the leaders of the Croatian Communist Party*, representatives of the Croatian neo-capitalist class who have been organizing a movement for autonomy for Croatia, in alliance with the Soviet imperialists and exiled Croatian fascists (RED FRONT, July/August 1971 p.14).

After Tito had attacked them publicly for "rotten liberalism", the Croatian leaders - including the Prime Minister Dragutin Haramija, the Party President Savka Dabcevik-Kucar, and the Party Secretary Pero Pirker - were forced to resign.

In February 1972 the French Citroen company signed a contract with two Yugoslav companies to form a new joint company for the production of almost the full range of Citroen cars at Nova Gorica.

In March 1972 the West German Volkswagen company signed an agreement for the construction of a factory in Yugoslavia for the production of the complete range of Volkswagen vehicles.

Also in March, a consortium of 20 US banks granted a loan of \$100 million to the National Bank of Yugoslavia.

ZIMBABWE (RHODESIA)

In November 1971 the *terms of settlement* agreed between the British imperialists and the Smith regime in Rhodesia were published as a White Paper. They provided for progress towards majority rule, the rate of progress to be determined by the white racist regime (which has many times declared its complete opposition to the principle of majority rule) subject to the settlement being acceptable in the opinion of a Commission to be headed by Lord Pearce to the Rhodesian people as a whole.

The last provision, included as a sop to democratic world opinion, was based on the belief that the government's oppressive measures, together with the pressure of the reactionary black chiefs dependent for their privileged positions on the regime, would result in meek acceptance of the settlement by the black majority of the population. This proved a serious miscalculation since the *arrival of the commission provided the first opportunity for many years for the development of a legal protest movement against the regime*, so that the Pearce Commission was faced with a loud and unmistakable declaration of "no" from the black majority.

As the Pearce Commission is preparing its report (May 1972), Smith is now calling for the setting up of an African Common Market type of body embracing the white racist regimes of Rhodesia, South Africa, and the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique.

INTERIM POLICY

(Continued from page 17)

- M. When an organizational body discusses or decides on disciplinary measures against a member, it must, barring special circumstances, notify the member concerned to attend the meeting to defend himself. When disciplinary action is decided upon, the person against whom such action is taken must be told the reasons for it. If the member in question disagrees, that member may ask for a reconsideration of his case and address an appeal to higher bodies, up to and including the Central Committee. Organizational bodies at all levels must deal with all such appeals seriously or forward them promptly; no suppression is permitted.

PROLETARIAT

theoretical organ
of the
MLOUSA

write the MLOUSA for copies

DRAFT DECLARATION -- continued from page 2

this movement toward realizing the restoration of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice and consciously aiding in the inevitable destruction of *all* capitalism and *all* imperialism wherever its roots are on the face of the earth and replacing it with socialism and communism. Our first step in the total process is to re-establish a genuine communist party here in the USA grounded in the traditions of Marxism-Leninism.

In light of what has been pointed out, and recognizing no communist party nor organization genuinely representing the interest of the toiling and oppressed peoples in the USA, we Marxist-Leninists, few in numbers, but brave in spirit, have constituted the *MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANIZATION OF THE U.S.A.*

The M.L.O.U.S.A. stands for the rebuilding of the international communist movement based on the traditions of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice.

It holds that modern revisionism, whether it be Soviet rightist, Chinese "leftist," or any of the various centrist brands of revisionism, is the main obstacle to the international communist and workers' movement and condemns the anti-working class and counter-revolutionary activities of the modern revisionists in their vain attempt to thwart the inevitable tides of proletarian revolution.

Modern revisionism is the new social prop of imperialism. It is the advance guard of the bourgeoisie within the ranks of the working class movement.

The M.L.O.U.S.A. must and will wage an untiring struggle against all shades of modern revisionism and Trotskyism, for without a struggle against these pernicious trends of ideological thought any struggle against imperialism is but an idle phrase.

The M.L.O.U.S.A. must prevent and resist corrosion by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ways of thinking and styles of work and guard against and defeat any rightist or "leftist" opportunist deviation inside the Organization and within the working class movement.

Revolutionary Theory Must Be Put Into Practice

The M.L.O.U.S.A. adheres to the Marxist-Leninist world outlook of dialectical and historical materialism -- founded by K. Marx and F. Engels, and further developed and enriched by V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin -- and resolutely opposes the world outlook of idealism and metaphysics. We view Marxism-Leninism as a living science and as a pliable weapon, which in the hands of the working class and its vanguard party, proves to be a direct and a sure guide toward the act of liberating mankind from capitalism, predatory wars, plunder, and wage-slavery. However, we do not regard Marxism-Leninism as a rigid and fixed set of beliefs; on the contrary, while simultaneously, adamantly, and faithfully adhering to its principles, we regard Marxism-Leninism as an extremely flexible science in the face of the many facets of a diverse and perennially changing reality. The science of Marxism-Leninism demands that: in striving to build socialism and communism, we should proceed from reality; in attempting to solve various problems arising out of the class struggle, we should apply its principles in a creative and flexible way; and thus continuously develop the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Consequently, the M.L.O.U.S.A., in its activities upholds the principles of integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practical struggle of the working class.

The M.L.O.U.S.A. must put into practice all that it advocates through the activity of its organizational bodies, its membership among the working class, and through the conscientious efforts made by the people under its guidance. For this

reason it is necessary to constantly develop the tradition of following the mass line in our organizational work.

Whether or not the M.L.O.U.S.A. is able to provide correct leadership depends on whether or not the organization will, through analysis and synthesis, systematically summarize the experience and opinions of the masses, and - relative to the objective conditions - turn the resulting ideas into the policy of the M.L.O.U.S.A. and as a result of the Organization's propaganda and organizational work among the masses, transform these theoretical views into the "flesh and blood of the millions of toilers," i.e. make them the views and actions of the masses themselves, while testing, supplementing, and correcting the Organization's policy in the course of mass activity. It is the duty of the leadership of the M.L.O.U.S.A., its core of professional revolutionaries, to ensure that, in the endless repetition of this process of "coming from the masses and going back to the masses," the political and social consciousness of the people, above all the working people, is continually raised and the cause of the working class is constantly advanced. The M.L.O.U.S.A. and its members must, therefore, maintain close and extensive ties with workers, farmers, students and intellectuals, and strive constantly to make such ties ever stronger and widespread. Every member of the M.L.O.U.S.A. must whole-heartedly serve the oppressed and exploited people, constantly consult them, pay heed to their opinions, concern him or herself with their well-being, and strive to help realize their objective immediate and long-range goals.

The Task of the M.L.O.U.S.A.

The task of the M.L.O.U.S.A. is to build a party of the proletariat of the United States of America capable of leading the proletariat in revolution overthrowing the capitalist system and establishing socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In order to build such a party it is necessary to build a center, to establish a newspaper, and to recruit the most advanced sections of the proletariat.

In the formative stage of building such a party, our immediate task is to amass a core of professional revolutionaries. We view developing the Organization's center as the most essential step in developing a national political organization which would give rise to a genuine political party of the proletariat. This nucleus, the future leaders of the proletariat, must be dedicated to the fight for the interest of the working class in particular, and for the interest of the overwhelming majority of the population (all class stratum) in general, who are oppressed by and struggling against US monopoly capitalism. They must also be highly theoretical and profusely experienced, firm and solidly steeled in struggle. These stringent but necessary qualifications are demanded by the nature of the working class struggle itself and by no means can be stated merely in words, but must be proven actually in the process of struggle.

In order to build such a party of revolutionaries, it is not only necessary to build a center that is, a nucleus, but, with the development of the political center, as has been stated, it is necessary to develop the Organization's newspaper, WORKERS' TRIBUNE, political organ of the working class, representing the theoretical views and aims of the working class. Only a strong political center can give firm leadership and adequate political direction to all the national organizational bodies of the M.L.O.U.S.A. The central organs, as a function of, and subordinate to, the political center, are to serve such a purpose. By means of WORKERS' TRIBUNE, contacts are made nationally for the Organization, and with proper guidance, there should be developed a national network of WORKERS' TRIBUNE readers' circles. The sending out of cadre to organize new areas of concentration, providing such areas are suited for political base building, will proceed on the basis of the contacts already secured in those areas around WORKERS' TRIBUNE readers' circles.

Coupled with the above is one of the most difficult tasks facing Marxist-Leninists in the USA: that of building and securing a base within the working class. The M.L.O.U.S.A. will concentrate on building political bases on two fronts: in working class districts and at the site of production.

Contrary to the views of the "left" revisionists whose prime target of base building has been *solely* within the communities among the national minorities, the "street people," and the student population, the M.L.O.U.S.A. contends that the *prime target* for base building is at the *point of production*, within the ranks of the *industrial proletariat*, the *most potentially dynamic and revolutionary force in the USA*. Our aim, therefore, is to establish contact with the industrial workers, insinuate ourselves into the trade unions and there build a base. Concentrating our efforts on winning the industrial proletariat to our side does not in the least mean that we should abandon our support of the specific struggles waged by the national minorities against the social inequalities they are faced with, the national oppression in the guise of racism, great nation chauvinism, discrimination on every front, and the special oppression and exploitation meted out to them by the rule of monopoly capital. To the contrary, what this means is that by winning the support of the industrial workers, which includes workers of *all* nationalities, by assisting them in their organization and by imparting to them a political class consciousness,

we will be in a better position to raise these struggles, the struggles against all national privileges, inequalities and for the right of self-determination of the Negro Nation and Puerto Rico, to a higher and more effective level. The industrial proletariat, under the guidance of a party, must march at the head of all struggles against injustice. This is the pre-requisite to winning the masses of the working and oppressed minorities to our side, to the side of Marxism-Leninism. From our base within the working class we shall be able to launch an effective struggle against *all* tyranny of monopoly capitalism, *all* national privileges, *all* social inequalities and injustices, *all* exploitation and oppression.

United front work with students and other non-proletarian elements is to be conducted on the basis of unifying these elements with the proletarian struggle, emphasizing an anti-monopoly struggle as the basis for the united front.

The National-Colonial Question: A Class Question

The USA is a multi-national state. The Anglo-American nation oppresses and exploits the Afro-American nation in the black belt area in the South and the Puerto Rican nation.

The M.L.O.U.S.A. pledges to fight, not merely for the right of self-determination, a now bourgeois phrase, but for the complete and unconditional right to secession, federation, or amalgamation of the peoples of the Afro-American nation and of Puerto Rico.

Within the Anglo-American nation, the Afro-Americans, the Puerto Ricans, and the Mexican-Americans represent national minorities, the American Indians represent a national group; entities of whom the majority exist in a double state of oppression, that is, firstly as oppressed and exploited proletarians, wage-slaves, and as such they represent part and parcel of the working class; and secondly they exist as oppressed minorities, in a state of second class citizenry.

The M.L.O.U.S.A. opposes all forms of discrimination (racial or national) against national minorities and national groups. We view their struggles for "civil" rights, in reality, as a struggle for *equal* rights, a struggle which is disguised as a "race" struggle, but in essence is a national struggle (with the exception of the Mexican-American and the American Indian). Their struggles must be transformed into a conscious anti-imperialist movement fused with the working class movement as a whole in order to be successful. The fact that their struggles have not in the past manifested their anti-imperialist nature can be attributed in part to their latent political consciousness, further retarded and diverted by the right revisionist C.P.U.S.A. and numerous other groups calling themselves Marxist-Leninists, and in part to petty-bourgeois nationalist "leadership" pursuing such developments as "black capitalism," "community control," etc., having the sanction of and endorsed by US imperialism. "Integration," "non-violence," and "black power" (black capitalist community control) are the deceptive ploys utilized by the ruling class through its quislings to divert this struggle into reformist channels harmless to and under the control of the world's chief enemy, US imperialism.

The M.L.O.U.S.A. pledges, at all times, to wage a consistent struggle for equal political, social, and economic rights for all the national minorities, and against all national privileges, but at the same time we must point out that full national equality will never be granted in the present bourgeois society, that the interests of the working national minorities and national groups, whether employed or unemployed, are identical to those of the working class as a whole and if both the Anglo and the national minority sections of the working class are to achieve victory over their common enemy, the capitalist-imperialists, all workers irrespective of nationality must be united under the banner of proletarian internationalism for a proletarian revolution. Consequently, in the final analysis, the national question resolves itself to be a class question.

The M.L.O.U.S.A. opposes all tendencies toward great national chauvinism and reactionary nationalism (sectarianism, cultism, separtism, i.e., separtism on the basis of black and white) both of which are hostile to Marxism-Leninism, hamper the unity of the various nationalities, and violate the principles of proletarian internationalism. Special attention must be given to prevent and/or correct these tendencies on the part of our organizational members and within the ranks of the working people.

The M.L.O.U.S.A. Opposes the Rise of Fascism in the U.S.A.

The balance of forces between U.S. imperialism and sections of the world hostile to U.S. imperialism has changed considerably since World War II, with anti-U.S. imperialist forces in the ascendency. This has led to the general decline of U.S. monopoly capital. Fascism is developing in the U.S. as a direct result of U.S. monopoly capital being threatened and deprived of its investments, cheap sources of raw materials, and spheres of influence. The continuing loss of these colonies and semi-colonies coupled with the contradictions between other imperialist powers mean the loss of U.S. monopoly capital superprofits, and serves to deepen further the general crisis of U.S. imperialism in particular, and world imperialism in