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# PROLETARIAT



LENIN



STALIN

"Socialism, since it has become a science, demands that it be pursued as a science, i.e., that it be studied." - Engels

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Comrades and Friends:

This number, volume 3, number 1, marks the beginning of the third year of Proletariat, a theoretical journal published by the Communist League. As we have pointed out before, Proletariat exists to serve as a forum for theoretical debate and clarification of the burning questions that confront the working class of the United States of North America and its vanguard elements, the Marxist-Leninists who are working tirelessly to build a real, multi-national communist party to lead the proletariat to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. We want to point out once more that the pages of Proletariat are open to all honest revolutionaries, not only Communist League cadre but communists and revolutionaries outside the Communist League as well. We sincerely hope that our comrades and friends will get something out of this and future issues, and that, equally important, they will find the time to contribute their articles, correspondence, criticisms, suggestions, etc. Please address these to:

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Comradely,

J A, New York, Editor

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR POLITICAL LINE  
FROM THE STANDPOINT OF PURE REASONING

First of all, what determines the development of a thing? Dialectics hold that a thing is a unity of opposites and that the struggle between these opposites or contradictory aspects determines its motion, change and development. This is the universal law of development. To say it is universal, is to say that it is categorically applicable to all things.

So therefore we can divide our political line into its two mutually separable or exclusive aspects. Before making this analysis let's quote Mao Tsetung to get a more clear understanding of the two opposing aspects within a thing. He states, "Of the two contradictory aspects, one must be principal and the other secondary. The principal aspect is the one playing the leading role in the contradiction. The nature of a thing is determined mainly by the principal aspect of a contradiction."

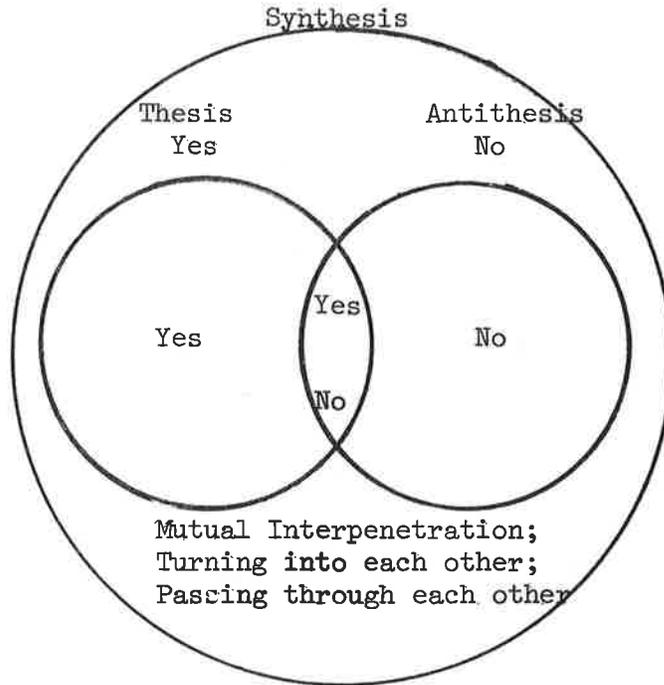
In the division of our political line into two, we have on the one hand, the principal aspect, the abstract expression of the political line itself (which describes and determines its character or nature), and on the other hand, the secondary aspect, its concrete expression - organization. Dialectically speaking, as opposites these two aspects are mutually separable or exclusive and therefore they can be divided. But as two aspects comprised in an entity or unity, they are mutually inseparable or dependent and therefore cannot be divided. In short, one divides into two but it does not divide into two. However, its division is absolute.

The Great Stalin once correctly stated that "After the correct political line has been laid down, organizational work decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself, its success or failure." Here Stalin succinctly and profoundly describes the dialectical movement of two unified, inseparably dependent opposites. What is the dialectical movement described in this statement? That the struggle between the political aspect and its opposite, the organizational aspect, constitute the development of the political line. And under certain conditions, they transform themselves into one another. That is to say, under the condition where "the correct political line has been laid down," the concrete organizational aspect becomes principal while the abstract political aspect becomes non-principal. Thus with this change in the positions of these two contradictory aspects within the political line, the political line itself becomes not itself, that is, it turns into organizational activity. Moreover, the political line now becomes concretely expressed organizationally.

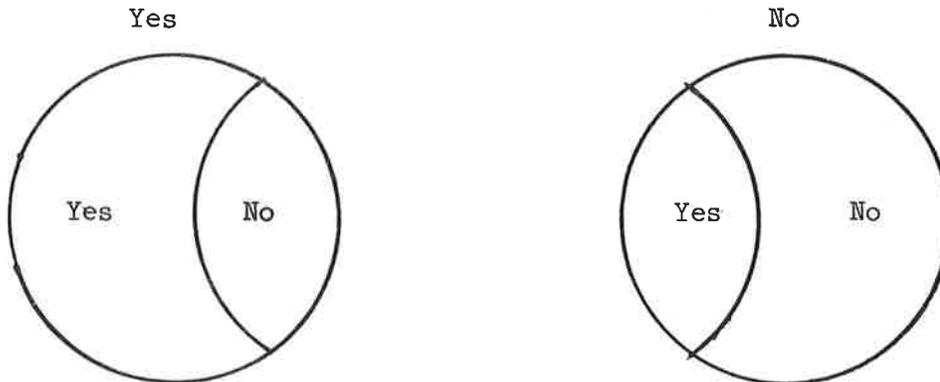
Now let's delve just a little bit deeper into this dialectical movement. Marx states, "But once it has managed to pose itself as a thesis, this thesis, this thought, opposed to itself, splits up into two contradictory thoughts - the positive and the negative, the yes and the no. The struggle between these two antagonistic elements comprised in the antithesis constitutes the dialectical movement. The yes becoming no, the no becoming yes, the yes becoming both yes and no, the no becoming both no and yes, the contraries balance, neutralize, paralyze each other. The fusion of these two contradictory thoughts constitutes a new thought, which is the synthesis of them." Marx is telling us, in other words, that in the process of mutual interpenetration, that is, while the two opposites are turning into or passing through one another, they acquire an aspect of each other. So again, while

yes is in the process of becoming no and no becoming yes, yes splits up into yes and no, and no splits up into no and yes. Needless to say, within the entity yes the aspect no is secondary, while the aspect yes is primary and therefore determines the nature of the entity. To illustrate what we have stated so far, I refer you to diagrams #1 and #2:

#1:



#2: Examine the two aspects separately:



Now let's attempt to apply all this "double-talk" to the subject at hand, that is, the unity and opposition between politics and organization or the dialectics of our political line.

If we were to hypothesize that politics is yes and organization is no, that what is yes and no within politics and what is no and yes within organization?

Before answering, allow me first to clarify my usage of certain terms. On the one hand, I will use the words centralism, line, unity and their respective conjugations

interchangeably for they all connote oneness. On the other hand, I will use decentralism, disunity, debate, discussion, discourse, division of labor, democracy, and their respective conjugations synonymously in so far as they all connote more-than-oneness.

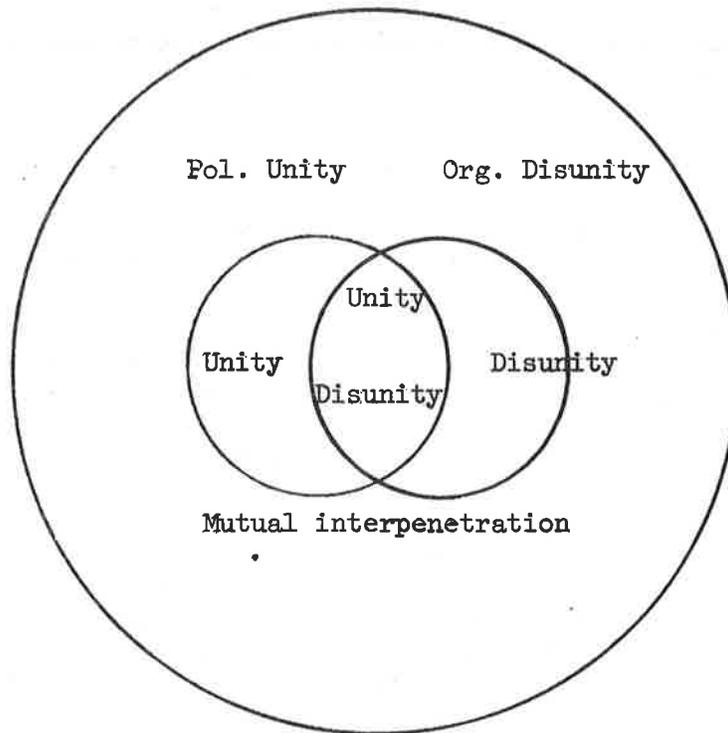
Let's continue. Firstly, the yes within politics or the primary aspect which mainly characterizes politics is centralism or unity. Why is this? Because the primary subjective need of the objective working class movement is one correct political line to unite and direct the working class along the straightest path in its struggle to overthrow its opposite - the capitalist class. Before explaining the aspect of no within politics, let's first explain the no within organization or the primary aspect which mainly characterizes organization. This aspect is decentralism or disunity. Why is this? Because the zig-zagginess and multi-formity of the objective movement demands a concrete reflection in the way we organize ourselves - a strict division of labor. Now what is the aspect of no within politics, its secondary aspect or the reflection of organization inside the political realm? In the process of interpenetration of organizational decentralism or disunity into political centralism, this induces within it political disunity, debate, discourse, discussion or what is commonly referred to by Marxists as democracy. Why is this? Because of a definite division of labor the comrades acquire through their different organizational tasks different experiences which give rise to different points of view or political opinions. This, in turn, provides the real basis for discussion and debate. These differences of opinion are not all necessarily incorrect, they not infrequently aid in the development of our political line insofar as they bring to light many new aspects of the objective processes of society. It is worth emphasizing at this point that political discussion, debate or democracy are vitally necessary for the strengthening and the development of political line, centralism, or unity. Thus we have democratic centralism.

Now vice-versa, what is the aspect of yes within organization, its secondary aspect or the reflection of politics inside the organizational realm? In the process of political centralism passing through organizational decentralism it creates in it, its concrete expression - organizational centralism or unity. Why is this? To answer this question let's turn to Comrade Stalin who said, "There began to flow from the columns of the new Iskra, as from a cornucopia, articles and statements claiming that the Party ought not to be an organized whole; that free groups and individuals should be allowed within its ranks without any obligation to submit to the decisions of its organs; that every intellectual who sympathized with the Party, as well as 'every striker' and 'every participant in a demonstration' should be allowed to declare himself a Party member; that the demand that the minority must submit to the majority meant the "mechanical suppression of the will of Party members; that the demand that all Party members - both leaders and rank-and-filers - should equally observe Party discipline meant establishing 'serfdom' within the Party; that what "we" needed in the Party was not centralism but anarchist "autonomism" which would permit individuals and Party organizations not to obey the decisions of the Party." And further he states, "The Party can lead the practical struggle of the working class and direct it towards one aim only if all its members are organized in one common detachment, welded together by unity of will, unity of action and unity of discipline." Therefore organizational unity centralizes our division of labor - our organizational decentralism. Thus we have centralized democracy. To illustrate what we have stated so far, I refer you to diagrams #3 and #4:

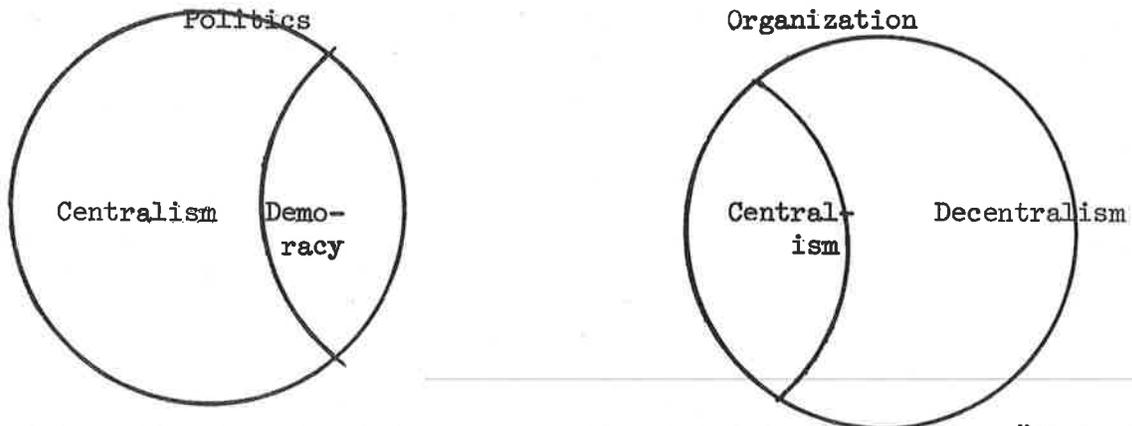
(See next page)

#3:

Unity of Politics and Organization



#4 Examine the two aspects separately:



It is interesting to note what was correctly stated in the article, "CL Reply to RU Threats," People's Tribune, vol4, noll, that "unity is unthinkable without disunity."

Let's continue. Mao Tsetung clearly states that "The fact is that no contradictory aspect can exist in isolation. Without its opposite aspect each loses the condition for its existence." He also states that "in given conditions, each of the two contradictory aspects transforms itself into its opposite." So therefore, under what conditions do the aspect of decentralism become principal within organization? It is under the conditions where our political line or centralism have been adequately developed. In other words, when the aspect of centralism has become principal within the realm of our politics. What does this mean? This means that once we have arrived at a correct line on certain fundamental questions of the movement, that is, when centralism has been securely established, we then organize a strict division of labor to carry out this political line.

Under what conditions do the aspect of centralism become principal within organization? It follows that it is under the conditions where political debate, democracy, and so forth are necessary. In other words, when the aspect of political debate or democracy has become principal. This explanation conversely applies.

I think that this can be more clearly understood if we attempt to disclose the manifestation of this dialectic in the development of the Communist League since its inception.

We can divide this development into basically two necessary stages. The first early stage can be adequately described as a period in which our club system was primary while our fractional method of work was in a very embryonic stage of development - in short, the Club System Period. The second or present stage is a period in which we find that the Fractional Method of Work has become primary while the club system has become secondary. However, it must be noted that although the clubs have assumed this position they are still necessarily important. For the primary aspect is desperately dependent on the secondary aspect. So it is with the clubs and fractions, they are indispensable to the development of each other. They are two mutually exclusive opposites inseparably bound.

In order to grasp the differences as well as the necessity of these two stages we must define what the club and fraction units and their purposes are.

First of all, the club unit is an embodiment of organizational centralism. What does this mean? We can answer this question by merely taking a look at our club unit. When the members of a club meet, are they not concretely united? Are they not organizationally subordinated to the line of our central organ, the People's Tribune? Are they not organizationally subordinated to the club chairman who is the club members' link to the central committee? This is obviously understood to be so. It follows that this is a necessary condition for political disunity, discussion or debate to take place. That organizational centralism referees, so to speak, the political debate so as to guarantee that a correct political understanding is commonly arrived at.

Second of all, the fraction unit is an embodiment of organizational decentralism. What does this mean? The Communist League as a whole is divided into various fractions which connect it to the various aspects of the class struggle. Each fraction unit necessarily carries out one centralized political line. I think that this is also basically understood.

So we find that in the first stage of our development both political debate or discussion and organizational centralism were key. Why was this so? Because it was of the utmost importance that we first struggled for a line on questions confronting the revolutionary movement of the United States of North America (USNA) - Party-building, the revolutionary press, the national question, the question of education, and so forth. And in the present stage we find that both political centralism and organizational decentralism are key. Why is this so? Because our political line or centralism has been adequately developed and so the main task is concrete application or connecting ourselves with the working class and the class struggle.

This is not to say that organizational decentralism and political discussion respectively in each of the two stages were not present or not important factors. This includes also their respective opposites. To think that they were not important is to be undialectical or, purely and simply, wrong.

Owing to the complexity of things it is quite difficult to understand the manifestations of these aspects of our political line. "But what is difficult is not impossible," as the great and correct Lenin once states. This complexity is the result of at least two major and omnipresent contradictions: (1) the contradiction between form and content, and (2) the contradiction between the general and the particular.

Firstly, the contradiction between form and content means that in form, things may appear as one thing but in content, they are essentially another. This contradiction is not infrequently complicated by the contradiction between illusion and actuality. Illusion is due mostly to the fact that some of our comrades often wear their bourgeois ideological sunglasses, and consequently their proletarian vision is grossly distorted.

Let's see how this obscures the contradiction between organizational centralism and decentralism. The unity or interdependency of our organizational centralism and decentralism is the concrete expression of our mutual separation as well as our mutual connection with the working class. In other words, we are an advanced organized detachment of the class. This means that our organizational unity makes us distinct from the class while our organizational decentralism makes us one with the class. So what is actually organizational centralism appears as bureaucracy and sectarianism. And what appears as tailing or bowing to the syndicalism and disunity of the working class movement, is actually organizational decentralism with its other dependent and opposite aspects.

Moreover, what appeared in the early stage of our development as sectarianism was actually the correct application of materialist dialectics ("quiet as it's kept.")

Secondly, the contradiction between the general and the particular means that generally things are one thing and particularly they are another. That is to say, generally speaking, we might say that political centralism and organizational decentralism are key, but particularly speaking, in some specific cases, they turn into their opposites - political debate and organizational centralism. This is due to the fact that things, conditions and situations are constantly turning themselves into their opposites.

This briefly describes the development of our political line, or the dialectical relationship between our politics and organization from the standpoint of abstraction. After all this, it must be understood by comrades that this explains only just a few major aspects of this development, for there are many others. So we see that things are complex, so consequently dialectics, as the law of the development of things, is accordingly complex.

I submit this statement not for the sake of sounding weird or gibberish, but for the sake of discussion. Hopefully, through this discussion the comrades will develop a much clearer understanding of the dialectics of the relationship between our political line and its organizational application. For I think that this understanding is the key weapon in the struggle for Marxism-Leninism and the struggle against our main enemies at this time - sectarianism and bureaucracy.

I think that the contradiction between the line of Marxism-Leninism and the line of Sectarianism and Bureaucracy has elevated itself to a much higher and extremely antagonistic level. Sectarianism and bureaucracy are the main manifestations of revisionism inside our organization. So in light of the international and domestic implications of this we must launch an all-out assault against this

revisionist line. We must combine our fight against sectarianism and bureaucracy internally, with our fight against modern revisionism externally.

Sectarianism is hindering our healthy motion outward into the class struggle and thereby effecting within our organization, particularly in Los Angeles, a nauseating incestuousness in both our political and personal lives. This can only lead our organization to utter degeneracy, subjectivity, and counter-revolution.

Sectarianism is opposed to the fractional method of work which is, of course, the organizational expression of our political line, or the line of Marxism-Leninism applied to this particular period of history.

Sectarianism and bureaucracy obstruct the political growth of our organization and the comrades. It fosters passivity, complacency, and inertia, while at the same time undermining revolutionary self-initiative, self-action and self-reliance which are the ideological basis for the fractional method of work. Moreover, it is essentially opposed to the key unity of political centralism and organizational decentralism which promotes political growth, self-initiative, self-action, and the fractional method of work.

Lastly, comrades, we must wage a life and death struggle against sectarianism and bureaucracy and for the development of the fractional method of work. To ensure the political development of our comrades, we must let them go organizationally, in order to hold on to them politically. Emphatically, we must say, "Comrade, we are the best of friends politically, but organizationally I have nothing to do with you!!"

We, very well, anticipate that this organizational dispersal of our comrades out into the class struggle will naturally give rise to the bourgeois tendency of federalism or "autonomism." Therefore, we must prepare ourselves to fight it. However, the main obstacle at this time is sectarianism and it must be thoroughly dealt with!!

Comradely,

W.

L A

**FIGHT SECTARIAN INCESTUOUSNESS!!  
STUDY AND STRUGGLE HARD TO MASTER  
MATERIALIST DIALECTICS, FOR IT IS THE KEY!!**

HOW THE REVOLUTIONARY UNION RENDERS LENIN

MORE PROFOUND WHILE AIDING THE CPUSA

Until now we had thought together with Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung that the dictatorship of the proletariat was the strategy for proletarian revolution. "Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat...This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested." (1) And, "Consequently all work must be directed towards the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (2)

But now the conciliators of revisionism have enlightened us that the real "Marxist" strategy for the United States of North America should be their "United Front Against Imperialism." Of course, these conciliators go on to say that their "new" strategy is really the strategy to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat after all, just as the Soviet social-imperialists tell us that "the state of the whole people is continuing the cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Let us examine this nonsense. First of all, why do the revisionists and the conciliators both see the need to "improve" on Lenin by moving away from the vital "touchstone of Marxism?" Secondly, if the "united front against imperialism" is the dictatorship of the proletariat, what is the need for this new formulation? Until now the international communist movement (Lenin, Stalin, the Comintern, etc) has seen no such need.

In fact, however, there are real political reasons behind this incorrect formulation. We believe they are:

- To obscure the class basis for the social struggle and to put political consciousness primary and the class struggle secondary.
- To disperse would-be "communists" among the "people" rather than to concentrate them in the proletariat.
- To push the old infantile petty bourgeois ideology of the "new left" under the cover of "Marxism-Leninism-Mao, Tsetung Thought."
- To argue that a stage of tailing the spontaneous mass movement is necessary before a communist party can be built.

First, however, the Revolutionary Union (RU) directly attacks the Leninist concept of the tactics of the United Front. "To think of the United Front as merely a tactic reduces it to a gimick through which the proletariat suckers in other classes and strata." (Red Papers II, p9) If the conciliators got their line on the "Third World" indirectly from the CIA, their line on the United Front comes directly out of J. Edgar Hoover. (3) The RU continues, "The strategy of the United Front provides the concrete basis for determining friends from enemies. Presently, all those who unite on the basis of a minimum program - short of the overthrow of the imperialist ruling class - in opposition to monopoly imperialism - are friends of the proletariat. All those who oppose the program, side with the imperialists and are enemies of the proletariat." (Ibid, p11)

Compare this idealist formulation with Lenin's in Two Tactics, Stalin's chapter on strategy and tactics in Foundations of Leninism, Mao's Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society, etc. According to the conciliators, allies are determined and distinguished from enemies not on the basis of economic classes, as with the great teachers, but

solely on the basis of political consciousness. There are millions of proletarians who are misled by the bourgeois ideologies of male supremacy, white chauvinism and anti-communism, but does this make them "enemies of the proletariat?" They are, according to the RU's logic, just as the "progressive" bourgeois who support its united front are "friends of the proletariat." As Stalin says, "This theory stitched together by idealistic threads refutes itself." (4)

Or again, "Today students, fundamentally allies of the proletariat, are following the lead of the Black people's movement against imperialism ahead of the proletariat as a whole. The vanguard role of today is being exercised by the Black proletariat. It must be recognized that the 'United Front Against Imperialism,' weak as it is, is a fact of today and must be strengthened and extended." (Ibid, p8) Here allies of the proletariat, ie students, are together with black people, regardless of class, ahead of the proletariat as a whole. This merely proves that "paper will put up with anything that is written on it." (5)

The real reason behind this type of syndicalism and idealism was indicated in "Syndicalism Disarms the Proletariat" (People's Tribune, vol3, no2, p2): "Whites are allowed to join the groupings who pretend to study 'Marxism' while the revolutionary blacks are sent to this or that grouping whose struggles guarantee the existence of the white 'left.'" As is well known, the RU for a long time followed the line of the Ku Klux Klan of excluding Negroes from membership. Its white chauvinism today is not quite so blatant but its syndicalist formulations carry on the work. For example, "We see real dangers in this position, especially when put forward by whites, standing outside the struggle of Black people." (Ibid, p12) "It is the special duty of white communists and revolutionaries to arouse white working people to their true class interests, to an understanding of the vanguard role of black and brown people in the class struggle..." (Ibid, p13) And finally their concept of "a mass workers' movement with Third World leadership." (6) The counter-revolutionary white chauvinism of this concept has already been pointed out. (7)

But this is not all. For if political ideas are primary and the class struggle is secondary then it follows that it is correct to put the question of uniting "progressive" elements from all classes (ie all the various social struggles) above the question of organizing the class struggle of the proletariat into a class conscious revolutionary force able to establish its dictatorship over society as a whole. Such is the basis of all the theoretical projections of our 'new left' syndicalists. Marxism on the other hand sees the class struggle as primary and political ideas as secondary and derivative. It therefore puts forward the idea of building a political party to be the vanguard detachment of the advanced class. "We rely on the advanced class - the working class. If it takes the next five years to organize and educate that class, then we will take five years; if it takes the next fifty years then we will remain Marxist-Leninists and struggle for the next fifty years. There is only one way, one path - the path of Lenin. We have had enough experience in the past fifty years to know that petty bourgeois 'short-cuts' only add more years and more suffering to the struggle." (8) The proletariat is the only consistently revolutionary class. This does not mean that a class-conscious proletariat cannot lead all the toiling masses in overthrowing capitalism; on the contrary it means that in order to do so it must first become a class-conscious proletariat. This is where communists come into the picture. The proletariat needs its advanced detachment, its general staff, to firmly implant socialism in the working class movement. However, our various "friends" in the left who fear the proletariat like the plague delight in quoting What is to Be Done out of context to the effect that communists should go among all classes of the population, and thus argue that we should disperse our forces. But unlike our "new left" theoreticians Lenin does not separate questions of strategy from concrete historical conditions. "Have we

sufficient forces to be able to direct our propaganda and agitation among all classes of the population? Of course we have. Our Economists frequently are inclined to deny this. They lose sight of the gigantic progress our movement has made from approximately 1894 to 1901. Like real "khvostists" (tailists) they frequently live in the distant past, in the period of the beginning of the movement. At that time, indeed, we had astonishingly few forces, and it was perfectly natural and legitimate then to go exclusively among the workers and severely condemn any deviation from this. The whole task then was to consolidate our position in the working class." (9) This is spelled out even more fully in the "Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats" (1898). (10) Our conciliators, on the other hand, being more concerned with the "left" than about the working class, have from the beginning dispersed their forces, sending their members to the campuses, etc. "It will be some time before very many people from student backgrounds go into working class communities. That is to be expected - we are more concerned with the orientation of the Left and what it can do as now constituted." (11) (Emphasis ours)

But such dissipation of the energies of would-be communists and leaders of the working class is only one side of the picture. The other and more serious side is its introducing all of the petty bourgeois infantile foolishness of the "new left" into the working class. Trying to hitch its "united front against imperialism" onto the "revolutionary youth movement" of the old Students for a Democratic Society, Red Papers II states, "It will be the advanced industrial workers who will be able to grasp the revolutionary ideology that is developing in the student movement." (!!!) (p45) And again, "Suffice it to say that we dissociate ourselves from any view that denies that the student movement is a component part of the revolutionary struggle of the people, that denies that it will spark other movements, that denies it is correct to continue work in the universities as well as expanding the movement to working class schools, state and community colleges and high schools; or that it is incapable of developing a revolutionary sector guided by proletarian ideology. On the contrary, it is precisely within the student movement, and more fully within the Black liberation movement that embryonic revolutionary ideology is being forged as witnessed by this convention." (That is, the 1969 convention where SDS fell apart) "The extension of that movement to the proletariat is both necessary and inevitable." (Red Papers II, p46)

The extension of THAT movement to the working class is the last thing the class needs. It already has enough confusion and vacillation within its ranks, but the "revolutionary union" is prepared to see it gets a whole lot more.

Meanwhile (speaking of confusion), we see that the RU's united front against imperialism has been working overtime, like an overworked mule. So far it has equated itself to the spontaneous movements of the Negro people and the students and to the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as to a minimum program "short of the overthrow of the imperialist ruling class - in opposition to monopoly (?) imperialism!" As Lenin said, "When we speak of fighting opportunism, we must never forget the feature characteristic of the whole of present-day opportunism in every sphere, namely, its indefiniteness, diffuseness, elusiveness. An opportunist by his very nature always evades formulating an issue definitely and decisively, he seeks a middle course, he wriggles like a snake between two mutually exclusive points of view, trying to 'agree' with both and to reduce his differences of opinion to petty emendments, doubts, righteous and innocent suggestions, and so on and so forth." (12) The RU's united front is truly a wriggling snake. It freely slithers back and forth between overthrowing the imperialists and not overthrowing them - between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Marxism tells us that in any process there must be a key link. So being "Marxists," our conciliators, despite all their contradictory and confusing statements about their "strategy for proletarian revolution," make an attempt to tell us what their key link is. "We certainly have a long way to go. The present united front is fragile, the proletariat is not united and cannot lead it, and it has not developed its representative communist party. We must develop the united front, foster working class unity and leadership in struggle and build a communist party based on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. And we must set about all three of these tasks simultaneously." (NOTE: We have neither the time nor the space to deal with all of the anti-Marxist concepts listed above. We will merely note that if the reader is wondering how the key link will emerge out of these three "simultaneous" "musts," he should have patience and read on.) "How to begin? We believe that our present best course is to link together the present main spearheads of anti-imperialist struggle and to develop the fighters in each spearhead into fighters for all. These five spearheads of struggle are:

" - 1. The national liberation of Black and Mexican-American peoples and support for the democratic demands of all oppressed minorities.

" - 2. Against imperialist aggression, support for colonial liberation.

" - 3. Against fascism, the open terrorist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

" - 4. Against the oppression and exploitation of women under imperialism.

" - 5. Unite the proletariat to resist the attacks on living standards.

"We will discuss each of these points separately later in the paper. We believe that they represent the present basis for the united front strategy." (Ibid, p8) (Emph. ours)

Now this is at least frank - a frank admission that the united front against imperialism was just a ruse (or "gimick?") to cover up the RU's various revisionist projections, the key link being the putting of the tailing the spontaneous movement above the questions of winning over the proletarian vanguard to the side of communism and party building.

But let us examine the above quote from the conciliators more thoroughly, as it gets to the essence of almost all of their anti-Leninist conceptions. None of these five points ("spearheads") even so much as hints at Socialism. Nowhere is the working class even mentioned except in the formulation about uniting the proletariat to lead its own economic struggles ("spearhead" five), a dreary repetition of MARTYNOV. Nowhere does the working class come out as the political leader of all the toiling and suffering humanity whose historical mission it is to place capitalism on the dung heap and replace it with the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism. Instead socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism are all placed on the dung heap and we are left with a stinking bourgeois reformist program as a "strategy for proletarian revolution." The proletariat is left to carry out the economic struggle and the petty bourgeois intellectual giants of the RU are left to theorize about the dictatorship of the proletariat as if it were some kind of tea party. As the RU itself states, "UNITE THE PROLETARIAT TO RESIST THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS' ATTACK ON LIVING STANDARDS. We discuss this last not because we think it least important. Rather we regard it as the fulcrum for communists and the proletariat as a whole." A more striking expression of economism could hardly be found. With a formulation like this our conciliators are clearly trying to outdo Martynov himself!

Thus, when we get right down to it, the present basis of the united front turns out to be nothing more than degrading the level of communists to that of the spontaneous movement, to tie all the present "spearheads" of spontaneous social motion together into a mass mess reminiscent of the heyday of the "new left" - only this time trying to foist it on the working class as well. The RU's united front

against imperialism - like its father, the CPUSA's anti-monopoly coalition, both boil down to one word, POPULISM. But this is just the beginning. While constantly downplaying the importance of theory (see, for example, Red Papers I, p23, last two paragraphs) the RU is, unfortunately for the working class, very good at putting its own syndicalism and economic projections into practice. And this is where the RU's populism really starts to hurt. Take a look at any one of these conciliators' numerous "united front" newspapers. Politically there is very little difference between these rags and those of the CPUSA. Both consistently avoid mentioning the dictatorship of the proletariat, as if it were some kind of shameful disease. For example, take the editorial of the Bay Area Worker, September 1972, which concludes by saying together with all the other liberals and revisionists, "We think that it is time to hit the Payboard and hit it hard and KEEP ON FIGHTING UNTIL IT IS ABOLISHED." The tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism are here replaced by abolishing the payboard. Is there a difference between this and the CPUSA's line on "Nixonomics?" Or let us take the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee (UWOC). The RU fights to collect signatures to help liberal politicians extend unemployment benefits. Socialism? Hell no, let's tail the liberals and maybe we can reform capitalism with "the old song about adding a kopeck to a ruble." As Lenin put it, "'Our party,' he (Martynov) says, turning his heaviest guns against Iskra, 'would and should have presented concrete demands to the government for legislative and administrative measures against economic exploitation, for the relief of the unemployed, for the relief of the famine-stricken, etc.' (Rabocheye Dyelo, #10, pp42-3) Concrete demands for measures - does this not mean demands for social reforms? And again we ask the impartial reader, do we slander the Rabocheye Dyeloists (may I be forgiven for this clumsy expression!) when we declare them to be concealed Bernsteinists...." (15) Like Lenin we ask our impartial reader, Do we slander the RU when we call them conciliators of revisionism - the left flank guard of the CPUSA?

We give another example: "This past month our (longshore) contract was cut almost in half by the payboard. This was one of the reasons 4 of the 5 labor members walked off the board.

"For the ILWU this means several things. As the WORKER goes to the press things are very uncertain. Things may change. Harry has cancelled the new agreement and is talking tough. We may go back out. He may also un-cancel it in a few days.

"The question is where to go now? If there is a strike we must make it a real strike - not just a token shut-down...." (Various economist tactics follow)  
"...If there isn't a strike we must consolidate what little we've won...." In fact, as the "short-shoreman" admits in another article, they lost. "If we come out united and strong whatever happens we will be in shape for next year.

"We must begin preparations now for 1973 - and the fight for the six-hour day." (16)

Does this tailing behind the worst labor lieutenants (like Harry Bridges) of the capitalist class in deceiving the workers and leading them down the reformist path need any further comment? Another example: "We stand solidly with our class - the working class. We face serious attacks on our livelihoods - and we are fighting back against the employing class and their politicians. The working class is the force that can lead all the people to defeat the monopolists." (17) Vague talk like this might just as easily come from the CPUSA, or the bourgeois populist movement of the late 1800s. But, being that this quote is one of their most "political" and that not even this is good enough for us, the RU is probably wondering what we would expect from real communists: to mention (God forbid!) the dictatorship

of the proletariat - in print, yet - and...to take it to the working class as well! But it is much safer - for the RU, the CPUSA and the capitalist class in general - to leave the dictatorship of the proletariat as a plaything in the hands of the petty bourgeois intellectuals!

Finally, the conclusion of the article "Hospital Workers Move Payboard:" "Within one week we collected over 1,000 signatures of hospital workers, longshoremen, muni drivers and others, and sent them back to Washington. We demanded action.

"One week after that, the Payboard approved our contracts.

"If that doesn't prove the saying 'in unity there is strength' we don't know what does!" (18) A better slogan that that would have been "LONG LIVE SOCIAL REFORMISM AND TOADYING TO THE BOURGEOISIE."

We could go on but we believe this is enough. The reader of course is encouraged to check out the further projections of these conciliators for himself. We would only ask him to keep in mind what Stalin says, namely, that "To a reformist, reforms are everything, while revolutionary work is something incidental, something just to talk about, mere eyewash. That is why, with reformist tactics under the conditions of bourgeois rule, reforms are inevitably transformed into an instrument for strengthening that rule, an instrument for disintegrating the revolution.

"To a revolutionary, on the contrary, the main thing is revolutionary work and not reforms; to him reforms are a by-product of the revolution." (19)

The conciliators of course justify their "strategy" (that is, watering down the line of Marxism-Leninism to the level of syndicalism, populism and economism and lowering the level of "communists" to the level of the working class) by saying that it enables them to do communist work! This is like Liu Shao-ch'i saying "Turn traitor to the Kuomintang so you can continue your revolutionary activities." Lenin had his own ideas about communist propaganda, and they are as different as night is from day from those of the conciliators of revisionism:

"Either bourgeois or socialist ideology. There is no middle course (for humanity has not created a 'third' ideology, and moreover in a society torn by class antagonisms there can never be a non-class or above-class ideology). Hence to belittle socialist ideology in any way, to deviate from it in the slightest degree means to strengthen bourgeois ideology." (20) And again, "Convinced that the doctrine of scientific socialism and the class struggle is the only revolutionary theory that can today serve as the banner of the revolutionary movement, the Russian Social-Democrats will exert every effort to spread this doctrine, to guard it against false interpretations and to combat every attempt to impose vaguer doctrines on the still young working class movement in Russia." (21) And finally, in contrast to the conciliators of revisionism whose goal is merely to unite the various spontaneous spearheads of social motion, Lenin calls for "A desperate struggle against spontaneity..." (22) Once the "united front" is used to bow to spontaneity, and as an excuse to water down communist ideology to the level of the various spontaneous movements (of the left and of the working class), the rest automatically follows.

Ultimately this leads to the "united front against imperialism" being turned into its opposite, a "united front against communism," as was shown most clearly in the "united front" pushers including the RU forming a united front with each other (all "new left" CPUSA-spawned groups) to attack the Communist League.

Of all the things these conciliators hate about the Communist League, the thing they hate most seems to be that the Communist League takes communism actively to the working class - especially the vanguard elements from among the most exploited and oppressed sections. Perhaps this hits at a sore point in their own "communist" (???) work. Their failures in this regard are no accident, they inevitably follow from, one, downplaying the importance of revolutionary theory, and, two, from putting the question of building a mass movement above the question of building a communist party. For without revolutionary theory to guide the way, political projections and actions will always be led astray by the pull of the spontaneous movement, just as without a communist party to guide it the mass movement will always move spontaneously in those channels most acceptable to the bourgeoisie. The result can only be reformism.

Thus in contrast to the conciliators who say in defense of their own theoretical "shortcomings" (I use this word to be polite), "But we are not discouraged. We know that the program of a real revolutionary organization at any time is less important than conscientious application to serving the people; to practicing criticism and self-criticism in summing up its work; and to developing a thorough struggle against bourgeois self-interest in membership and leadership, and against opportunism in organizational affairs." (Red Papers I, p3) (Emphasis ours)

Lenin says, "That is why it is quite natural that Social-Democracy as the party of the revolutionary proletariat is so solicitous of its programme, so meticulously defines its final aim long before-hand - the aim of complete liberation of the working people - and looks so jealously at any attempt to trim down this final aim; for this same reason Social-Democracy is so dogmatically strict and doctrinairely unbending in separating small, immediate, economic and political aims from the final aim. Whoever is to fight for all, for complete victory, cannot but be on the lookout lest small gains should bind one's hands, divert one from the path, force one to forget that which is relatively far off and without which all small gains are but the vanity of vanities. On the contrary, this care for programme, this eternally critical attitude to small, gradual improvements cannot be understood by and is foreign to the bourgeois parties, even those that are the most freedom-loving and people-loving." (23) The RU provides us with an excellent illustration, by negative example, of precisely this point:

The RU goes on to explain why it is necessary to first build the spontaneous mass movement and how only then is it possible to build a communist party. This seems somewhat akin to changing horses in midstream - from the bourgeoisie to the proletariat - quite a trick....They say, "While the building of a Communist Party at the earliest possible time is key to building a united front, work to begin building the united front should not wait for the formation of a communist party." First things last. "At present black and brown proletarian organizations that do have real ties with the masses can take the lead in the united front, and to some extent they already are. But in order to forge the maximum unity of the proletariat, the organizations playing a vanguard role must draw around them the largest numbers of proletarian fighters as well as basic allies from other classes and strata and unite with as many middle forces as possible on the basis of the united front program to isolate the monopoly capitalist ruling class. As the strength of the United Front grows, so will the strength of the proletariat as the more backward workers are drawn into motion by the gathering momentum of the movement. And as the workers' movement gains impetus and more and more workers are brought into active struggle, the building of a vanguard party of the proletariat as a whole will be the order of the day." (24)

There is so much revisionist nonsense here one hardly knows where to start. Accord-

ing to this foolishness our first task is to unite with everyone we can on the basis of a vague reformist program, or "to isolate the enemy by going over to his side." Secondly we draw in as many backward elements as we can because this will somehow strengthen the proletariat. And finally as this spontaneous revisionist process starts to snowball and the snowball gets big enough, then and only then can we build a communist party. Now that really takes the cake. The basic "idea" presented - build the mass movement and then build the party - is like deciding to build a rocket ship only after we get to Mars. History has shown that for ordinary humans this is a little difficult. But for the RU - who knows?

But before we get too far into right field (or into outer space), let us turn to two humans, Lenin and Stalin, on the question of party building.

"The proletarian vanguard has been won over ideologically. That is the main thing. Without this not even the first step towards victory can be made." (25)

"The chief thing - though, of course far from everything - the chief thing, has already been achieved: the vanguard of the working class has been won over....All efforts and all attention should now be concentrated on the next step which may seem - and from a certain standpoint actually is - less fundamental, but, on the other hand, is actually closer to a practical accomplishment of the task. That step is the search for forms of the transition or the approach to the proletarian revolution." (26)

"Tasks:

"a) to win the vanguard of the proletariat to the side of communism (ie, build up cadres, create a Communist Party, work out the programme, the principles of tactics.) Propaganda as the chief form of activity.

"b) to win the broad masses of the workers and of the toilers generally to the side of the vanguard (to bring the masses up to fighting positions.) Chief form of activity - practical action by the masses as a prelude to decisive battles." (27)

According to Lenin, without a communist party the working class cannot take even a step forward, but the RU wants to help the working class to rise in spontaneous reformist struggle (ie, to become subordinate to the bourgeoisie) before these conciliators exert themselves to try to build a party. Besides being fascist (hurling the leaderless and theoryless proletariat into more Wattses, Atticas, Detroit, etc, while "we" pick up the pieces afterwards), what is this nonsense except all the worst rot the RU got from the CPUSA - American Exceptionalism. According to this view the Anglo-American working class is too backward not only to grasp Marxism-Leninism but even to struggle spontaneously on its own, and that it needs the help of "communists" to carry on its own reformist struggles. That it is certainly too backward to understand the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism, which can only be grasped by the petty bourgeoisie, etc etc. But even people spouting such nonsense are not exceptional to the USNA. Lenin had to deal with them as well. "Our economists including Rabocheye Dyelo were successful because they disguised themselves as uneducated workers. But the working class Social-Democrats, the working class revolutionaries (their number is growing) will indignantly reject all this talk about fighting for demands 'promising palpable results' etc because he will understand that this is only a variation of the old song about adding a kopeck to the ruble. The working class revolutionaries will say to their councilors, or Rabochaya Mysl and Rabocheye Dyelo: You are wasting your time, gentlemen, you are interfering with excessive zeal in a job that we can manage ourselves and you are neglecting your own duties...." "...The economic struggle

between the workers and the employers and their government about which you make as much fuss as if you had made a new discovery is being carried on in all parts of Russia, even the most remote, by the workers themselves, who have heard about strikes but who have heard almost nothing about socialism...But such activity is not enough for us; we are not children to be fed on the sops of 'economic' politics alone;...we want to learn the details of all aspects of political life and to take part actively in every political event. In order that we may do this, the intellectuals must talk to us less on what we already know and tell us more about what we do not know and what we can never learn from our factory and 'economic' experiences...You intellectuals can acquire this knowledge and it is your duty to bring us this knowledge...Fulfill this activity with great zeal and talk less about increasing the activity of the masses of workers!...Be less subservient to spontaneity, and think more about increasing your own activity, gentlemen!" (28)

And as for all this nonsense about not being able to build a party because the mass movement is not yet advanced enough, even people putting forward this trash are not exceptional to the USNA. And thus we reply to the conciliators the same way Lenin replied to the economists: "Work for the establishment of a fighting organization...must be carried on under all circumstances, not matter how 'drab and peaceful' the times may be...More than that, it is precisely in such conditions and in such periods that this work is particularly required; for it would be too late to start building such an organization in the midst of uprisings and outbreaks." (29)

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Let us consider the RU's American Exceptionalism on the national question. Here the lines between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are clearly drawn. Imperialism stands on the basis of the most ruthless exploitation of the colonies. While the class-conscious proletariat stands for giving the most active and determined support to the workers and peasantry oppressed by his "own" imperialism. The bourgeoisie tries to hide, distort and cover up the question of its oppression of other nations, talking about religious, tribal, racial differences, etc. The class-conscious workers who have broken with opportunism on the other hand see the need to tear away such confusing cobwebs and replace them with a clear call for the independence of the oppressed nations and the right of self-determination. There are only two roads here - the road of proletarian internationalism and the bourgeois road of opportunism, revisionism and chauvinism.

Stalin long ago pointed out the key error of Anglo-American communists to be that of American Exceptionalism. (30) William Z. Foster (an opportunist, conciliator and left flank guard of Earl Browder), who is held up as a great proletarian revolutionary by the opportunist leaders of the RU (31), replied to Stalin's criticism by coming up with his "nation within a nation." As a matter of fact all along the CPUSA was forced to uphold the line of Lenin, Stalin and the Comintern on the Negro Nation while all along rebelling against it, and never wanting to put it into practice. Finally, as soon as it could, it dropped any mention of its proletarian internationalist duty and reverted back to the bourgeois line of "racism."

On this question the conciliators again take a page out of the books of their teachers - the CPUSA. Among the working class they openly push their line of

"racism" while in their theoretical papers they gloss this over with Marxist-Leninist terminology about the national question. The conciliators start out by separating "the national liberation of Black and Mexican-American peoples, and support for the democratic demands of all oppressed minorities" from "against Imperialist Aggression, support for Colonial liberation." These are treated as two separate "spearheads" whereas in reality they both are aspects of the oppression of the colonies and semi-colonies by imperialism.

Moreover, what is this foolishness about a Black nation? Does it include Africans, West Indians, and so on, as well as Negroes, or not? Is there such a thing as a white or yellow nation? But Marxism is not based on such foolishness. What is a nation? "A nation is primarily a community, a definite community of people."

"This community is not racial, nor is it tribal. The modern Italian nation was formed from Romans, Teutons, Etruscans, Greeks, Arabs, and so forth. The French nation was formed from Gauls, Romans, Britons, Teutons, and so on. The same must be said of the British, the Germans and others, who were formed into nations from people of diverse races and tribes.

"Thus a nation is not racial or tribal, but a historically constituted community of people." (32)

Likewise, what is this nonsense about a Mexican-American (sic) nation in the Southwest? For as the RU correctly points out, "The Southwest is territory conquered from Mexico, and the land subsequently stolen from its inhabitants. The language in the countryside is Spanish. The culture and history are closely tied to Mexico." (33) Does this not make it crystal clear that the oppressed nation is not the Southwest but Mexico itself? Or are we to call the land stolen by Russia from China, or by England from Ireland (ie, Northern Ireland), also new nations concocted out of thin air. No, nations are products of history, not of politics.

Or again, for the unity of American Exceptionalism and blatant historical falsifications it is hard to beat the RU formulation that "Black people are an imported colonial people (!) brought to this country in chains and dispersed throughout it (!!)." (34) (Emphasis ours) Still more, "We do recognize the responsibility of a Communist organization - and especially its white members to build support for the right of Black people and Chicanos to self-determination, the right to choose whether to be part of a single US nation or to set up separate Black and Chicano republics.

"But having said that, we must also recognize that this is not a simple question. Neither Black people, nor the Mexican-Americans satisfy all four of the criteria that Stalin formulated and Marxists have recognized as the basis for a nation: common language, culture, history, economic life and territory." (35)

Now this must be some kind of (bad) joke! The terminology might be about a nation but it's race that comes through all over.

- The would-be "party" is here divided along syndicalist lines (again based on races) with different degrees of responsibility toward the class.

- The RU's new "nations" are political and not historical, as with Marxists.

- Stalin's definition of a nation is paraphrased incorrectly to the point of being an outright lie.

- These "Marxists" go on to continue calling their new-fangled

inventions "nations," while themselves arguing that according to the Marxist definition of a nation these "nations" are not nations!! They say again, "During this period between 1850-1940" (how is this for metaphysical figures?) "the Chicano nation and the Black nation were very similar to the semi-colonial, semi-feudal nations of Asia, with the major difference that they existed within the borders of a powerful capitalist nation...." (36) These conciliators can't seem to get anything right, so let's go down our list again.

- Here are two "nations," which are not really nations according to Stalin's "four criteria," one based on a national minority and the other on a race.

- Both still find themselves within another nation.

- We find the CPUSA's "improvements" on Marx concerning "feudalism" in the Negro Nation. (See the Negro National Colonial Question, CL)

- Contrary to the thinking of the conciliators, semi-feudal and semi-colonial nations are not peculiar to Asia.

Finally they conclude that the Negro Nation has become dispersed (as has the Southwest) because of two changes. One, migration. Two, developing industry and the creation of a large proletariat. "This has created oppressed nations of a new type - dispersed proletarian nations." (37) First, migration does not enter into determining a nation, whereas the concept of a stable, historically evolved community of people does. Otherwise Ireland, for example, would have ceased to be a nation long ago. Second, if industry somehow mystically destroys nations, why haven't we heard of this before? And why haven't the Anglo-American, <sup>nation</sup> England, Puerto Rico, etc, all overwhelmingly proletarian, all suffered the same fate? Third, nations consist of all classes, whereas for the RU the new "nations" exist not only of one race but of one class - they are proletarian nations! (Whereas the old nations, they will no doubt tell us, were "peasant" nations!!)

By all this rigamarole the conciliators prove nothing except their ability to disregard Marxism completely while tossing around "Marxist"-sounding phrases. We cannot fail to point out, finally, that the RU's "proletarian" "dispersed" "nations" of a "new type" are nothing but a rehash of the Springer-Bauer line of cultural national autonomy. "The starting point of national autonomy is the conception of a nation as a unity of individuals without regard to definite territory." (38) And, "It means secondly, that the Czechs, Poles, Germans and so on, scattered over the various parts of Austria, taken personally as individuals, are to be organized into integral nations, and as such to form part of the Austrian state. In this way Austria will represent not a union of autonomous regions, but a union of autonomous nationalities constituted irrespective of territory." (39)

From dialectical materialism back to idealism and metaphysics. From Lenin and Stalin back to Springer and Bauer - such is the motion of the conciliators on this crucially important national question. Listen: "Those who (call for independence of the Negro Nation) base themselves on a mechanical attempt to apply to black people Stalin's criterion for what does and what does not constitute a nation. In doing so they actually play down the potential power of the Black People's movement. They reduce the question of a black nation to mere geography." (40)

Compared with our brilliant new innovators from the RU, we who stick to the great Marxist teachers must seem very mechanical indeed! Did not Marx and Engels call for the liberation of Ireland? Are there not Marxists today who call for the liberation of Palestine? Did not Ho Chi Minh fight all his life for the liberation of Vietnam? But according to our brilliant new theoreticians of the national question all these people made the same unfortunate error. They all reduce the national question to one of "mere geography!!" Perhaps this is because they base their

theories on the real world and not on something existing in outer space someplace a million light years away. Perhaps on Mars, where we have met our conciliators before, building their spaceship, the question of "mere geography," or stated more simply, land, does not mean the same thing as it does here on Earth - perhaps it is not the original source of all wealth, natural resources, food, etc. Perhaps these things "fall from the sky" or are "innate in the minds" of our Martian theoreticians. But here on Earth, as far as the question of "mere geography" is concerned, things are not so "airy." As Lenin says, "The weight of emphasis in the internationalist education of the workers in the oppressing countries must necessarily consist in advocating and urging them to demand freedom of secession for oppressed countries. Without this there can be no internationalism. It is our right and our duty to treat every socialist of an oppressing nation who fails to conduct such propaganda as an imperialist and a scoundrel. This is an absolute demand, even if the chance of secession being possible and 'feasible' before the introduction of socialism is only one in a thousand." (Lenin and Stalin on the National Colonial Question, p46) (We ask the reader to compare this and Stalin's Ten Points in Foundations of Leninism to Red Papers II, p12, para5)

The dialectical opposition to the super-exploitation of the oppressed nations is the bribery of the working class in the imperialist countries. And here again our conciliators show up still trying to render the great Marxist teachers more profound. For example, "By proletariat we mean first and foremost, the workers in large-scale industry, who are concentrated in the factories of the monopoly capitalists. These workers must be developed as the leadership of the entire working class." (41) Whereas "Even the 'underemployed' - those who work infrequently or in menial jobs such as dishwashers, maids, etc and the permanently unemployed are able to play a leading role in the revolutionary struggle, when they are forced into a more socialized situation." (41) (Emphasis ours)

According to these conciliators, socialization is everything, oppression and exploitation are nothing. The leadership of the working class is the proletariat and this is defined beforehand by these conciliators as being confined to large monopolized industries! The unorganized sweatshops apparently aren't socialized enough to make these workers play a leading role in the revolutionary struggle! But they - the conciliators - are kind enough to grant us, however, that even the "under-employed" and the "permanently unemployed" (a new stage between the working class and the lumpen proletariat?) and the "menial workers" as well could play a leading revolutionary role if only they were more socialized! Has anyone ever seen such wretched white chauvinism and male supremacy?!

Socialization does of course play a role, but we would like to ask the conciliators of revisionism the question whether a worker with a relatively easy job in large scale industry at \$5.00 an hour/<sup>is</sup> going to be more revolutionary than a sweatshop worker with a back-breaking job who makes \$1.65 an hour? What good does it do to see the importance of key industries but to overlook the basis of the whole question of bribery?

Being idealists, however, the conciliators overlook any economic basis of bribery. They discuss "largeness of mind" but never the \$170 a week (or more) paycheck. Skilled craftsmen, they agree, are bribed but mainly because they are put into individualistic work situations. The fact that they are making \$10 and more an hour has little or nothing to do with it. (42) They defend this by talking about how the peasantry in Russia was not the main force for revolution even though it was worse off economically than the proletariat. They "forget" that Russia was a country just entering the capitalist phase of development whereas the USNA is the most developed imperialist country in the world, and that the question of bribery is a little bit different here! "Everything depends on conditions,

time and place." Peasants in Russia were small proprietors, in general, they were petty-bourgeois, not even members (save for the rural proletarians) of the working class - just as many lumpens might be worse off economically than the mass of the workers in the USNA, but are not part of the class. Within this class in the USNA there is a tremendous amount of bribery and corruption and their main basis is economic, coming from the superprofits of imperialism. As Lenin said, politics is nothing but a concentrated expression of economics. To see just the question of relations to production and not the question of earnings, as the RU does, is just as much an error as just to see the question of money and not the question of the class relationships. Marxism, however, bases its projections on the real world and the real world is dialectical. Both aspects have to be taken into account. On the one hand the bribed workers are exploited by the big capitalists and are members of the working class. On the other hand they are economically as well as socially bribed and this ties them to a certain degree economically, socially, ideologically and politically to the imperialists. Bribery and exploitation are a unity of opposites. The philistine will say that both cannot exist at the same time. But philistines are philistines. Moreover, bribery is a relative concept and just as a capitalist divides up the workers in any factory on the basis of economics - pay scale, difficulty of work, etc - so does imperialism on a world-wide scale. Thus the workers from the USNA as a whole are bribed relative to the workers in Japan; the workers in Japan relative to the workers in Taiwan; the workers of the Anglo-American nation relative to the workers in the Negro Nation, the workers in the Negro Nation relative to the workers in Brazil or India, etc. Within the Anglo-American nation men are bribed relative to women and Anglo-American workers relative to national minority workers. The class is not a homogeneous unit economically, politically or in any other way, and this applies to levels of bribery as well. Bribery cannot be seen as an isolated concept applying to only the plumber, electrician, etc. It affects the whole class although to varying degrees in various ways and at various times in history.

Lenin clearly points out the economic basis of this bribery: "Precisely in this, to a certain extent, rests the parasitism of imperialism, rich countries buying over part of their workers, with a higher wage while engaging in the unlimited and shameless exploitation of the labor of 'cheap' foreign workers." (43) And, "Modern society lives at the expense of the modern proletarian. Marx particularly emphasized this profound observation of Sismondi. Imperialism changes the situation somewhat. A privileged upper stratum of the proletariat in the imperialist states lives partly at the expense of the hundreds of millions of uncivilized peoples." (44) And lastly, "The receipt of high monopoly profits by the capitalists in one of the numerous branches of industry, in one of the numerous countries, etc, makes it economically possible for them to bribe certain sections of the workers, and for a time being a fairly considerable minority of them, and to win them to the side of the bourgeoisie...and so there is created that bond between imperialism and opportunism..." (45)

Or why, may we ask, do some workers in the USNA get \$4 or \$5 an hour while others get \$1.65 or \$2.00 an hour, while workers in Brazil get \$.40? To say that workers fought for these gains is true, but haven't the workers in the Negro Nation, Puerto Rico, India, Brazil etc fought just as hard? Why did the capitalists give in to some and not to others? This cannot be explained except on the basis of the Leninist theory of bribery and parasitism.

Marxists are dialecticians. The fact that the working class is bribed doesn't mean that it is simply bought off and no longer revolutionary. Just as the fact

that it is exploited doesn't make it automatically revolutionary (and likewise doesn't mean that it can't be bribed). Those that say the class is "bought off" see one side and not the other. Those that deny that it is bribed economically and deny the real political effects this bribery has make the opposite error of seeing only the other side. Unlike the conciliators, Marxism takes both sides of this process into account.

But the RU remains stuck like glue to the highly-bribed workers; no wonder its political projections are so opportunistic. Apparently after making the supreme sacrifice of "joining" the class, they at least want to be assured of remaining among that section which is most akin to the petty bourgeoisie. Here is what they say: "...Imperialism, which creates a section of privileged workers, a labor aristocracy whose condition actually improves with the growth of imperialism, which is in fact bribed with a small part of the spoils, the super-profits of imperialism..."

"Faced with this situation we can do one of two things. We can realize that it will be harder in an imperialist country to build the revolutionary movement of the workers, that it will take a longer period of struggle, and the development of a really devastating crisis in the imperialist system; or we can simply decide that the workers cannot be the main, leading force in the struggle..." (46)

This is correct. Provided that one remains based in the highly bribed sections of the class, one has a choice between giving up on the class as a revolutionary force, or else can simply wait for a devastating crisis. Lenin however cuts this Gordian knot when he says, "Engels draws a distinction between the 'bourgeois labor party' of the old trade unions, the privileged minority - and the lowest mass, the real majority and appeals to the latter, who are not infected with bourgeois respectability. This is the essence of Marxist tactics!" "And it is therefore our duty, if we wish to remain socialists, to go down lower and deeper to the real masses. This is the whole meaning and the whole purport of the struggle against opportunism." (47)

It is the hardcore proletariat, the most exploited and oppressed, the unskilled, unorganized workers in general (and the national minority and women workers in particular within the most exploited and oppressed strata) who comprise the real majority, who are the least tied to capital and who are the most "fertile soil" for communism in the working class. And Lenin was correct, the political battle against opportunism is inseparably linked to the question of the economic division within the class itself, a division which is the result of imperialism. The revisionist CPUSA and their conciliators, the RU and Co. in the "left" have taken one side, and the real Marxist-Leninists have taken the other. It is no accident that the RU, being opportunist by their very nature, direct some of their heaviest guns against the Leninist concept of bribery. The RU spends a good deal of time (especially in Red Papers IV) lecturing about the importance of large scale industry and of the potential power of the workers in the big industries. This absolutely correct and it is furthermore precisely why the bourgeoisie tries hard to bribe precisely these workers - to win them over politically and to form fascist labor fronts.

As long as the bourgeoisie retains the economic and hence political strength to carry out this bribery it is the task of communists to go deeper down among the masses of unskilled, least bribed and most exploited and oppressed sections of the proletariat. This is where the bourgeoisie is weakest, where the basis for communism is the strongest, and we must learn how to use our strengths against their weaknesses. We must build up a base among the most exploited and oppressed and then use that base in order to move into key industries and not the other way around (which would be the only alternative aside from forgetting about the proletariat

(which would be the only alternative short of leaving the proletariat out of the picture altogether.) Moreover, when moving within key industries we should rely mainly on the least-bribed sections relative to the plant as a whole. But the conciliators have a different plan and this leads them straight back into the arms of the economists. (48) "The basis of the United Front strategy, and of our understanding as Marxists, is that the ruling class will do anything it can to deprive the workers of all but the barest means of subsistence, and that in the fight against this lies the basis for linking up struggles against the monopoly capitalists, building anti-imperialist consciousness amongst the workers, and organizing and preparing the masses of working people to overthrow the ruling class." (49) (Emphasis ours) First of all, unlike our conciliators the bourgeoisie isn't so machanical. It already has deprived some workers of even this bare minimum, while it will do almost anything to keep from lowering the wages of other sections of the class. Secondly, Marxists unlike the conciliators and economists do not see the economic struggle as developing itself into the political struggle. Rather we go amongst the most exploited and oppressed, and while supporting all forms of struggle concentrate on building a party.

But the conciliators of revisionism still try to tell us that the struggle for state power will develop out of the **economic** struggle itself. "They (the workers) are not talking about capturing **state power**, which completely abstract and remote to the great majority of working people. As we say in Red Papers II the question of state power 'will come to the **fore in the mass movement**...through the struggles led by the proletariat around the united front line and program.'" (50)

According to this the workers are not talking about state power - not because they are not yet class conscious, not because they are still misled by the bourgeoisie and their revisionists and conciliators - but simply because the question of state power is too abstract! Hence all we as "communists" have to do is organize enough people around a reformist program and the dictatorship of the proletariat will "come to the fore in the mass movement" all by itself. Don't be fooled! Take the vital questions of the day - and the most vital are the questions of party-building and the dictatorship of the proletariat - actively to the most exploited and oppressed!

BUILD A MULTI-NATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY!

S. T.  
San Francisco

Footnotes

1. Lenin, State and Revolution, Lenin on Proletarian Revolution and Proletarian Dictatorship, FLP, Peking, 1960, pp9-10
2. Stalin, "Political Strategy and Tactics of Russian Communists," Works, FLPH, Moscow, 1953, vol5, p81
3. Lenin, Stalin, Mao, Dimitrov etc have all used united front tactics. The only place the conciliators' line of "gimicks" etc is to be found is in Hoover's Masters of Deceit and similar books. A united front of course can be elevated to a strategy in a specific historical context, because strategy and tactics are relative concepts.
4. Selections from V I Lenin and J V Stalin on the National Colonial Question, Calcutta Book House, 1970, p71
5. Ibid, p91
6. "'New Left' Attacks Communist League," People's Tribune, vol4, #8, p2
7. See "Syndicalism Disarms the Proletariat" and "C L Response to Conciliators" (People's Tribune) on the effects of this syndicalist and Third World nonsense on the practical class struggle.
8. "Build a Class Party, Build a Mass Struggle," People's Tribune, vol3, #3, p10
9. Lenin, What is to be Done? International Publishers, NY, 1929, p165
10. "Russian Social-Democracy must not dissipate its forces; it must concentrate its activity on the industrial proletariat, who are most susceptible to Social-Democratic ideas, most developed intellectually and politically, and most important by virtue of their numbers and concentration in the country's large political centers. The creation of a durable revolutionary organization among the factory, urban workers is therefore the first and foremost urgent task confronting Social-Democracy, one from which it would be highly unwise to let ourselves be diverted at the present time. But, while recognizing the necessity of concentrating our forces on the factory workers and opposing dissipation of our forces we do not in the least wish to suggest that the Russian Social-Democrats think it inopportune to send their forces among the handicraftsmen and rural laborers, but they do not in the least intend to ignore them; they will try to enlighten the advanced workers also on questions affecting the lives of the handicraftsmen and rural laborers, so that when the workers come into contact with the more backward strata of the proletariat, they will imbue them with the ideas of the class struggle, socialism and the political tasks of Russian Social-Democracy in general and of the Russian proletariat in particular. It is impractical to send agitators among the handicraftsmen and rural laborers when there is still so much work to be done among the factory, urban workers, but in numerous cases the socialist workers come willy-nilly into contact with these people and must be able to take advantage of these opportunities and understand the general tasks of Social-Democracy. Hence, those who accuse the Russian Social-Democrats of being narrow-minded, of trying to ignore the mass of the laboring population for the sake of the factory workers are profoundly mistaken. On the contrary agitation among the advanced section of the proletariat is the surest and only way to rouse (as the movement expands) the entire Russian proletariat. The dissemination of socialism and the ideas of the class struggle among the urban workers will inevitably cause these ideas to flow in smaller and more scattered channels. This requires that these ideas take deeper root among the better prepared elements and spread through the vanguard of the Russian working class movement and of the Russian Revolution." Lenin, "The Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats," Collected Works, Moscow, 1963, vol2 p331

11. Steve Hamilton, Red Papers I, RU, p29
12. Stalin, Selected Works, Cardinal Pub., Davis, Cal. 1971, p240
13. (Not in text - see NOTE, p11)
14. See for example, Red Papers I, p23, last two paragraphs
15. What is to be Done?, op cit, p143
16. Off the Beam, by the Short-Shoreman, Bay Area Worker, Apr 1972, p15
17. "Who We Are," Bay Area Worker, Sept 1972, p2
18. Ibid, p9
19. Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, FLP, Peking, 1970, p98
20. What is to be Done?, op cit, pp122-3
21. See footnote 10.
22. What is to be Done?, p124
23. Lenin, "Political Sophisms," Lenin on the Revolutionary Party of a New Type, FLP, Peking, 1960, pp9-10
24. Red Papers II, p23
25. Lenin, "Left-wing" Communism, Progress Pub. Moscow (3 vol set), vol3 p408
26. Ibid, pp407-8
27. Stalin, "Political Strategy, etc," op cit, pp82-3
28. What is to be Done?, pp152-4
29. Lenin, "Where to Begin?" Int Pub, p16 (no date)
30. Stalin, 3 speeches on factionalism and American Exceptionalism in the CPUSA, Int Pub
31. Red Papers IV, p60 (compare with above footnote)
32. Stalin, Marxism and the National Question, op cit, p66
33. Red Papers II, p12
34. Red Papers I, p4
35. Red Papers IV, p91
36. Ibid
37. Ibid
38. Stalin, Marxism etc, op cit, p82
39. Ibid, p80
40. Red Papers II, p10
41. Red Papers IV, p86
42. Ibid, p63
43. Lenin, "From a Review of the Party Programme," Lenin on Imperialism, the Eye of the Proletarian Revolution, FLP, Peking, 1960, p16
44. Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," Ibid, pp11-12
45. Ibid, pp83-4
46. Red Papers II, p65
47. Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," Lenin on the Struggle Against Revisionism, Peking, 1960, p75
48. See C L Labor Reports for more details.
49. Red Papers IV, p65
50. Ibid, p17

BRINGING THE WORKING CLASS TO REVOLUTION  
LABORERS' LOCAL 261 - A CASE HISTORY

The overt and active collaboration of corrupt union officials and corrupt federal officials has long been a fact of life in the United States of North America. It has been so long established as to be part of the "American way of life." And just as socially acceptable as poverty and the 357 handgun; organized crime and religion; politicians, payola and the P G & E (Pacific Gas and Electric). All of these seemingly disparate elements are directly linked with the current crisis of imperialism in the USNA, the mother country of global crime in Vietnam, the Philippines, Mexico, Puerto Rico, the Negro Nation and elsewhere.

What has all this got to do with the workers of Mayor Alioto's (of San Francisco) "favorite local," Laborers' Local 261 in San Francisco? Recently the US Department of Labor's SF regional and area offices of Labor-Management Services (serving whom?) handed down an adverse decision against the rank and file of this union. "Another election will not be recommended because the violations (numerous) could not have affected the election results." No departure from long established custom and practice by this particular bureau (or the US government in general) which consistently backs incumbent fascist labor leaders. Just as the US government does abroad in its whitewash of puppet President Thieu's "election" in South Vietnam.

San Francisco is now being set up as the headquarters of the Pacific Rim Area, an imperialist strategy for the rip off of people and resources in all of our own version of Mussolini's "mare nostrum," our sea. "Our sea" is the whole Pacific Ocean. As Rudolph A Peterson, president of the Bank of America, said, "Were we California businessmen to play a more dynamic role in helping trade development in the Pacific Rim, we would have giant, hungry new markets for our products and vast new profit potentials for our firms." Therefore all the lands and peoples from South America to Thailand are part of "our" domain as long as we can make it stick.

However, due to the rising liberation struggles, "our" sea has become more restricted and the Imperialists are losing markets, and super-profits from the colonies. Because San Francisco is to be the center of aggression in the Pacific, it is especially important to insure that fragile commodity, "labor peace," by any means necessary. Rather than cut their profits, the USNA imperialists must increase the oppression and exploitation of the working class at home through speed-ups, lay-offs, inflation and a wage-"price" freeze. Labor peace is being systematically insured by cooperation of the government and the union officials. The object is to construct fascist labor fronts as a social base for the establishment of fascism throughout the Anglo-American nation.

In order to deep themselves in office the two key officials of Local 261, C R Bud Johnson and Geroge Evankovich beat their own track record first established in the elections of 1966. At that time they ejected three observers from the voting area and openly incited violence. Members and non-members voted once, twice and, in one case, five times. Labor-Management officials found "violations" (even they couldn't overlook them) but, of course, "the violations could not have altered the outcome of the election." And the clincher from this ineffable bureau: "Nevertheless, the violations have been brought to the attention of your officers so that appropriate steps can be taken to insure compliance with the act (better

theatrics] in future elections." (!!)) This form letter was dated October 27, 1966 Washington, DC and signed by Frank Kleiler, director. Kleiler's career came to a halt with the murder of the Yablonski family. Prior to that he had presided over the murder of numerous workers. Upon the receipt of this notice, the union officials had a riotous party at Bruno's Restaurant on Mission Street at union expense. Lots of toasts were drunk that night to "our pals" in the federal building.

"Nevertheless...appropriate steps" were not taken in the elections of May 5 and 6, 1972, and this was apparent to all participants. Observers were threatened with eviction by the San Francisco Police Department if they did not stand so far away from the voting area that binoculars were necessary. Members were declared ineligible to run because they had not paid their union dues promptly but union officials who had not paid promptly were certified as eligible. Secretary-Treasurer Johnson was late once for seven days; President Yoakum was late on four occasions and Recording Secretary Flores was late eight or more times.

Eligibility for nomination was not "fair, reasonable and uniformly opposed" as even Labor Department investigator Lee Smith admitted. For a month, the government promised that "this time things will be different" and a new election was all but guaranteed. Then, on the weekend of October 1 and 2, International Officers, Secretary-Treasurer Terence O'Sullivan and Seventh Vice President Angelo Rosco hit town. Monday morning it was "all systems go" but by Monday afternoon the fix was in. The government said, "We **have** decided not to recommend a new election, but we found three serious violations, none of which we can tell you." International General President Peter Fosco had come out in support of Nixon the week before.

**Lenin**, in State and Revolution, says: "The exploiting classes need political rule to maintain exploitation, ie, in the selfish interests of an insignificant minority against the vast majority of the people." By actively working to maintain the fascist labor leaders in office, the government agents clearly support the capitalist class and help to build a social base for fascism.

Needless to say, all the workers in Local 261 are clear that the union is a virtual dictatorship with a total lack of democracy and that the government intends to keep it that way. Lenin correctly states in the same pamphlet, "Under capitalism democracy is restricted, cramped, curtailed and mutilated by all the conditions of wage slavery and the poverty and misery of the masses." The government extolls dictatorial control. In the words of Robert Holland, SF area office of Labor-Management, "A strong hand is needed." The government knows that the Laborers' International, 650,000 members in the USNA and Canada, is and has been controlled by the Mafia for over 50 years. Mafia control suits the development of the fascist labor front quite well.

In an editorial in the LABORER MAGAZINE, the late International General President Joseph V Moreschi (in office 42 years from 1926 to 1968) likened the laborers (most of whom are national minorities) to children and the role of the International to the father. (Who begat whom?) This is a perfect example of the Mafia Caporegime's thinking: Anglo-Americans\* do the thinking while the national minorities do the work. (\*An explanation of the term Anglo. The Mexican people are clear that we are all "Anglos." The primary base of our culture in the Anglo-American nation is English. Thus Sullivan and Slattery, Irish born, are in fact products of Anglo "culture.") This is not "racism," the oppression of individuals and groups, but chauvinism because it is designed to oppress whole nations and peoples. The specific form of chauvinism in the USNA is white because it has been directed by the white bourgeoisie (Kennedys, Duponts, Rockefellers, Pews, Fords, Mellons) against the nations and peoples of color primarily.

Holland's attitude shows the eagerness of the USNA state (federal government) to push white chauvinism. The laborers in Local 261 are overwhelmingly national minorities, so Holland believes they are incapable of managing their own affairs. "Chauvinism is an imperialist ideology of oppression. (Philippines, Vietnam and Mexican Wars, Puerto Rico etc) It is designed to create among the masses hatred toward other nations and peoples but not races. (The conquest of Ireland by England cannot be explained on racial grounds, nor can the conquest of Korea and China by Japan.) It considers oppressed peoples to be inferior and incapable of managing their own affairs." Chauvinism in the USNA is rooted in the enslavement of African blacks and the slaughter of the red Indians. Thus it becomes white chauvinism: We white Americans have the right to exploit and oppress other nations and peoples since they are not white and/or American. Thus we can wage merciless war against the yellow peoples of Southeast Asia because "they are incapable of managing their own affairs," yet covet and laud the yellow Japanese and Chinese. The skin color is secondary while the economic goals of imperialism are primary.

In Local 261, as in most locals, the International practices its own particular form of neo-colonialism - using national minorities to rule national minorities. Of seven officers three are national minorities. The power is concentrated in the hands of Secretary-Treasurer Johnson, an Anglo, and his Anglo voting bloc of Evankovich, Sullivan and Slattery. The function of the national minority officers is to push white chauvinism for the Anglo voting bloc. At union meetings they control minority voting blocs for Johnson. On the other side they sneak around and attack other national minorities. They never lay any of the blame for union problems on the principal officers, Johnson and Evankovich, where it immediately belongs. But isn't all this "racism?" Emphatically, NO!! Racism considers ALL members of a race inferior. It does not even make any pretense of tokenism (union president Yoakum; Flores, corresponding secretary, Partida, executive board) or permit any self-determination. The "racism" of slave and frontier days in the USNA became white chauvinism in the era of USNA imperialism. In the USNA in general and in Local 261 in particular, the bourgeoisie (Bechtel, Kaiser, Dillingham, Cahill) and the petty bourgeoisie (union officials) of all races line up first and foremost against the working class. Johnson and Evankovich, Anglos; Flores and Partida, Mexican national minorities; Yoakum, Negro national minority; are united in oppressing all workers. Particularly the national minority workers who are far and away the most politically advanced (class conscious) section of the working class. No Anglo has been more vicious in his oppression of Negro national minority members than Yoakum who constantly pushes white chauvinism. He can do more than an Anglo because he is a Negro national minority. He once told an advanced Negro national minority worker: "As long as your ass is black, you will never get a job out of this union." This open espousal of white chauvinism amounts to oppression of the Negro Nation in the final analysis because it denies Negro national minority workers a basis for self-determination on any level.

The recent BART (Bay Area Rapid Transit) construction project is a classic example of white chauvinism in job dispatching and in dividing the working class. 80% of the construction workers in 1967 were national minorities. But the overwhelming majority (90% or better) of the premium pay pressure jobs went to Anglo workers. When it came to clean-up work, the lowest-paying and dirtiest jobs, the jobs went to national minorities. Most of their foremen were Anglos, in many cases of southern ancestry, who were particularly abusive and "highball." The turnover rate was as high as 80% some weeks. In regard to pressure work, there is a mythology that it is highly skilled, but in truth it is simple, hard and repetitive production work. The Anglos got the big money and the minorities got the "shitwork." Local 261 has city employees (900) in addition to construction workers.

Government bureaucrats, faceless men, are a major arm of the fascist labor front. They make decisions which mean life and death to the working class casually over a leisurely lunch. Lenin clearly states in State and Revolution that government officials are "bureaucrats, ie privileged persons divorced from the masses and standing above the masses." In fact the leading Labor-Management bureaucrats, regional manager H D Huxley, assistant regional manager Franklyn Elias and area manager Robert Holland are virtually unknown to the workers even though they have been trampling on workers' rights for years. These are the Eichmans of our capitalist society who are adept at rationalizing the most inhuman crimes against humanity. The rare worker who accidentally has any dealings with these bureaucrats comes away with a queasy feeling in his guts. These people cultivate among themselves a mutual admiration society based on a feeling of infallibility. Mostly "organized" Labor-Management Services has an incestuous love affair with itself which reinforces their feeling of being a lonely and beleaguered band against the ignorant masses.

One of the most time-honored techniques worked out by the above trio is to encourage the union members that this time "things will be different." Just as Lucy in the comic strip Peanuts encourages Charley Brown in the belief that he will get off a kick. It never happens. Another technique is the sweet-talking, reasonable liberal attitude. Until they are confronted by workers who point out the criminal actions, the faceless bureaucrats are always calm and reassuring. But when the mask is stripped away their class background is revealed and a worker wees them for what they are: his or her deadly class enemies.

An entire industry has developed around the building of fascist labor fronts which includes not only the government bureaucrats and the labor leaders but also an entire court system. The "big" labor lawyers such as Charles Scully, Johnson-Stanton, Levy-Van Bourg all work to suppress the workers. They are the perfect foil for the government bureaucrats who plaintively whine: "We really need a lot of evidence" or these great lawyers will destroy our case and our "reputation."

Mao Tsetung learned from the workers and peasants of China: "The workers were the cleanest people and, even though their hands were soiled and their feet smeared with cow dung, they were cleaner than the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intellectuals." It was found imperative to remould government bureaucrats (intellectuals) by assigning them to do manual labor in order to learn from the workers and peasants. This is not possible under capitalism and, these bureaucrats, fearing the people, stay as far away as possible.

Our new weapon must be the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. We can see all too clearly that the historic conditions which brought about the October Revolution in Russia are occurring in this country today. Everything that is happening or not happening in Local 261 is symptomatic of the pre-revolutionary deterioration of working conditions. The job injuries are numerous and more serious. As revolutions succeed in the Philippines, Vietnam and elsewhere the screws will tighten on the workers and oppressed people of the USNA. Workers in Local 261 will become more receptive to communist theory. A systematic program of issuing a weekly leaflet has proved that the caucus is the most credible group within the local. At all times politics is in command although the leaflets also deal with day to day issues.

The primary task of the rank and file caucus within Local 261 must be to build a communist party of a multinational character. For this reason solely we must exert

every effort to seek out the most advanced workers and persuade them on the importance of studying the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. An additional task must be to expose the revisionist elements (Revolutionary Union and Communist Party of the USA), newly arrived within the union for counter-revolutionary purposes. We cannot allow the workers to be misled and put on a futile treadmill of reform and populism. Our tasks will be difficult and complex but we have a bright future because this present era of imperialism is the final end of capitalism. The laborers know this intuitively. We must work with them to free them from oppression, degradation and misery forever by ultimately smashing the state and establishing a workers' government - the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Caucus, Local 261 Laborers' Union,  
San Francisco

## REFORM VS REVOLUTION - WHICH SIDE ARE YOU ON?

Let's state some facts. "The main trend in the world today is revolution." Chairman Mao Tsetung. Reform is passé but temporarily does have some limited use. Reform belongs in the same category as whales, whooping cranes and capitalists! The capitalists will kill off the first two but their own demise can only be brought about by the working class. But only after they have been aroused and united by a PROLETARIAN communist party guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism. Capitalism cannot be reformed away. It will finally be overcome violently by smashing the capitalist state for the establishment of a workers' government - the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We do not oppose reforms but do not consider them the end product but the byproduct of the class struggle:

"Obviously, therefore, it is not a matter of reforms or of compromises and agreements, but of the use people make of reforms and agreements.

"To a reformist, reforms are everything, while revolutionary work is something incidental, something just to talk about, mere eyewash. That is why, with reformist tactics under the conditions of bourgeois rule, reforms are inevitably transformed into an instrument for strengthening that rule, an instrument for disintegrating the revolution.

"To a revolutionary, on the contrary, the main thing is revolutionary work and not reforms; to him reforms are a byproduct of the revolution. That is why, with revolutionary tactics under the conditions of bourgeois rule, reforms are naturally transformed into an instrument for disintegrating that rule, into an instrument for strengthening the revolution, into a strongpoint for the further development of the revolutionary movement." (Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, WLP, Peking, p98)

Let's state some further facts. Most lawyers, the vast majority, are interested in reforms in order to preserve the status quo and to prevent revolution. This is also the case with the old left and many of the new left groups. An analysis of papers put out by many of these groups shows they are for the most part written by petty bourgeois intellectuals. This is most concretely shown by their lack of in-depth Marxist analysis of Arnold Miller, the Miners for Union Democracy and the recent United Mine Workers (UMW) elections. We speak specifically of four papers: "Revolution," of the Revolutionary Union (RU); "The Call," of the October League (OL); "Pamoja Venceremos," of Venceremos. All new left papers which faithfully echoed the capitalist line - as did "People's World," of the Communist Party of the USA (CPUSA).

Any advanced proletarian workers would immediately be suspicious of the massive media and government campaign behind Arnold Miller of the Miners for Union Democracy. The US Department of Labor overtly and covertly put Miller in office. Any worker knows that the US Department of Labor always works against workers and on behalf of the capitalist class. This department spent \$4 million on Miller's behalf only because the government officials had solid facts that Miller could be counted on to work in the interests of the Eatons, Mellons, Pews, Rockefellers and other bourgeoisie who have huge investments in coal and coal-related indust-

ries. It's as simple as that.

The bourgeoisie, through its press and the government, have portrayed Joseph Yablonski as a great leader of the workers. But who was Yablonski? He was an international vice president of UMW and had held official posts in the union for over thirty years. This was under both Lewis, Thomas Kennedy (1960-3) and Boyle. He resigned these positions to fight against Boyle only after the consciousness of the miners and their increasing struggle offered the opportunity for him to ride the miners' insurgency to the top. He announced his candidacy for UMW president at the end of May, 1969. By that time the miners' struggle was well-developed having really begun in earnest in 1964. So what about this "great leader?"

Yablonski's murder gave Miller his big chance, just as LBJ was able to ride to the top on John Kennedy's corpse. This use of populism (playing on the better sentiments and the worst prejudices of the masses with the aim of perpetuating capitalism) is a trick as old as bourgeois society itself. But none of these papers that we mentioned above asked any of the questions that any advanced worker would ask. And these are very basic questions. Just who is Arnold Miller? Was he a foreman in the mines? Did he have any supervisory jobs and for how long? Did he work as a miner at the face or did he have a piecard job like timekeeper or hoistman? How long and where did he work in the mines? Did he ever take any job actions in the past for conditions or wages? Under John L Lewis and Yablonski? Under Boyle and Yablonski?

Miller and Miners for Union Democracy have said absolutely nothing about the UMW ownership of mines and coal-related industries. Long ago John L Lewis and Cyrus Eaton established a cozy relationship which was highly profitable to Eaton in particular. It was a disaster for thousands of union coal miners in Appalachia. In the United States District Court for the Eastern District of Tennessee the United Mine Workers, on May 19, 1961, Civil Action #3431, were found guilty of "conspiring with large coal companies to monopolize the soft coal industry and drive small firms (union) into bankruptcy." (See also Harpers, December 1961, "The Strange Romance between John L Lewis and Cyrus Eaton") The UMW is still in the coal business. What is Miller going to do about this?

The OL's "The Call" pointed out that some of the people who sabotaged Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the Democratic Convention in 1964 were behind Miller. But it neither named any of them nor asked why they supported Miller if he is such a great leader. Two key figures involved are the thoroughly discredited Joseph Rauth of Americans for Democratic Action and Victor Reuther of the United Auto Workers. Reuther sent out under his name a huge mailing appealing for funds for "Miller, Trbovich, Patrick."

The League of Revolutionary Black Workers in Detroit exposed the role of Walter and Victor Reuther in creating divisions within the working class in the auto industry. They found two principal problems - General Motors and General Reuther. The Negro national minority auto workers in particular were constantly given the most dangerous jobs and denied opportunities for advancement by two well-trained saboteurs - Walter "General" Reuther and Victor Reuther. No tears were shed in the Negro national minority community for Walter Reuther when he was killed.

This brings us to Robert Payne the disabled Negro miner who founded the Black Lung Association. In addition to being "dusted," lung trouble, Payne has a scarred back and three amputated fingers. For certain HE had been a working miner. In July 1970 Payne called for a strike in the mines of West Virginia. Thousands of miners answered Payne's call and shut down mines all over West Virginia.

Any advanced worker would know several things about Payne. First and foremost he is a leader of the working class. No worker will follow just anyone in a wildcat strike action. Two conditions have to exist: one, very bad working conditions and, two, a leader who can sum up all this and inspire workers to take actions.

Robert Payne took the struggle beyond legal bullshit - after all the coal operators, the capitalists, make the laws; the miners don't. His leadership and the rank and file support of it "began severely cutting production and profits." Once a leader takes such actions he becomes a "marked man" and absolutely unacceptable to a small minority, the capitalist and their chief government agents (US Labor Department) and capitalist lackeys like Rauth and Reuther.

Where is Robert Payne now or has he passed away? This happens far too suddenly and frequently when leaders appear who take strike actions which help workers. Did Joseph Rauth and Victor Reuther sabotage Payne like they did former sharecropper Mrs Fannie Lou Hamer? By now these two are old pros at sabotaging Negro workers in the United States of North America. If Payne is alive how come he isn't heading the United Mine Workers? The bourgeoisie's answer is obvious: Negro Miners are OK for fighting wars and dying in mines but not capable of leading a multi-million dollar corporate union like the UMW.

One of the biggest giveaways to this most recent swindle of the working coal miners was the focus of the campaign against Boyle. Boyle was no prize and neither was Yablonsky. No one got to the top in the United Mine Workers unless they were completely acceptable to John L Lewis; who continued to dominate long after he had "retired." Boyle reaped the harvest sown long ago by Lewis.

To the auto workers list of the capitalist class and labor aristocrats we must add the state machinery. The state is the instrument of class rule, of the domination of capitalist over labor in bourgeois society. It exists for the systematic application of force and the subjugation of people by force to preserve the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. It will also use deception to fool the workers. Therefore it is <sup>no</sup> surprise that the US Departments of Labor and Justice hurried to implement the call of the Eatons, Mellons, Rockefellers, Duponts and Pews (the monopoly capitalist class) to blame all the problems of the miners on Boyle and to forget about John L Lewis. Nor is it strange that the labor lieutenants of capital would echo this line. On the cover of the pamphlet sent out by Victor Reuther was a gruesome picture of Boyle and a caption saying "Since this man took over the mine workers union, 2008 men have died on the job." Big bold type and underneath the picture in slightly smaller type "Without your help he'll be re-elected in December."

Boyle couldn't begin to touch John L Lewis in massive indifference to the slaughter of the coal miners. Lewis was perhaps indifferent because He Never Was a Coal Miner. His brothers were, but Lewis himself was a mule skinner and hauler at the mines. This fact was thoroughly known to miners who worked with Lewis before he became a union piecard. That he had "guts" and leadership ability was beyond question but that he did not consider the miners and the working class but only himself is also beyond question. In any event the Lewis family benefitted enormously on the backs of the coal miners but the mass of the miners did not in the long run. These are facts available to anyone who cares to look at the record.

John Bartlow Martin's article in Harper's Magazine in March 1948 is the best short summation of the UMW; Lewis; federal and local government officials; coal operators and the hard-working miners and their families. The article is entitled

"A Blast in Centralia No. 5 - A Mine Disaster No One Stopped." This blast killed 111 miners of March 25, 1947. On July 24, 1947 another blast occurred nearby at the Old Ben Coal Corp. #8 mine near West Frankfort, Illinois, and killed 27 men. The Mine Superintendent was Howard Lewis, brother of John L. What did John L. say about this? Exactly nothing.

A US Senate Sub-Committee set up to investigate the Centralia disaster found that since 1910 "about 1,887 miners have been killed at work each year." John L. Lewis took over the UMW in 1920. Admittedly not all mines were under the UMW but those that were had a record that Boyle at his worst had not begun to touch.

So now let's us predict Miller's moves based on past practice: Arnold Miller and Company will embark on a massive publicity campaign shortly which will tell us about all the wonderful things they are doing. Like the big moves to the coalfields. Like the closing of some small mine in No Hope Appalachia, etc etc. But we will tell you things he will not do. He will not shut down any of big steel's mines like the Robena complex for any length of time - no matter how many miners are "dusted," injured or killed. R. Heath Larry who heads the management team for Big Steel (nine big steelmakers) and also for the big coal operators will get rid of Miller as quickly as he appeared out of nowhere if he does.

The only reason Miller is in office is because Boyle could no longer control the mine workers. He lacked John L. Lewis' talents for bullshitting the miners and also lacked John L.'s very considerable ruthlessness. The miners were on the path for revolution as their armed insurrections clearly showed and they were determined to improve conditions or else. So to prevent all this it was necessary to throw them a bone, get rid of Boyle and bring in some more window dressing - Arnold Miller.

We will quote now from a remarkable pamphlet entitled "We Search for Leadership" #2 issued by Workers for People's Democracy, 2020 Evergreen Drive, San Bruno California. We quote from one paragraph because it is appropriate in this case. "How is the rank and file member going to be capable of detecting the corruption of his leaders? First he must look back to the history of his interest in his own organization and to that of others with which he is familiar. He will see that such organizations have a continuous history of sellouts. He must observe what such leaders in the past had in common."

Any study of this particular industry, coal mining, cannot fail to lead to some firm conclusions. It is impossible to mine coal for private profit safely under capitalism. Coal mining is an inherently dangerous industry but it can be made safe as has been proved in the case of the People's Republic of China. In the rich coal fields of Fushun, China under capitalist control between 1916 and 1944 there were "250,000 cases of death or injury from accidents - an average of 23 per day." "In 1917 a gas explosion killed 917 people." In 1944 in one night there were 44 explosions. By contrast today the miners can look forward to an early retirement (55) and a long life. Production has increased and safety has far out-distanced production. One group of miners had not a single injury from 1965 to January, 1971. This is only possible when workers are in ownership of industry under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

That the left in general in the USNA is immature and completely incapable of leading the working class has been completely demonstrated by their gullability regarding Miller, Yablonski, Trbovich and Patrick. It is the duty of Marxist-Leninists to tell the working class the bitter truth even if it means tackling popular illusions. V. I. Lenin insisted on this duty as a prerequisite for leadership of

the class: "By failing to fulfill this duty, by failing to give the utmost attention, care and consideration to the study of their mistake, the 'Left' in Germany (and in Holland), have proved that they are not a party of the class, but a circle, not a party of the masses, but a group of intellectuals and of a few workers who imitate the worst features of intellectualism." (Lenin, "Left-wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder", FLP, Peking, 1970, p51)

Fortunately none but the CP(USA) claims to be a party and the CPUSA is a party in name only. In actual fact there is no revolutionary party capable of leading the working class to revolution. The revisionist CPUSA has consistently led the working class along the road to reformism.

The move of the capitalist class, labor aristocrats and government will likely succeed in co-opting the class struggle in the mines into the courtrooms on the heels of petty reforms. The class struggle in the USNA is currently at a low ebb. Although there are rebellions of the working class, these are disorganized, disunited and defensive actions. They represent a retreat from the mass outbreaks of particularly the Negro workers of the '60's. Above all, there is currently no revolutionary leadership of the working class consolidated under the theory of Marxism-Leninism and organized into a party of the working class.

Until such a party is built in the USNA, these conditions will continue. The key question is one of leadership. The bourgeoisie puts forward such men to lead the working class as the Millers, Yablonskis, the Lewises and Reuthers. The working class also puts forward its leaders, the Robert Paynes. Unless and until these working class leaders learn of Marxism-Leninism the workers will remain in the same conditions.

"Imperialism is the omnipotence of the monopolist trusts and syndicates, of the banks and the financial oligarchy, in the industrial countries. In the fight against this omnipotence, the customary methods of the working class - trade unions and co-operatives, parliamentary parties and parliamentary struggle - have proved to be totally inadequate. Either place yourself at the mercy of capital, eke out a wretched existence as of old and sink lower and lower, or adopt a new weapon - this is the alternative imperialism puts before the vast masses of the proletariat. Imperialism brings the working class to revolution." (J V Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, FLP, Peking, 1965, p4)

Down With Opportunism!

Rank and File Caucus,  
Local 261,  
San Francisco

## ON BRIBERY

This has to be one of the most vexed questions facing the revolutionary proletariat and its vanguard elements in the United States of North America. It could not but be so in a multinational state dominated by the richest, "most imperialistic and chauvinist" finance capitalists in history. The fact that these Nazis have not yet established their open terrorist dictatorship in the Anglo-American nation, as opposed to the vast majority of their colonies, should in itself be an indication of the extent of the material and social bribery of the Anglo-American people in general and the proletariat in particular. The bourgeoisie do not hide their "magnanimity" from the working class. They constantly warn us that in order to maintain our "high standard of living" we must wage war against the colonial peoples. Their frankness is lost, at least apparently, on the majority of the so-called leaders of the USNA working class, the New Left and their spiritual and material parent the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA). This is because these "leaders" understand full well that in order to block revolution and keep their privileges and the privileges of the social strata they represent (the petty-bourgeoisie and highly-bribed workers) they must cover up the significance of the USNA imperialists' colonial monopoly from the proletariat as a whole, and hence cover up the need for the proletariat actively to fight against its "own" bourgeoisie for the liberation of the colonies. Thus the modern revisionists led by the CPUSA deny the existence of bribery and by doing so defend the great-nation privileges of the Anglo-American working class. This is why the question of bribery is so vexed, so "sensitive" and "embarrassing" - for the opportunists. In the final analysis it is the question of their own bribery that is at issue.

One thing is clear to me - we as communists cannot shoulder our responsibilities to our class without understanding what bribery is - payment for services - and what it does - infect the proletariat with chauvinism and opportunism. To illustrate this I will give two short personal experiences. When I joined the Communist League I had a very opportunist, New Leftish idea of bribery. In a discussion with an advanced Mexican national minority worker (who, although he worked for low wages, lived fairly well) I spent a lot of time trying to convince him of his own oppression. Tiring of this he finally said impatiently, "Yes, all that's true, but I'm not nearly as bad off as a Negro in Mississippi or Alabama." He was in fact asking me to explain why the difference existed, and I was unable to do so - hence I was unable to explain to him his long-range interest in freeing the Negro Nation, etc.

Months later, at a party school, my whole opportunist line on bribery was exposed. At the end of an hours-long struggle with one of the leading comrades, I exclaimed in despair, "But we can't say that the working class of the Anglo-American nation lives off the backs of the colonial peoples!" (That would be too rude!) He answered, "Comrade, I don't see how we can avoid saying it." At that moment I began to see things more objectively, in their history, environment, motion, direction - and in their contradictions. We cannot fail to look facts in the face for fear of offending certain people. Below I will try to deal with some aspects of the question of bribery, and particularly with the main, Right deviation, the political dealer and pusher of which is the CPUSA.

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In the People's Tribune, volume 4, number 10, the Communist League published a report on the international situation in which we quoted Gus Hall, head of the CPUSA, as saying the following in his pamphlet The House of Imperialism is Crumbling:

"The prime source of capital that has sustained the reconstruction of post-war world capitalism has been the accumulated loot, the riches, of US monopoly capitalism. This has been the reservoir that has been the source of what stability there has been in the capitalist world. It was the main source for the working capital for most of the capitalist countries. It has also been the instrument of US imperialist domination." (1)

We counter this by saying, "One would think that here we are dealing with a person who lived and worked with Kautsky or Earl Browder. It is beyond our grasp how a person who calls himself a Communist, who is in fact a charlatan of the first water, can dance around the obvious truth and then slip by as if that truth does not exist. Does Gus Hall come out with the obvious conclusion that the gigantic accumulation of wealth of the US monopolies is the result of the unprecedented exploitation of the colonial world? Not at all. The reader is left with the impression that the riches of the US imperialists are simply the result of the exploitation of the working class in this country. Gus Hall knows and we know that the main source of the working capital of the capitalist world is the superprofits that are beaten out of the backs of the colonial world. It is with this gigantic amount of superprofits that whole countries are bought up - entire governmental structures are bribed, that the upper strata of the working class of the capitalist countries are paid off with the highest standard of living and consequently fall in behind the imperialists and even assist in the exploitation of the colonial world. Concrete proof of this is the role played by the AFL and the CIO in the undermining of the Latin American and African revolutionary movements." (2)

The Communist League has never hesitated to speak the obvious truth (obvious, that is, to everyone but the CPUSA and their offspring) that the Anglo-American nation proletariat is the most highly bribed in history. The League has not done so in order to renounce the class struggle on the grounds that the working class is reactionary, as some so-called Marxist-Leninists have done; nor to adopt a moralistic, quasi-religious, self-righteous tone of "repudiation" of privileges, as certain other people have done. On the contrary, the League has consistently brought to the Anglo-American proletariat an understanding of its bribery for the following main reasons:

- To explain the material basis for the relative lull in the revolutionary movement in the Anglo-American nation since World War Two, the main exception to the lull being the Negro people's movement originating in the Negro Nation and extending into the Anglo-American nation through the Negro national minority workers who are among the least-bribed of the class; further, to explain that this lull based on the unparalleled bribery of the working class is a temporary and partial phenomenon which owes itself to the unique hegemony of the USNA imperialists in the capitalist world after World War Two and the victory of the modern revisionists in the USSR, etc, which helped to strengthen imperialism.

- To explain, based on this material analysis, the temporary but nonetheless particularly important and harmful victory of opportunism, viz, CPUSA-led modern revisionism, which has always but especially since the War been the leading ideology in the USNA working class movement; further, to explain the necessity of defeating in every area the white chauvinist social-imperialist revisionists

who seek to lead the working class down the road to fascism by convincing it that it is not bribed, that its relatively high standard of living is due not to the USNA imperialists' rape of the colonies but to the struggles of the working class itself, and that if the working class continues in the same old way under the leadership of the CPUSA and its same old petty-bourgeois slogans (peaceful transit-to socialism, elections, petitions, anti-monopoly coalitions, etc) it will escape the fascist's bullets and emerge victorious.

- To explain to the proletariat its responsibilities to the colonial peoples, particularly to those directly oppressed by USNA imperialism, responsibilities which can only be carried out by the proletariat militantly and actively supporting the right of the colonial peoples to complete separation from USNA imperialism; in the realm of ideology to combat ruthlessly all selfish, white chauvinist exclusiveness, all narrow, philistine nationalism (in our case great nation chauvinism), all stupid, self-defeating notions of our uniqueness, exceptionalism and "greatness": to teach the class proletarian internationalism, without which Marxism doesn't exist and revolution is an empty phrase and cover for fascism.

- In sum, to explain to the Anglo-American proletariat the importance of the national question. Stalin says, "Formerly, the national problem was regarded from the reformist point of view, as an independent problem having no connection with the general problem of the rule of capital, of the overthrow of imperialism, of the proletarian revolution. It was tacitly assumed that the victory of the proletariat in Europe was possible without a direct alliance with the liberation movement in the colonies, that the national-colonial **problem** could be solved on the quiet, "of its own accord," off the high road of the proletarian revolution, without a revolutionary struggle against imperialism. Now we can say that this anti-revolutionary point of view has been exposed." (3) Today the CPUSA pushes precisely the same, Second International line that Lenin and Stalin defeated in their day.

#### How is the Anglo-American Proletariat Bribed?

Before dealing at length with the CPUSA position we must address ourselves to this question. To begin to answer it we must realize that bribery is not some vague abstraction, but is related to the living standards of various social classes and strata on an international scale. Imperialism is a world system, in its hunt for profits it has snatched up virtually every foot of territory, every people, the only exception being the social<sup>ist</sup> countries. Therefore to speak of bribery we must speak comparatively and see what imperialism has "done" to the various classes and peoples under its sway in terms of what may be roughly called "real wages," that is, the things which are necessary to life and which make life worth living: mortality rates, life expectancy, medical care, nutrition, education, housing, culture, etc - the things which make up the so-called "social question." Because imperialism is a world system and the various peoples who live under imperialism make up different parts of it, we are quite justified in making comparisons, even though the standard procedure of bourgeois sociology is to take the American people "in the abstract," so to speak, as being somehow "incommensurable" with the peoples of the colonies. This blatant bourgeois white chauvinism is reflected, as we shall see, in the revisionist outlook. At the risk of overburdening the reader with statistics I will present some tables comparing the living standards of the people of the USNA (and where possible dividing the USNA into the Negro and Anglo-American nations) and other imperialist countries with those of the colonial peoples. The accuracy of many if not all the tables is questionable, but the reader will have to be blind not to see the pattern emerging from them.

TABLE 1 - Infant Mortality (4)

<u>Country</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Mortality (under 1 year, per thousand births)</u>	
United States	1968		
White		19.2	
Other races		34.5	
Mississippi (Negro Nation)			
White		22.9	
Other		48.1	
Georgia (border region of Negro Nation)			
White		19.4	
Other		37.6	
New York			
White		18.6	
Other		35.0	
Puerto Rico	1969	29.2	
United Kingdom	1969	19.6	
France	1969	16.4	
German Dem Rep	1969	20.0	
Sweden	1969	13.0	
Australia	1968	17.8	
South Africa	1968		
White		24.6	
Other		128.8	
Southern Rhodesia	1960-4		
European		18.9	
Asian		46.6	
Colored		35.7	
India	1951-61	139	
Ceylon	1968	47.7	
Dominican Rep	1960-4	90.8	
Mexico	1969	68.4	
Panama	1960-4		
Canal Zone		18.5	
Rest		48.6	
Argentina	1965	60.7	
Brazil (Guanabara)	1960-4	70.0	
Chile	1960-4	115.1	
Peru	1965	90.7	
Indonesia	1960-4	81.2	
Pakistan	1965	142.0	
Phillipines	1960-4	71.3	
Canada	1969	20.8	

TABLE 2 - Life Expectancy (5)

<u>Country</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>At birth</u>		<u>At One Year</u>	
		male/female	male/female	male/female	male/female
United States	1964	66.9	73.7	67.8	74.3
Canada	1960-2	68.4	74.8		
Japan	1965	67.7	73.0	68.7	73.7

<u>Country</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>At Birth</u>		<u>At One Year</u>	
		male	female	male	female
United Kingdom	1962-4	68.1	74.2	68.8	74.5
France	1964	68.0	75.1	68.5	75.3
Germany, Fed Rep	1963-4	67.3	73.1	68.3	73.9
Sweden	1962	71.3	75.4	71.6	75.4
Australia	1960-2	67.9	74.8	68.5	74.5
Algeria					
European	1954	63.0			
Moslem	1948	35.0			
Ghana	1948	38			
South Africa					
Asiatic	1950-2	55.8	54.8		
Colored		44.8	47.8		
White		64.8	70.1		
Southern Rhodesia					
(African)	1961	50.0			
Dominican Rep	1959-61	57.2	59.2	62.9	63.4
Haiti	1950	32.6		38.4	
Mexico	1956	55.1	57.9	59.6	62.2
Panama	1960-1	57.6	60.9	62.8	65.3
Puerto Rico	1959-61	67.1	71.9	69.6	73.8
Argentina	1969-61	63.1	68.8	66.2	71.8
Bolivia	1949-51	49.7	49.7	56.1	55.9
Brazil	1940-50	39.3	45.5		
Chile	1952	49.8	53.9	56.8	60.6
India	1951-60	41.9	40.5	48.4	46.0
Pakistan	1962	53.7	48.8	60.6	53.9
Phillipines	1946-9	48.8	53.4	54.7	58.6

TABLE 3 - % of Deaths Due to Infectious and Parasitic Diseases (6)

<u>Country</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>% of Deaths</u>
United States	1964	1.0
Canada	1963	0.1
U, Kingdom	1964	0.8
France	1964	2.1
Germany (West)	1963	1.5
Australia	1964	0.8
Nigeria	1963	22.1
South Africa		
Asiatic	1960-2	5.9
Colored	1960-2	11.2
White	1960-2	1.9
Panama	1964	11.7
Puerto Rico	1964	4.6
Brazil	1963	13.3 (for Rio de Janeiro area)
Chile	1964	8.8
Colombia	1964	10.6
Peru	1963	13.8
India	1960-2	7.4 (for former Portugese India)
Korea (South)	1964	10.8
Phillipines	1963	18.3

TABLE 4 - Inhabitants per Hospital Bed and per Physician (7)

<u>Country</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Inhab. per Hospital Bed</u>	<u>Inhab per Physician</u>
United States	1964	110	690 (1963)
Canada	1963	110	890 (1962)
Japan	1963	100	920
Israel	1964	150	420
U. Kingdom	1964	120	830
France	1962	120	910 (1964)
Sweden	1963	70	960
Australia	1962	90	760
Algeria	1963	280	8200 (1964)
Ethiopia	1961	3000	91000
Ghana	1964	960	16000 (1962)
Nigeria	1964	2400	50000 (1963)
South Africa	1962	160	1900 (1963)
Dominican Rep.	1963	440	1600 (1964)
Haiti	1960	1800	10600
Mexico	1962	590	1800 (1961)
Panama	1963	320	2300
Puerto Rico	1963	200	1300 (1964)
Argentina	1962	170	670
Bolivia	1962	480	3700 (1963)
Brazil	1961	350	2100
Chile	1961	260	1800
Peru	1962	460	2200 (1964)
India	1957	2600	5800 (1962)
Indonesia (West Irian)	1960	460	8100 (1962)
Pakistan	1963	3800	6600
Phillipines	1961	1100	1400 (1964)

TABLE 5 - Selected Foods - Net Supply Per Person, by Country (8)

<u>Country</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Calories per Day</u>	<u>Pounds per Year</u>		
			<u>Cereals / Potatoes, etc / Meat</u>		
United States	1968	3240	143	98	241
Canada	1967	3190	149	171	202
U. Kingdom	1968/9	3180	163	225	165
France	1967	3180	181	224	183
German Dem Rep	1964-6	3040	217	308	138
Germany (West)	1968/9	2960	154	250	161
Sweden	1967	2880	145	201	117
Japan	1968	2450	298	146	30
Algeria	1964-6	1950	315	36	19
Ghana	1964-6	2130	130	926	21
Israel	1967/8	2930	245	78	117
South Africa	1964-6	2730	356	35	91
Argentina	1967	3170	220	199	259
Brazil	1966	2700	216	365	60
Chile	1964-6	2720	329	143	76
Dominican Rep.	1964-6	2080	116	(na)	35
India	1966-8	1900	298	35	(na)
Indonesia	1963-5	1870	246	328	9

TABLE 6 - Dwellings (9)

<u>Country</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Avg Number of Rooms Per Occupied Dwelling</u>	<u>Avg Number of Persons per Room</u>
United States	1960	4.9	0.7
Canada	1961	5.3	0.7
Japan	1963	3.8	1.2
U. Kingdom	1961	4.8	0.7
France	1962	3.1	1.0
Germany (West)	1961	4.1	0.9
German Dem Rep	1961	2.6	1.2
Sweden	1960	3.4	0.8
Australia	1961	5.1	0.7
Liberia	1956	2.3	1.7
Morocco	1960	2.6	2.2
Congo (Brazzaville)	1961	1.3	3.5
Nigeria	1961	1.4	3.0
South Africa	1951	3.6	1.3
UAR	1960	3.6	1.6
Dominican Rep	1955	2.9	1.7
Mexico	1960	1.9	2.9
Panama	1960	2.0	2.4
Puerto Rico	1950	3.5	1.4
Argentina	1960	3.1	1.4
Colombia	1951	3.4	1.9
Chile	1960	3.3	1.6
Peru	1961	2.4	2.2
Ceylon	1953	2.2	2.2
Malaysia	1960	2.3	3.1
South Korea	1960	2.2	2.5

TABLE 7 - Illiteracy of Population  
10 Years and Over (10)

<u>Country</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Illiterate Population 10 Years and Over (%)</u>	
United States	1959	(14-64)	1.5
Japan	1960	(Total Pop.)	0.2
France	1946	(14-59)	1.2
Italy	1951	(14 plus)	14.1
Algeria	1954		
European		(15-64)	5.8
Moslem		(15-64)	92.2
Mozambique	1950		
Non-African		(15 plus)	12.7
African		(15 plus)	98.5
Nigeria	1952/3	(7 plus)	88.5
South Africa	1960	(All ages)	68.5
UAR	1960	(15-64)	79.5
Mexico	1960	(15-59)	32.7
Brazil	1960	(10 plus)	50.6
India	1961	(15-59)	71.1
Indonesia	1961	(15 plus)	57.1
Phillipines	1960	(15-64)	26.0

TABLE 8 - Newspapers and Books (11)

<u>Country</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Daily Newspapers - Circulation per 1000 Inhabitants</u>	<u>Book Production - Number of Titles Per 1000 Inhabitants</u>
United States	1964	314	15
Canada	1964	223	16
Japan	1964	439	25
U. Kingdom	1964	523	48
France	1964	225	48
Algeria	1964	15	1
Ghana	1964	32	4
Rhodesia	1964	15	2
Panama	1964	75	3 (1952)
Haiti	1964	6	0.8
Puerto Rico	1964	60	...
Brazil	1964	54	7
India	1964	12	3
Philippines	1964	17	2

TABLE 9 - Cinema and Radios (12)

<u>Country</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>Cinema - Annual Attendance Per Inhabitant</u>	<u>Radio Receivers Per 1000 Inhab</u>
United States	1964	12	1171
Canada	1964	5	519
U. Kingdom	1964	6	296
France	1964	6	309
Japan	1964	5	203
Algeria	1965	2.4	129
Ghana	1964	2	74
Mozambique	1964	0.3	15
Dominican Rep	1964	2	40
Mexico	1964	9	184
Brazil	1964	4	95
Argentina	1964	7 (1953)	281
India	1964	4	9
Philippines	1964	...	39
Pakistan	1964	0.8	5

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Bribery goes beyond simple material questions. For example, it takes in the question of democratic rights. The right of workers to form trade unions is a bourgeois democratic right which few colonial peoples possess. Unions are the vehicles not only for struggles over wages, working conditions, etc, but are also - or can be - real class organizations for carrying out political struggles. This is why the bourgeoisie tries so hard to buy off or destroy the unions. In the

USNA in 1968 only 28.4% of the workers in "nonagricultural employment" were in unions. But the percentage of workers in unions in the Anglo-American nation was greater than in the Negro Nation, eg,

Alabama - 20.1%	New York - 36.2%
Florida - 14.4%	Michigan - 36.2%
Georgia - 16.6%	California - 31.9%
South Carolina - 7.4%	Connecticut - 23.7%
North Carolina - 7.4%	Wisconsin - 32.2%
Mississippi - 13.5%	Pennsylvania - 37.3% (13)

Another aspect of bribery is that even the least bribed workers in the Anglo-American nation on the whole are better off materially than their counterparts in the colonies. This is why the colonial peoples continue to come to the Anglo-American nation: the unemployment rate is lower, wages are higher, etc. Regarding welfare, nowhere else, perhaps, is the tremendous scope of bribery more apparent. From 1935 to 1965 "public aid" expenditures increased from \$2,998 million to \$6,283 million, that is, \$4.2 billion dollars. From 1965 to 1970, one-sixth the time, the figure grew to \$16,081<sup>million</sup> almost \$10 billion more. The welfare situation shows the duality, the unity of opposites, inherent in the bribery of the working class, the fact that for the vast majority it is temporary and relative, that, for example, the Anglo-American on welfare, collecting \$200 per month, is certainly not in an enviable position, but he is better off than his counterpart in Puerto Rico with his \$40 a month.

Finally we must mention that the bribery of the working class is not and cannot be even throughout all strata of the class, that the labor aristocrats in general have received not only absolutely but relatively more "crumbs" from the imperialists in the latter's effort to turn them into "bribed tools of reaction," into flunkies of the imperialists, who realize better than we do that they cannot possibly keep the vast majority in line for long. For example, the average wage increases in the "private sector" (14) in the period 1965-70 was 31.8%. In the "contract construction" category the increase was 41%. In dollars the two increases were from \$2.45 to \$3.23 and from \$3.70 to \$5.22 respectively. Both relatively and absolutely the contract construction workers received a larger increase, and hence the gap widened between the higher and lower paid, and continues to do so.

#### What is the Result of the Bribery?

We know that every material action is reflected in the superstructure. The unique position of the USNA imperialists coming out of World War Two not only unscathed but vastly richer than before allowed them certain leverage in their dealings within the capitalist world. They were strong enough and the other capitalist countries were weak enough - not to mention the decimated socialist countries - that the USNA was able to dominate both Europe and the colonies. However it was not until the socialist "bloc" began disintegrating due to internal degeneration that the road of USNA expansion began really to open up until it became following the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU (B) a veritable Nevsky Prospekt of juicy prospects. The "lessening of tensions" externally was manifested by a certain "lessening of tensions" internally between "labor and capital." The "new frontiers" and the "great societies" emerged. The bribery of the working class as a whole, in particular the best situated, most bourgeois and aristocratic sections, was carried almost to parody in the bribery of the "leaders" of the class, from the union bureaucrats to the CPUSA. In return for the new-found legality (after the McCarthy period), tolerance and funds, the CPUSA

proffered anew and to an ever-sickening extent their wares to their imperialist masters: "anti-monopoly coalitions," "anti-cult of the personality," "peaceful transition," etc etc etc. In the "Draft Resolution" of the Party, adopted at the 16th Convention in September, 1956, they tell us:

"Likewise, the Communist Party will have to be bolder in reexamining certain Marxist-Leninist theories which, while valid in a past period, may have become outdated and rendered obsolete by new historical developments....

"Already in response to these new developments, profoundly important and qualitatively new elements have been introduced into the body of Marxist theory by Marxists of many countries. For example, we as well as other Marxist parties have already discarded as obsolete Lenin's thesis that war is inevitable under imperialism. We have long since rejected as incorrect Stalin's thesis of the alleged law of inevitable violent proletarian revolution. Likewise, we are making important modifications in the theory of the state, as evidenced in our advocacy of the peaceful, constitutional path to socialism." (15)

What could the imperialists add to improve this? Imperialist war and proletarian revolution have disappeared, and along with them the basis for Leninism!

#### What Does Lenin Say About This?

"Is there any connection," Lenin asks at the beginning of his great work "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," "between imperialism and the monstrous and disgusting victory of opportunism (in the form of social chauvinism) has gained over the labour movement in Europe?

"This is the fundamental question of modern socialism." (16)

It is the fundamental question because only by resolving it, that is, only by winning the vanguard of the working class away from class collaboration and toward class struggle can we begin to accomplish the fundamental task of modern socialism, which is to unite the masses of workers and other toilers and make the clarion call "Workers and oppressed peoples of the World, Unite" a reality. Without a clear, scientific and class analysis of how the modern working class has arrived at its present low level of political and organizational development can we begin the difficult but all-important task of organizing the working class along entirely different lines than before, from the bottom up, uniting with "the real majority," "the hitherto stagnant majority," as Engels characterized the bulk of the British proletariat at the height of Britain's industrial and colonial monopoly.

In any social process there is both an objective and a subjective side. In terms of bribery, it is not enough to show that objectively the bribe is being lost, that objectively the proletariat is moving toward confrontation with the state on an entirely new level. The question is, what are we as the conscious elements of the proletariat doing to strengthen our class subjectively, to prepare it for this confrontation? The answer to this can only be, we are building a real Leninist communist party strong enough subjectively to influence at the decisive moment the objective motion of history - that is, to crown the revolution with the seizure of power by the working class and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin points out again and again that such a party can only be built on the basis of a firm grasp of the reason for the class's weakness based objectively on imperialism (bribery) and subjectively on the rotten so-called leadership provided by the likes of the CPUSA.

"Both in articles and in the resolutions of our Party, we have repeatedly pointed to this most profound connection, the economic connection, between the imperialist bourgeoisie and the opportunism which has triumphed (for long?) in the labour movement." The basis for the connection? "As early as 1902 (Hobson) had an excellent insight into the meaning and significance of a 'United States of Europe' (be it said for the benefit of Trotsky the Kautskyite!) and if all this is now being glossed over by the hypocritical Kautskyites of various countries, namely, that the opportunists (social-chauvinists) are working hand in glove with the imperialist bourgeoisie precisely towards creating an imperialist Europe on the backs of Asia and Africa, and that objectively the opportunists are a section of the petty bourgeoisie and of certain strata of the working class who have been bribed out of imperialist superprofits and converted into watchdogs of capitalism and corrupters of the labour movement."(17)

How fresh Lenin's words sound today, when the CPUSA and their running dogs are still trying to create an imperialist Europe - and USNA - on the backs of the colonial peoples under the guise of "anti-monopoly coalitions" and "united fronts against imperialism" - anything but real support for the right of the colonial peoples to complete separation from USNA imperialism. The privileges given these "leaders" and the social strata they represent, "won" at the expense of the colonial peoples, are the material basis for the disgusting chauvinism and social-opportunism which these "leaders" bring to the working class movement. Earl Browder, head of the CPUSA, represented the vanguard of the social-chauvinists when he said in 1944, "I am entirely willing to help the free enterprisers (MORGAN, ROCKEFELLER, ETC) realize the \$40 billion foreign market that is required entirely and completely by their own chosen methods:" and when he said, speaking of the role of USNA finance capital abroad after the war, "There is not a government in the capitalist or colonial world that would dare (sic!) refuse or withdraw from such a partnership, once the United States made clear the benefits that would accrue to all concerned." (18) Browder was not alone in putting forth this open fascist line of collaboration with USNA imperialism in living off the backs of the peoples of the world. The "Kautskyites" or centrists of that time, led by Foster, "criticized" "Comrade" Browder, but helped him dissolve the Party and the struggle for socialism. That the CPUSA carries out Browder's line to this day will become more clear upon closer examination of its line on bribery and the national colonial question, a line which quite consciously slurs over the connection between imperialism and opportunism and thus makes impossible the unity of the proletarians of the imperialist countries and the oppressed colonial masses.

Two years ago the CPUSA had the affrontery to celebrate Lenin's hundredth birthday by holding a symposium called "Lenin and US Imperialism." One of the speakers, Tom Foley, dealt with the question of opportunism in Lenin's time. Speaking of the development of the world economy in the late 1800s, he says, "This development intensified the 'parasitic' nature of imperialism, which came to feed - literally - on the exploitation of the rest of the world, outside the major imperialist countries." Alright - but then, "It enabled the imperialist ruling groups to weaken the resistance of certain members of the working class of Europe, to get them to feel (ITALICS OURS) that their material self-interests were connected with the further expansion of imperialism. This was not only accomplished by outright bribery, although that certainly occurred (!). Imperialism used chauvinism and racism to create a gulf between workers within Europe, and between European workers and the oppressed peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America." (19) Foley thus reduces the role of the opportunists from that of "watchdogs" and "corrupters"

of the labour movement into people whose "resistance is weakened," who "feel" that their interests are the same as the imperialists', etc etc. He separates the question of imperialism's bribery of the workers from the question of "chauvinism and racism," just as the CPUSA advises us to fight "racism" without fighting imperialism. Foley's position is one of subjective idealism. His aim is to slur over the connection between imperialism (resulting in bribery) and opportunism in order to defend the CPUSA's class collaboration and chauvinism. The CPUSA thus neatly separates, as Stalin says, the proletarian revolution from the national colonial liberation question, since if the question of opportunism is one of "weakened resistance" and "feelings" and not primarily of bribery ("although that certainly occurs") - if it is a question of racism and chauvinism in the realm of "feelings," then we can keep the material bribe and fight imperialism in the realm of "feelings." Like true men of God we can "go to church on Sunday and get drunk and raise hell on Monday."

Tom Foley is much less interesting and significant than another of the speakers at the alleged Lenin centenary celebration, Victor Perlo. Tricky Vic is the head of the National Economics Commission (as well as the Party History Commission) of the CPUSA, and a top Party writer on political economy. Unfortunately his books and pamphlets have been the mother's milk of many young radicals in the USNA. In his speech, entitled "US Imperialism Today," he states, after discussing the rise in foreign investments by USNA finance capital, "But let's come back home. The decisive fact we must recognize is that imperialism is a system of superprofit and plunder first and foremost of the working people of the home country. This is the fact that our petty-bourgeois radicals refuse to see." (20)

By Perlo's definition the Communist League falls into this category of petty-bourgeois radicals, since our position (see above) is that the main source of the imperialists' working capital comes from the exploitation of the colonial peoples. At least we're in good company. Not only does the CPUSA call Mao Tsetung a "petty-bourgeois adventurer," etc, but, if they are to be consistent, they should also call Lenin a "petty-bourgeois radical" for what he says in an article called "The International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart," 1907:

"Marx frequently quoted a very significant saying of Sismondi: The proletarians of the ancient world, this saying runs, lived at the expense of society; modern society lives at the expense of the proletarians.

"The nonpropertied, but non-working, class is incapable of overthrowing the exploiters. Only the proletarian class, which maintains the whole of society, can bring about the social revolution. However, as a result of the extensive colonial policy, the European proletarian partly finds himself in a position when it is not his labour, but the labour of the practically enslaved natives of the colonies, that maintains the whole of society. The British bourgeoisie, for example, derives more profit from the many millions of the population of India and other colonies than from the British workers. In certain countries this provides the material and economic basis for infecting the proletariat with colonial chauvinism. Of course, this may be only a temporary phenomenon, but the evil must nonetheless be clearly realized and its cause understood in order to be able to rally the proletariat of all countries for the struggle against opportunism. This struggle is bound to be victorious, since the 'privileged' nations are a diminishing fractions of the capitalist nations." (21)

Lenin's line is a little different from the CPUSA's, which is that "imperialism is a system of superprofit and plunder first and foremost of the working people of the home country." That the difference is one of kind and not degree can be

seen when we look at the section of Perlo's speech which speaks directly to the question of the bribery of the working class under the heading of "Aristocracy of Labor:"

"And now I want to talk about the aristocracy of labor, bribed with part of the superprofits of imperialism. There is such an aristocracy in the US and it consists of more than the top reactionary bureaucrats. It provides the material base for opportunism in the labor movement, which Lenin said must be eliminated for the proletariat to emerge victorious.

"This problem is particularly important today, when the 'Left' opportunists have turned Lenin upside down to claim that the American monopolies make so much superprofits that they can and do bribe the majority of the American working class, in particular white workers, so that the American workers are no longer a potentially revolutionary force." (22)

How can we possibly begin untangling this? Perlo begins with an evasion, telling us that the labor aristocracy consists of "more than" the "top reactionary bureaucrats," but fails to define either term. This should surprise no one, since the CPUSA, insofar as it is based in the working class at all, finds its support among the construction trades, crafts, professionals, etc, and supports such traitors as Harry Bridges (ILWU), Leonard Woodcock (UAW), Matson (UE), etc. In being intentionally vague Perlo was merely being "civilized" to his audience.

From a sin of omission Perlo quickly moves to one of commission, by intentionally confusing the "aristocracy of labor" with bribed workers in general. He thus tries to make the "Left" opportunists (like the Communist League) appear to make the absurd claim that all Anglo-American workers, including welfare recipients, \$1.65 per hour sweatshop employees, etc, are "aristocrats," that they enjoy a petty-bourgeois standard of living, that they are bourgeoisified, and so on. Instead of trying to answer this I will merely appeal to the reader's intelligence and ability to see the question dialectically, to see that the fact that the majority of the working class, low-paid and oppressed, in the Anglo-American nation, are not aristocrats does not mean that they're not bribed. This is the main point. We go to Lenin again, who quotes from Engels' preface to the second edition of The Condition of the Working Class in England, 1892: "Here he speaks of an 'aristocracy among the working class,' of a 'privileged minority of the workers,' in contradistinction to the 'great mass of the working people.' 'A small, privileged, protected minority' of the working class alone was 'permanently benefited' (NOTE THIS) by the privileged position of England in 1848-68, whereas 'the great bulk of them experienced at best but a temporary improvement'... 'With the breakdown of that (England's industrial) monopoly, the English working class will lose that privileged position....'" (23) Engels is clearly saying that the entire British working class benefited at least temporarily from England's unique position in the world market. But only a small minority is categorized as a labor aristocracy. Perlo is vulgarizing and falsifying the whole issue. By supposedly setting out to refute the "Left" opportunists who say that the "American workers are no longer a potentially revolutionary force" because they are bribed "aristocrats," he actually attacks Marxism-Leninism by denying the bribery of any large section of the working class in the United States. Of course the Communist League is "also" opposed to the "Left" line that says that most workers in the USNA enjoy a "middle-class standard" of living (24), etc. But we oppose it with Marxism-Leninism, not social-imperialist phrasemongering. Under the absurd pretense of refuting Marcuse, Sweezy and so on Perlo covers up the real issue, the relation of the colonial masses to the Anglo-American proletariat, the

relation between imperialism and opportunism.

To continue through his metaphysics. To "prove" his point about bribery extending to only a small (undefined) section of the USNA working class, he says the following: "Let's examine this theory (OF THE "LEFT" OPPORTUNISTS) in the light of what Lenin actually said, and what has actually happened:

"...instead of the undivided monopoly of Great Britain, we see a few imperialist powers contending for the right to share in this monopoly, and this struggle is characteristic of the whole period of the early twentieth century. Opportunism cannot now be completely triumphant in the working class movement of one country for decades as it was in Britain in the second half of the nineteenth century; but in a number of countries it has grown ripe, overripe, and rotten..." (25)

Let us ask Mr. Perlo and the rest of the CPUSA rat-pack just one concrete question: Has the post-World War Two period, from the point of view of USNA imperialism, approximated more a situation of "growing contradictions of imperialism" or a situation like that of "Britain in the second half of the nineteenth century?" That is, a situation in which Britain "already revealed at least two major distinguishing features of imperialism: (1) vast colonies, and (2) monopoly profit (due to her monopoly position in the world market." (26) To be even clearer, have the imperialists of the USNA been only one group among more or less equal competing groups of imperialists, or have they enjoyed relative hegemony in the capitalist world? Perlo would make a complete fool out of himself if he said that the first was true. He admits himself that US imperialism is "an international plunderer of peoples and resources unparalleled in history." (27) But on the other hand he refuses to discuss the obvious parallel between post-war USNA imperialism and British capitalism in the second half of the nineteenth century by slickly quoting a passage by Lenin about Britain after its (at least industrial) monopoly had broken down and her colonies were being threatened by other imperialist groups. Lenin says,

"Secondly, why does England's monopoly explain the (temporary) victory of opportunism in England? Because monopoly yields superprofits, ie, a surplus of profits over and above the capitalist profits that are normal and customary all over the world. The capitalists can devote a part (and not a small one, at that!) of these superprofits to bribe their own workers, to create something like an alliance (recall the celebrated 'alliances' described by the Webbs of English trade unions and employers) between the workers of the given nation and their capitalists against the other countries." (28) "The bourgeoisie of the imperialist 'Great' Power can economically bribe the upper strata of 'its' workers by spending on this a hundred million or so francs a year, for its superprofits most likely amount to about a thousand million....Between 1848 and 1868, and to a certain extent even later, only England enjoyed a monopoly: that is why opportunism could prevail there for decades. No other country possessed either very rich colonies or an industrial monopoly.

"The last third of the nineteenth century saw the transition to the new, imperialist era. Finance capital not of one, but of several, though very few, Great Powers enjoys a monopoly...This difference explains why England's monopoly position could remain unchallenged for decades. The monopoly of modern finance capital is being frantically challenged; the era of imperialist wars has begun. It was possible in those days to bribe and corrupt the working class of one country for decades. This is now improbable, if not impossible. But on the other hand, every imperialist 'Great' Power can and does bribe smaller strata (than in England

in 1848-68) of the 'labour aristocracy.'" (29)

It is clear that Perlo's whole aim is to ignore the concrete lesson of history, which is that under certain concrete conditions (a colonial and industrial monopoly, among other things) a country (Britain then, the USNA now) can bribe to one extent or another the entire working class for a certain period. He tries to sneak around this truth by quoting a passage from Lenin about Britain after the above conditions no longer applied and using it to characterize the USNA during the period when these conditions have applied. It is true, of course, on a world historical scale, that "a few imperialist powers contending for the right to share in this monopoly" is characteristic of the era of imperialism, starting at the beginning of the twentieth century. But can anyone doubt that the USNA imperialists, for reasons that not even Lenin could have foreseen, have nevertheless enjoyed a colonial, financial and industrial monopoly of the capitalist world in the post-war period? Stalin describes the situation thus:

"Outwardly, everything would seem to be 'going well:' the United States has put Western Europe, Japan and other capitalist countries on rations; Germany (Western), Britain, France, Italy and Japan have fallen into the clutches of the USA and are meekly obeying its commands....Under the guise of the 'Marshall plan aid,' Americans are penetrating into the economies of Britain and France and trying to convert them into adjuncts of the United States economy, and American capital is seizing raw materials and markets in the British and French colonies and thereby plotting disaster for the high profits of the British and French capitalists." (30)

Under these circumstances can the USNA imperialist bourgeoisie bribe the Anglo-American proletariat? It can and has. For a small number the bribe is small and "permanent," for the majority the bribe is small and temporary, because the hegemony of the USNA bourgeoisie is but temporary. Stalin says in the same passage that the vanquished as well as the other "victor" capitalist countries "will be compelled in the end to break from the embrace of the USA and enter into conflict with it in order to secure an independent position and, of course, higher profits." Unlike Lenin and Stalin, Perlo speaks in vague generalities trying to turn Leninism into something acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Listen. "To Lenin the growing contradictions of imperialism were undermining the material basis of bribery of large sections of the working class, and hence of opportunism. These contradictions result in attacks on the working class through higher monopoly prices and taxes, in deepening class conflicts, and in increasing the revolutionary potential." (31)

We will not allow Perlo describe such empty phrases (empty when taken out of their historical context) to Lenin. One thing Lenin always taught us is that the truth is never abstract, it is always concrete. We would ask Perlo, how much has the "material basis of bribery of large sections of the working class, and hence of opportunism," been "undermined" in the USNA from, for instance, 1930 to the present? The point again is that "of course" in the long run and on a world scale opportunism is being defeated, the masses are becoming revolutionized, and so forth. This is true in the USNA as in the entire world. It is a law of history that socialism will triumph over capitalism. But to use this general law to slur over and opportunistically distort and disregard the present concrete situation - in which the resources of the USNA imperialists, increasingly in league with the Soviet Union, permit it to spend (just one example) \$30 billion a year in one "small" war - to talk in generalities about the undermining of opportunism at a time when entire unions and whole trades are being bought outright by the fascists for the purpose of attacking the majority of the proletariat and preparing for more and even bigger colonial wars - what is this but the worst sort of treachery

to the workers? It is not for nothing that historically the revisionists have been called and have acted as social-fascists, as socialists in words who in deeds have acted as the battering rams of the fascists against the masses of the workers and their organizations. The CPUSA is playing precisely this role. Disarm the workers ideologically. Fire the guns at the "Left" opportunists. After all, there is no need to worry about the Right opportunists - they are being "undermined." Should we struggle to unite with the colonial peoples on the basis of fighting against the privileges, the bribes, which the imperialists give the oppressing nation proletarians in order to infect us with colonial chauvinism? Of course not, the CPUSA tells us - there is no bribery of "the vast majority," for the material basis has been "undermined." After all, "imperialism is a system of superprofit and plunder first and foremost of the working people of the home country." (32)

Perlo continues, "The gains from imperialism have accrued in the first instance to the private owners of capital in the advanced, capitalist nations. In this sense, the profits from imperialism remain private. However an increasing proportion of the costs of controlling foreign societies have become socialized. That is, the costs accompanying imperialist policies are increasingly defrayed socially, ultimately through taxes. As Professor Richard Wolff of Yale put it in a recent speech: 'And if the profits of imperialism have been multiplied by a factor of five or ten, the costs have been multiplied by a factor of fifty or one hundred. This is forced by the multiplication of the power of the world's anti-imperialist forces, by the basic change in the balance of world forces.'" (33)

Aha! The last is the best. Besides being rabid white chauvinists the CPUSA are also apologists for Soviet social-imperialism, which according to them is multiplying the "power of the world's anti-imperialist forces." For a full account of the Soviet Union's actual role the reader should look at the aforementioned report on the International Situation in the People's Tribune. Here let us merely say that the CPUSA's position on the Soviet Union forces it to engage in the most back-breaking and painful contortions "proving" that USNA imperialism is hurting more than it really is. Every instance of self-serving, profitable collusion between the USNA imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists becomes, not something which strengthens the reactionaries worldwide, but something which "multiplies the power of the world's anti-imperialist forces" and "undermines the material basis of bribery of large sections of the working class, and hence of opportunism." The CPUSA, with an "understanding" such as this, would be incapable, even if it wanted to, of understanding correctly the material position of the USNA imperialists and hence the material position of the Anglo-American proletariat. We thus arrive at the second of the two main aspects of the CPUSA's opportunism which render it unfit to discuss the question of bribery in any but a fascist sense.

- White chauvinism. The superior material and social position of the Anglo-American proletariat in general is not due to bribery, for "the decisive fact we must recognize is that imperialism is a system of superprofit and plunder first and foremost of the working people of the home country." The higher standard of living we enjoy can only be attributed to something other than bribery - to superior "struggling" ability, or possibly to greater thrift, or intelligence, or to some other thing.

- Social-imperialism. Since "the world's anti-imperialist forces," led by the Soviet Union, are defeating the USNA imperialists, the latter do not have the resources or strength to bribe their own working class. Instead they socialize the costs of imperialism more through taxes, etc.

On the question of the CPUSA's consistent underestimation of the USNA imperialists' ability to bribe, Perlo really lays it out in the next part of his discussion: "Today the socialized costs of imperialism exceed the private profits. And the American working class bears the bulk of those socialized costs. These costs, as expressed in the US budget, this year exceed \$100 billion - and about \$70 billion are paid by the workers in taxes. Even if the capitalists used all of their profits from their foreign investments, all of their profits from superexploitation of Black people, to bribe the workers, it wouldn't cover the cost. But of course the monopolies aren't in business for that purpose. The bribes are paid only out of the leavings from the sumptuous tables of the billionaires." (34)

This superficially clever argument will fall apart if we look first at what the taxes go for, and second at exactly the extent of the "superprofits" beaten out of the colonies. For example, take the "Budget Outlays for National Defense," 1971. (35) The total is \$76.4 billion, of which the Department of Defense got \$73.4 billion. \$21.7 billion went to "military personnel." Another \$3.4 billion went to "retired military personnel." \$20.4 billion went to "Operation (including maintenance.)" \$18.5 billion went to "Procurement." \$7.3 billion went to "Research and development," and \$1.2 billion went to "Military construction." That is, the bulk was spent internally in wages to defense workers, soldiers, civil servants, etc. Perlo's picture of \$70 billion in workers' taxes going "out" and less ("x") superprofits coming in is false. Now, no one denies that a large chunk went into the pockets of the bourgeoisie in the form of defense contracts, salaries to generals, etc; nor can anyone claim that the workers employed in defense were contributing to the betterment of society by their labor. But that is not the question. The point is that the taxes in large part filter back to the working class in the form of wages and thus cannot be used as a material liability for the class against which we measure the amounts of superprofits from the colonies.

Perlo's argument again amounts to an attempt at currying favor with and consolidating the more highly-bribed strata of workers, petty bourgeois and so on by telling them that their relatively high wages (in construction, longshore, truck-driving, etc) are gotten, not because of imperialism, but in spite of the colonial plunder, because they have "struggled" for their gains, etc. Have the workers in the Anglo-American nation struggled? Of course they have. But so have the people of Haiti.

Looking at the actual extent of colonial superprofits we will see the imperialists' ability to bribe the working class even more clearly. The revisionists like their imperialist masters seek constantly to understate the vast wealth derived from the colonies by simply talking about returns (after taxes, the capitalists' salaries etc are taken out) on investments from companies directly owned by the USNA companies and banks. They also ignore or else put in a separate category the plunder gotten from the USNA imperialists' two most important colonies, the Negro Nation and Puerto Rico. For example, in the semi-colonial area called the "South" (consisting of Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South and North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and Arkansas), which includes the Negro Nation within it, the median family income in 1969 was \$8,105, \$1900 less than the almost identical figures of \$10,018, \$10,020 and \$10,037 for the Northeast, Northcentral and West regions respectively. Multiplying this \$1900 difference by the number of families in the "South" (about 15.7 million) we get the enormous figure of 29.7 billion dollars in superprofits. From the Negroes alone in the "South" the imperialists squeezed \$12 billion in superprofits in 1969. (35) If we take the Negro Nation proper as best we can, that is, as including Delaware, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama and Louisiana, we see that in 1970 the average

manufacturing wage was \$2.81 per hour as opposed to the national average of \$3.36 (which would be higher if the Negro Nation states were left out), a difference of \$.55 per hour or \$1100 per year. Multiplying this by the number of workers in manufacturing, about 9.1 million, we get the figure of \$9.9 billion in superprofits from manufacturing alone.

These figures cannot be really precise but nevertheless they indicate the amount of superprofit. And it must be remembered that we are not taking into account the profits themselves below the superprofits, which are earnings coming to the imperialists separate from their earnings from the Anglo-American proletariat itself. It also must be remembered that actual exploitation of workers in production is only one way in which the imperialists derive surplus value from society as a whole and from the working class in particular. Other important ways of plunder, forms of receiving tribute from the oppressed peoples, result from the imperialists' monopoly on transportation facilities (trucking, shipping firms, railroads, etc) which allow them to charge the colonies extra high prices, and from their monopoly on heavy industry which allows them to sell their commodities at monopoly prices and to buy the commodities from the colonies below their value. What else can this "extra" chunk of surplus value (which further depressed the price of labor power below its value) be called but superprofits? An extremely important aspect of USNA imperialism's exploitation of Puerto Rico, in particular, is the "buying cheap and selling dear" which produces profits far above the "mere" \$120 million in superprofits (again, above the profits themselves) gotten from the Puerto Rican production workers proper.

I will not bore the reader with more figures. It must be clear that the USNA imperialists, like their British predecessors of Lenin's time, "obtain larger revenues from the tens and hundreds of millions of the population of India and of her other colonies" than from the Anglo-American proletariat itself. Yet Perlo continues, "Under present conditions, therefore, only a rather small minority of workers can be and are bribed, can be and are a labor aristocracy. The vast majority of American workers - yes, of white American workers - are driven by the logic of events into active class struggle, into sharper class struggle - and that logic is being confirmed right now with the rising tempo of strike struggles, among other phenomena.

"Thus the policy of reliance on the working class, the American working class of all races, as the main revolutionary force, as an inevitably revolutionary force, is reinforced for the period ahead. The task of mobilizing that force, of overcoming the imperialist propaganda which has weakened it politically, is the key task of all progressive forces." (36)

Noble words. But how does the CPUSA set about "mobilizing" that "inevitably revolutionary force" and of "overcoming the imperialist propaganda which has weakened it politically" (in the absence of a material base)? It would take many separate articles to discuss the Party's theory and practice. For now let me merely quote briefly from another Perlo masterpiece which carries the highly "mobilizing" title "Robbing the Poor to Fatten the Rich," in which the Party's 1972 election platform is laid out (prostrate):

"Today, what is needed is united action by the Black and Brown communities," (What happened to "the vast majority of American workers - yes, of white American workers"? Apparently they had already fought and won their battle in 1966 against the "Kennedy-Johnson 'guidepost' restriction on wage increases") organized and

unorganized labor, students, consumers and all others who feel the pinch of inflation, to guarantee that the Nixon program will be defeated. Action is needed, on the job, in the elections and in the communities: picketing and boycotts against high consumer prices, college tuition increases, transit fare hikes; petitions and mass delegations to city councils and state legislatures; rent strikes and tax protests! Above all, action by rank and file workers is needed to see that a vigorous struggle against the wage freeze is launched in every industry and in every union!" (37)

Gutsy, eh? And how does the CPUSA propose to "overcome the imperialist propaganda which has weakened it (THE WORKING CLASS) politically?" Nothing is said about this "key task" of mobilizing etc in the "program" (perhaps this "key task" is too important to be dealt with publicly and is handled by the Party's illegal apparatus?), the only references to the oppression of the colonial peoples being the demand for an end to the war in Indochina and for "government actions (!!) to eliminate segregation, discrimination and inequality in employment, housing, education and public services for Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Indians and Asians." Very revolutionary. We will demand that the imperialist state "de-imperialize" itself on certain limited questions. Thus the CPUSA "mobilizes" the working class: splitting it up into separate and discrete sections and merging it with the petty bourgeoisie, it sends the class out to do battle with the fascists without theory, with illusions about bringing pressure on Congress, election victories, etc, and without the slightest understanding of our international tasks, of the clarion call of anyone who would call himself revolutionary: "Workers and oppressed peoples of the World, Unite!" In fact, in their New Program, 1970, the CPUSA chauvinistically and opportunistically covers up in yet another way the connection between us and the colonies and our debt to the colonial peoples. Listen to how "easy" socialism will be for the USNA working class:

"Certain unique historical advantages, coupled with the contributions of the working people of the US enabled US capitalism to achieve higher productive levels and living standards than capitalism in other countries (WHAT ROTTEN CHAUVINISM! "HISTORICAL ADVANTAGES" BEING THINGS LIKE THE MURDER OF THE INDIANS, SLAVERY, WAR OF AGGRESSION AGAINST MEXICO AND CANADA, THE PRESENT COLONIAL, INDUSTRIAL AND FINANCIAL MONOPOLY, ETC OF THE USNA IMPERIALISTS! HOW "THANKFUL" WE SHOULD BE!). So, too, the development of socialism here will be attended by distinct advantages. The most important are:

"1. Possessing a most highly developed industrial society, and American socialist regime will not have to call for national belt-tightening (BESIDES BEING "COMMUNISTS" THE CPUSA ARE ALSO FORTUNE TELLERS) to build an industrial base for the new society. It could immediately proceed to socialist economy and rapidly raise living standards to unprecedented peaks. Indeed, no country is economically riper for socialism." (38)

And the colonial masses can all go to hell as far as the CPUSA is concerned. The vast wealth sucked from them will be used to raise living standards "here" to "unprecedented peaks." According to the CPUSA the main "distinct advantage" in building socialism here will be that we will still possess our colonies - for they say nothing to make us believe otherwise. How is this different from Hitler's "national socialism?"

Marxist-Leninists view the question of national differences in wages, living standards etc in a somewhat different light. Lenin copied out and extensively underlined in his notebooks a resolution of the General Council of the First

International written in 1868 which I will quote in full because of its superb statement of principles:

"The fundamental principle of the Association is that the produce of labour ought to be the property of the producer; that the brotherhood of labour should be the basis of society; and that the working men of all countries should throw aside their petty jealousies and national antipathies, and make common cause with each other in their struggle against capital. Labour is of no country! Working men have the same evils to contend with everywhere. Capital is but accumulated labour. Why should the labourer be the slave to that which he has himself produced? Too long have the capitalists profited by the national isolation of the sons of toil. Foreign competition has always furnished a plea for the reduction of wages.

"The ever-ready cry of the British capitalists that the longer working hours and lesser wages of the continental workers make a reduction of wages unavoidable can only be effectually met by the endeavor to approximate the hours of labour and the rate of wages throughout Europe. This is one of the tasks of the International Working Men's Association.

"That is in fact the only method of safeguarding the gains of the more favourably placed sections of the international proletariat. These gains will always be in danger as long as they are the possession of only a minority, and the danger will be all the greater, the lower the level of the main mass of the proletariat compared with this minority. That holds good for those of the whole world market. An advanced proletariat can maintain its position by solidarity with and support of those who have been left behind, but not by exclusiveness, by isolating itself from them and keeping them down. Where, under the influence of a shortsighted, craft attitude, it adopts the second method, the latter sooner or later suffers a fiasco and becomes one of the most pernicious means of crippling the proletarian struggle for emancipation." (39)

#### Conclusion

I have dealt with the CPUSA's line on bribery in detail because it is the basis for all the deviations on the question which permeate the New Left and to some extent the working class itself. I remember, for example, some years ago listening to a student radical "Marxist-Leninist" who considered himself a strong anti-revisionist arguing that the higher standard of living enjoyed by the Anglo-American working class does not come from bribery. He outlined to another radical what he would say to a highly-paid worker who supported the war in Vietnam on the grounds that imperialism had gotten him a color TV, two cars, etc. It would be something like, "No, you haven't gotten these things because of US imperialism but because of the struggles the American workers have carried on for higher wages, better working conditions, etc. You won't have to give up anything to become a revolutionary." Even inside the League this line has been expressed. A contact once asked a group of League comrades why it is that wages are lower in the Negro Nation than in the Anglo-American nation. One comrade answered that it is because the Negroes in the South had never formed very many trade unions, whereas "we" in the Anglo-American nation had. The chauvinism of this line was immediately pointed out by another comrade: If "they" (in the Negro Nation, Japan, Puerto Rico, Brazil, Mexico, South Korea etc) would only "struggle" like "we do" they would have the things we have. This "line" shows not only rampant chauvinism but an ignorance of the facts that borders on blindness. Has the Anglo-American working class struggled

throughout its history? It has, and the struggles for abolition, the 8-hour day and women's suffrage, etc etc, have inspired people throughout the world. But to say that we are better fighters than the brutally suppressed workers of Santo Domingo and Haiti, languishing in the torture chambers of Balaguer and Duvalier, the Vietnamese trade unionists butchered in the "tiger cages," the Mexican revolutionaries machine-gunned in the streets by the CIA-paid fascist thugs of Echeverria - what is one to say? Besides being chauvinist it is deceptive and a disservice to the working class it flatters, because the effect is to disarm the Anglo-American working class, telling it to keep on in the same old way (petitions, boycotts, "strikes" led by traitors, elections, etc) because it has a charmed existence and can, alone of all the working classes of history, defeat fascism under the leadership, not of a Leninist communist party, but of the rotten-to-the-core bootlickers of the fascists Hall, Perlo and the rest of their unholy alliance of "anti-monopoly coalitioners," "creeping socialists," methadone maintenance men, shyster lawyers, Porsche communists and student lumpens. The Communist League says "No" to this. We will not help the CPUSA lead the USNA working class down the road to the slaughter house by flattering it with images of its own specialness, its "American Exceptionalism," which only isolates it from the world revolution, particularly from its allies in the colonies who are looking with extreme interest to see whether we really want revolution, which will entail immense sacrifice and a total smashing of the imperialist-plunder-created opportunism in the movement, a smashing of privileges and the ideology that goes with them, or whether we want, as the CPUSA claims we do, more for ourselves and to hell with the rest (and of course this "more" is the deceptive plum the imperialists hold out to the working class as long as it supports them actively or passively, by doing nothing to stop them). On the contrary we, like Marx and Lenin, will teach the proletariat its exact relation not only to the USNA imperialist bourgeoisie but to the peoples of the world, a relation in which we have a great responsibility, a great debt, to the colonial peoples, a debt which we intend gladly to honor. What we will get in return is the unity we need to crush imperialism like the blood-sodden leech that it is.

This exact relation, as Lenin says, is that "as a result of the extensive colonial policy, the European" (and Anglo-American) "proletarian partly finds himself when it is not his labour, but the labor of the practically enslaved natives of the colonies, that maintains the whole of society."

J A. New York

#### POSTSCRIPT

After this article was written I had the unpleasant privilege of reading the Revolutionary Union's Red Papers 4, in which, on the question of bribery, they play their role of conciliating Marxism and the line of the CPUSA to the hilt. Without going into all the other mistakes and distortions contained in their discussion of bribery I will simply quote two passages on opposite pages

1. "A similar situation (to that of the British working class of the late 1800s) has existed in the United States, since World War II. To a limited degree the workers, even many Third World workers, have been allowed a few extra crumbs, from the spoils of imperialism - including, in many cases, the ownership of a 'little house.'"

2. "The workers hate the oppression of the system much more than the intellectuals, but they have lived with it, and fought against it, all their lives. And they resist it in an organized way, to minimize the loss of whatever little comfort - a job, a car, even a house - they have been able to win through hard work and struggle." (40)

On one page the "little house" is a "crumb," on the next page it has been won "through hard work and struggle." How skillful these conciliators are at playing the game of "On the one hand it must be admitted, but on the other hand it must be confessed!"

#### Footnotes

1. Gus Hall, The House of Imperialism is Crumbling, p4
2. People's Tribune, vol4, no10, p4
3. Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, International Publishers, p78
4. American Almanac: The US Book of Facts, Statistics and Information (Statistical Abstract), Grosset and Dunlop, NY, 1971, pp 57 and 831
5. Compendium of Social Statistics: 1967, United Nations, New York 1968, p 158 et seq
6. Ibid, p 181 et seq
7. Ibid, p 206
8. Op cit, Statistical Abstract, p 833
9. Op cit, UN, p 287
10. Ibid, p 309
11. Ibid, p 393
12. Ibid, p 403
13. Op cit, Stat Abstract, p 236
14. Ibid, p 219 et seq
15. CPUSA, Draft Resolution for Sixteenth Congress, 1956
16. Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," Collected Works, Moscow, 1963, vol 23, p 105
17. Ibid, p 110
18. CPUSA, On the Struggle Against Revisionism, New York, 1/46, pp37 and 40
19. Political Affairs (theoretical organ of the CPUSA), 6/70, p 16
20. Ibid, p 22
21. Lenin, CW, vol 13, p 77. (Another, no doubt better translation of the key passage is in Lenin on Britain, London, 1934)
22. Op cit, Political Affairs, p 25
23. Lenin, op cit, vol 23, p 113
24. Op cit, Pol Affairs, p 22
25. Ibid, p 26
26. Lenin vol 23, Op cit, p 112
27. Pol Affairs, op cit, p 20
28. Lenin vol 23, op cit, p 114
29. Ibid, p 116
30. Stalin, Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR, International Publishers, New York, 1952, p 28
31. Op cit, Political Affairs, p 26
32. Ibid, p 22

33. Ibid, p 26
34. Ibid, p 27
35. Op cit, Statistical Abstract, 1971, p 242, pp 316-7
36. Op cit, Political Affairs, pp 26-7
37. Perlo and Cohen, "Robbing the Poor to Fatten the Rich," 1972
38. CPUSA, "How Socialism Will Come to the USA" (1970 Program), p 14
39. Lenin, CW, vol 39, p 658

