

# THE ORTHODOX MARXIST

"Without a Revolutionary Theory  
There can be no Revolutionary Movement!"

Organ of the Homogeneous Party of the Working Class in the U.S.A.  
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## The Theory And Practice Of "Marxism-Leninism"

### Pseudo-Marxism In Action!

The day that Vladimir Ilyich Ulanov (Lenin) was shot by Fanny Kaplan (August 30, 1918), signaled the beginning of a colossal anti-working class counter-revolutionary onslaught which has endured to the present period of history. On that day, the totality of European and American finance capital joined hands with the Russian bourgeoisie (despite the state of war which existed among the imperialist nations at that moment), in a coordinated effort to roll-back the Proletarian Revolution that had emerged victorious in October, 1917. If the chief external vehicle of the Russian counter-revolution was international finance capital, the main instrument of counter-revolutionary policy was the overwhelming majority of the Bolshevik leadership, which Lenin had fought against during the whole period of the Revolution and which he (Lenin) had derisively characterized as "the gang of old Bolsheviks," namely, Joseph Stalin, Leon Trotsky, Nikolai Bukharin, Lev Kamenov, Grigori Zinoviev, Anatoly Lunacharsky, Maxim Gorki, et al. And right from the beginning, the Third International, which Lenin had fought so hard to establish and which he had visualized as a truly revolutionary replacement for the decaying, opportunist Second International, was immediately turned into its opposite, into a miserable caricature of an authentic Proletarian International.

Since the Russian counter-revolution of 1918 was the creature of international finance capital, it is quite logical and understandable to observe that the bourgeoisie of the entire world facilitated, and in many cases indirectly promoted, the work of the Third International. And this is what accounts for the rapid spread of apocryphal "Bolshevism" to every nook and cranny of "Planet Earth." Therein, the World Proletariat has a lesson that it dares not forget or ignore. Unlike the defeats of the Proletariat in 1848 and 1871 (the Paris Commune) where thousands of revolutionary workers were savagely butchered by the military apparatus of the bourgeoisie, the defeat of the Great October came about as a result of treachery from above within the Bolshevik Party. And all of these facts and factors clearly spell out the terrible confusion, demoralization, and yes, opportunism that has overtaken and permeated the ranks of the proletariat in the past sixty-five years of history. And the working class must and will extricate itself from all this enervating historicopolitical atmosphere, but not by self-will, but precisely by the will of history.

So paralyzing has the impact of the counter-revolution been that even the devastating economic and financial crisis of 1929 could not deter it, or even slow it down. Thus, the "great depression" came and went but the anti-working class counter-revolution continued unabated and with ever increasing force and speed.

Following the "crisis of 1929," a historical event took place which fully revealed the tremendous power and impact of the sustained counter-revolutionary onslaught. Just observe and marvel! Another unjust, predatory war similar to the imperialist war of 1914-1918 took place and it was "sold" as a "just war," a war in which one group of warring states was supposedly integrated by "socialist" and "capitalist" states. But, those "capitalist" states included such notorious imperialist predators as Britain, France and the United States. How could that be? How could it be possible that a notorious gang of imperialist states with an extensive history of social piracy be considered "champions of a just war"? Isn't the history of the British ruling class in Europe, in Africa, in Asia and in the Americas enough to prove the absurdity of

such a claim? Hasn't French imperialism been constantly visible in its tasks of depollment of the peoples of the world either together with or against British imperialism? Who hasn't read enough American history to understand the socio-historical significance of the Mexican-American War of 1848? Only a political cretin and ideological parvenu will fail to understand the socio-historical meaning of the Spanish-American War of 1898. And isn't it obvious that American finance capital played a leading role economically, politically and militarily in the roll-

back of the October Revolution? Could it be conceivable that any of these marauding states could be a participant in any "just war"? Lastly, didn't Lenin characterize both, the Central Powers and the Entente Allies, as marauding jackals, during the First Imperialist World War? What made the "Second World War" different from Imperialist War #1? Nothing did. Nothing, except the fact that the Russian capitalist-imperialist state was still waving aloft the apocryphal, fraudulent banner of "Socialism." And when Messrs. Stalin, Molotov, Zhdanov, Suslov, Mikoyan, Khrushchev, Kosygin, Brezhnev, Andropov and Co. held the American and British statesmen in fond embraces and addressed them as "champions of democracy," as well as "comrades-in-arms in the sacred war against fascism," they didn't do it only because they wished to "whitewash" American and British finance capitals, but also to prevent their own exposure as a pack of counter-revolutionary social-imperialists parading around as authentic communists and Marxists.

The main rationale used by the "marxist-leninists" in the characterization of the Second Imperialist World War as a "just war" was the supposedly "reactionary nature of nazi-fascism." The hordes of petty-bourgeois ideologues who call themselves "communists" and "marxists" distort or ignore every theoretical postulate of orthodox Marxism. Who has not read or heard of Lenin's dictum that "the era of the monopolies and finance capital is reaction all along the line"? Why then circumscribe this theoretical proposition to any single capitalist formation or

geographical division of the capitalist system of production? Neither Germany nor Italy could be "more reactionary" than the United States of America, Britain or France. All of the states mentioned here represent capitalist formations which have developed to the last stage, the moribund stage of capitalism, i.e., to the stage of the monopolies and finance capital, and as such could not be considered as "more reactionary" or "less reactionary" when compared to each other. Only the "marxist-leninists" flunkys of the bourgeoisie could descend to such depths of philistinism and demagoguery.

Hence, to uncover the political roots of the great defeat of the working class, and to disclose, fully and explicitly, the social origins of that defeat constitutes one of the main tasks for all orthodox Marxists.

Fifteen years ago we formulated that task as follows:

"Recognition of the fact that the working class has suffered a serious defeat, on a vast scale, represents the indispensable premise from which the revolutionary regrouping within the working class must proceed." (Vanguard, December, 1968-January, 1969)

During the fifteen years which have elapsed since the above remarks appeared in the Vanguard, we have published hundreds of articles explaining and detailing the fraudulent content of each and every "marxist-leninist" policy and line in the areas of theory and tactics. And we must add, that this still remains an unfinished task, to which we devote a great deal of our time.

In 1949 William Z. Foster, at the time the king-pin of the American

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## "Modern National Liberation"— A Political Balance Sheet

### "National Independence" Hoax — Torn To Shreds By History

The science of Marxism posits that the capitalist system of production cannot exist, without the possibility of its constant expansion. In a brilliant analysis of the factors of crisis existing as immanent contradictions within the capitalist system of production Marx stated:

"Since the aim of capital is not to minister to certain wants, but to produce profit, and since it accomplishes this purpose by methods which adapt the mass of production to the scale of production, not vice versa, a rift must continually ensue between the limited dimensions of consumption under capitalism and a production which forever tends to exceed this immanent barrier.... The cohesion of the aggregate production imposes itself as a blind law upon the agents of production, and not as a law which, being understood and hence controlled by their common mind, brings the productive process under their joint control.... This is possible only because in this specific capitalist interrelation the surplus-product assumes a form in which its owners cannot offer it for consumption, unless it first reconverts itself into capital for him. If it is finally said that the capitalists have only to exchange

and consume their commodities among themselves, then the entire nature of the capitalist mode of production is lost sight of; and also forgotten is the fact that it is a matter of expanding the value of the capital, not consuming it. In short, all these objections to the obvious phenomena of overproduction (phenomena which pay no heed to these objections) amount to the contention that the barriers of capitalist production are not barriers of production generally, and therefore not barriers of this specific capitalist mode of production. The contradiction of the capitalist mode of production, however, lies precisely in its tendency towards an absolute development of the productive forces, which continually come into conflict with the specific conditions of production in which capital moves, and alone can move." (Karl Marx, Capital, Vol. III)  
Concretizing Karl Marx's thesis

on capitalism's constant striving for its own expansion and specifically applying it to British capitalism in the early 1890's, Frederick Engels remarked:

"Capitalist production cannot stop. It must go on increasing and expanding, or it must die. Even now the mere reduction of England's lion's share in the supply of the world's markets means stagnation, distress, excess of capital here, excess of unemployed work-people there. What will it be when the increase of yearly production is brought to a complete stop?"

"Here is the vulnerable place, the heel of Achilles, for capitalist production. Its very basis is the necessity of constant expansion, and this constant expansion now becomes impossible. It ends in a deadlock. Every year England is brought nearer face to face with the question: either the country must go to pieces, or capitalist production must. Which is it to be?" (F. Engels, Preface: Condition of the Working Class in England)

What Frederick Engels stated in  
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"marxist-leninists," authored a miserable "book" entitled *The Twilight of World Capitalism*. The main political pitch of the so-called book, was not that capitalism was leaving the stage of history, but rather, that the "marxist-leninists" were taking over. We have selected a brief portion of the text in "m-l" Foster's "book" in order to show the tremendous abyss which exists between orthodox Marxism and "marxism-leninism." Following we present excerpts from "m-l" Foster's "book" referred to above:

"Socialism is the inevitable and irresistible product of a capitalist system hopelessly in decay. The frightened capitalists may throw the world into economic chaos and create the danger of fascism and war but they cannot halt the democratic progress of humanity. Inevitably, capitalism's vicious attacks upon growing socialism serve only to embitter the peoples, to steel their hearts and minds in their democratic course, and to make their victory all the more sweeping when it matures. This is what happened in the Soviet Union; it also happened in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, and in others of the new democracies; it is what is now taking place in China. Capitalist violence will have the same effect in all other countries fighting to free themselves from capitalist enslavement. The forward march of socialism is irresistible. For the world capitalist system the handwriting is on the wall.

"The general shift in working class leadership, nationally and on a world scale, from Social-Democrats to Communists, is one of the profoundest and most meaningful political developments of this whole period. The opportunist Social-Democrats, wedded irrevocably to capitalism, are gradually going down with that doomed system. In fact, the degeneration of Social-Democracy is in itself one of the major signs of the deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. On the other hand, the Communists, the champions of democracy and Socialism, are naturally growing in strength, precisely as the new socialist world movement gradually comes into being.

"This whole development of the decline of the opportunist Social-Democratic parties and the growth of the Communist parties will continue at an increasing tempo. The two-phased process will be intensified by the deepening of the general world capitalist crisis, including sharpened economic crises, broader economic and political struggles, fresh threats of fascism and war, and victories for socialism in various countries.

"The establishment of a socialist sector in the world, dealt with in an earlier chapter, has truly been an ordeal by fire. Socialism, originating in old Russia, first had a hard struggle to be born and then an even more desperate fight to live in and develop. But socialism has survived all these severe tests with lying colors, in the face of a ruthless world capitalism determined to kill it at all costs. The birth, survival, and spread of socialism are like a series of miracles to the world capitalists and to their social-democratic underlings. This is because no ruling class, threatened by a rising social system historically slated to supersede it, can ever really understand the new

society's qualities and superiority. Together with the capitalists' violent opposition, is the chronic underestimation of the capacities of socialism. This is bred of their wishful thinking and blind hatred of socialism. Such underestimation is a political fact of much significance; indeed, it could even lead to disastrous consequences in the present tense-period.

"Let it be remarked in passing that the world's Communists, who basically understand what had been taking place all these years in the U.S.S.R., were quite sure that socialism could withstand the terrible test of war. Expressing this general Communist opinion, I wrote the following lines a week after Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, in a pamphlet, entitled *The Fight Against Hitlerism*:

"Hitler, in declaring war against the Soviet Union, has signed his own death warrant. He and his Nazi barbarians are now marching to their doom.' And so it was.

"Americans openly appreciated the brave fight of our Soviet ally, and it was, temporarily at least, not the fashion to slander that country. General Douglas A. MacArthur made the following accurate estimate of the Red Army. He said in an A.P. dispatch, February 23, 1942:

"The world situation at the present time indicates that the hopes of civilization rest upon the worthy banners of the courageous Russian Army. During my lifetime I have participated in a number of wars and have witnessed others, as well as studying in great detail the campaigns of outstanding leaders of the past. In none have I observed such effective resistance to the heaviest blows of a hitherto undefeated enemy, followed by a smashing counterattack which is driving that enemy back into his own land. The scale and grandeur of this effort marks it as the greatest military achievement in all history.'

"Throughout the ages the central principle of all great systems of morals has been, 'Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.' Under slavery, feudalism, and capitalism, although the ruling classes have constantly preached this maxim to their slaves as a way by which to regulate their lives, they themselves have cynically ignored it in practice. Their systems of exploitation, including present-day capitalism, have always been based upon a ruthless class ethics, condoning the most brutal violation of every principle of human solidarity. That is why Christianity has never 'worked.' As has been truly said, 'it has never been tried.' It is only with the introduction of socialism, and later of communism, that the Golden Rule, without benefit of religion, becomes a matter of practical politics and of general acceptance by society as a whole." (William Z. Foster, *The Twilight of World Capitalism*).

The criticism of "m-l" Foster's "opus magnum" does not require any excessive stress on the human faculty of reasoning. His entire "book" is a compendium of the shallowest political formulations and of distorted conceptions of social relations. By this we don't mean to say that "m-l" Foster was "intellectually" inferior to any of his "marxist-leninist" congeners. No, his ability to think and reason was no generalis — that is on a par with that of his fellow petty-bourgeois "revolutionists."

His "book" opened with a

futuristic vision of America which had nothing, but nothing, in common with the Marxian Materialist Conception of History. This is what "m-l" Foster inscribed at the beginning of his "book":

"To My Great-Grandson Joseph Manley Kolkko Who Will Live in a Communist United States"

"M-l" Foster published his *The Twilight of World Capitalism* in 1949. That was 34 years ago and Master Joseph Manley Kolkko must be at least a man in his forties today. But we ask — where is that Socialism or Communism in the land of the free and the home of the brave? that "m-l" Foster prophesied with the "fervor" of a holy seer interpreting the Oracle of Apollo at ancient Delphi or with the aplomb of a "card reader" conjurist in a city slum? Has this spiritualistic rubbish anything to do with orthodox Marxist analysis of social development and history? Nothing at all.

And "m-l" Foster prattled about the "future of Socialism and Communism" in general with the same disregard for Marxist theory that he displayed in his vaticination of the process of social evolution in America.

Observe that "m-l" Foster in the year 1949 tenaciously clung to the ideologico-political cliches of his "m-l" breed in the year 1942. He quoted one of General Douglas MacArthur's paeans to Russia's military might during the "sacred war against nazi-fascism."

What is so unique and transcendental about General MacArthur's "pro-Soviet" stance? Didn't Winston Churchill make several such paeanyrics to the "heroic Soviets" during the same period? And let us remember that the Russian "m-ls," and indeed all the "marxist-leninists" in the entire world, were heaping every sort of accolade on "heroic, democratic and anti-fascist America" during the whole period of the Second Imperialist World War. But all of these political shenanigans are quite logical, thieves and cutthroats operating in the same gang are wont to praise each other so long as they don't quarrel and split up.

"M-l" Foster, with an "author's" swagger, recalled one "prediction" made by himself that came true. That was his remark about Hitler's death sentence being signed the minute the "nazi troops invaded the Soviet Union." However, there was nothing original in "m-l" Foster's remarks. In fact, the very same "prediction"

### Archetype Of The American Breed Of "M-Ls"



William Z. Foster who died in the "workers' fatherland" (Russia) after half a century of devoted and loyal service to the bourgeoisie.

was made by Stalin, Molotov, Zhdanov and every other Russian "m-l" long before "m-l" Foster's "profound utterances." "M-l" Foster was simply parroting the main propaganda pitch of the coalesced American, British and Russian finance capitalists.

If there is a moment in unfolding history when the class character of modern society surfaces in all its hideous, oppressive reality it is precisely at the time of war. It is during the occurrence of such conflicts that the bourgeois fable about all citizens of a country having a common birthright evaporates like ether from an open bottle. And it is precisely at that very moment that the Marxist truism that "the workers have no fatherland" is fully concretized and corroborated in history and by history. In every modern war, it is the Working Class that plays the role of cannon fodder and receives the brunt of the suffering and miseries, whether at the battlefield, as prisoners of war, or as persecuted "enemies" behind the front lines.

At the very moment that we are preparing this article (the beginning of February, 1983) the "media" is blaring forth the "exciting" news about the arrest of the "notorious nazi" Klaus Barbie, the "onetime Gestapo chief of Lyons, France." A whole web of intrigues was uncovered involving several states, including "democratic America," in a plot "to protect the infamous Klaus Barbie from the just punishment that he deserves." Logically, the ever-present corollary to the "anti-nazi" theme has also been dusted-off, refurbished and put back into active service. We are referring to the stale canard about "the nazi death-camps" with all the "horrors" about their "perennial butcheries of Jews." We have said it a million times before, and we'll repeat it a zillion times more, the "nazi" as the instrument of German finance capital's policies were willing and able to massacre anything and anybody, Jew or gentile, Russian or Belgian, Pole or Dane, Frenchman or Italian, Czech or Slovak, British or American, provided they belonged to the producing classes of society, and in particular, to the Working Class. And the same is true of the state slunkys of the American, British, French, etc. finance capitalists. To illustrate this point, permit us to quote a brief resume of the barbaric treatment accorded the prisoners of war from the Union armies by the Confederate authorities at Andersonville, Georgia during the American Civil War. And let us keep in mind that that particular armed conflict was nothing but an internecine, infra-class struggle of the American bourgeoisie. The quote we have selected is from the pages of Cowles *Comprehensive Encyclopedia* and reads as follows:

"Andersonville, a military prison of the Confederate Government established in southwestern Georgia in 1864. The prison consisted of a stockade 15 feet high, enclosing 26 1/4 acres of land through which ran a small brook. No barracks or other substantial shelters were provided, and the prisoners made shift as best they could by contriving rude tents of blankets and rags or burrowing in the ground. By the middle of the summer of 1864 there were about 30,000 prisoners confined in the stockade — the space available was less than 4 square yards to the man. Overcrowding, insatiation, under-

nourishment and exposure produced a fearful mortality from disease. Approximately 13,000 men died out of a total admitted of 49,500.

"After the war the popular demand for vengeance found a scapegoat in Henry Wirz, the prison superintendent, who was tried before a military court and hanged." (Cowles *Comprehensive Encyclopedia*)

Now, here it is, as clear as moonlight — Americans treated Americans worse than hyenas and jackals treat their prey. Why? Because the bulk of those "Americans," it could even be said, the totality of them, belonged to the producing classes of the "North." The "Confederate Americans" killed them; they malmed them; they starved them; they let them die without medical assistance or treatment, as though they had been a pack of rabid dogs. The American history books tell us that the top personnel of the Confederate armies, including General Howell Cobb, General John H. Winder, Colonel D.T. Chandler, and many others, were directly involved in the criminal, barbaric actions at the Andersonville stockade, but not a single one of them was brought to justice for that real holocaust. Instead, a low-ranking officer, Captain Henry Wirz, was chosen as the scapegoat, hung, and that closed the historic Andersonville case.



Neither Jefferson Davis (photo above) nor Alexander Hamilton Stephens, president and vice-president, respectively, of the "Confederacy" were ever mentioned during the trial of "fall guy" Henry Wirz. That makes sense — class sense. Nor should any American worker ever forget, that "Confederacy Day" is still a "legal holiday" in the land of Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Herbert Hoover, Richard Milhous Nixon, the Ku Klux Klan, and especially, the land owned by John D. the First and David Rockefeller.

After all the above, do not the socio-political roles of the Benito Mussolinis and Adolf Hitlers of the world appear more rational? They do.

That every one of the military men involved in the Andersonville "massacre-holocaust" should have been hung is beyond dispute, but behind those middle-class troglodytes stood the entire American ruling class (the bourgeoisie). "North" and "South." Did anyone ever hear a single word of condemnation of that class by any "liberal" or "marxist-leninist" in connection with that anti-working class, inhuman episode in American

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 history? Of course, nobody has and nobody ever will. They would much rather blast "nazi-fascism," and particularly Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini. And this makes sense, a lot of sense, class sense, that is. Had German finance capital been victorious in the Second Imperialist World War, the whole world would have witnessed a colossal deluge of propaganda about "the inhuman, heinous crimes of the inhuman, heinous crimes of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Winston Churchill." Nary a word would have been uttered about the crimes of the Rockefellers, the Fords, the Morgans, the Du Ponts, or of any other member of American finance capital. Ditto the members of British finance capital. Only the high-tiered bureaucrats of America and Britain would have been singled out as culpable and responsible for the "bestial crimes committed against the civilized and peace-loving peoples of the world." Those Anglo-American bureaucrats "would have been tried and found guilty." A few would have been executed and others imprisoned, but the American and British monopolies would have remained intact, except that American and British finance capital, from that moment on, would have been forced to play second fiddle (economically) and "fourth-rate partners" to the German hegemon. Naturally, the German mark would have surfaced as the financial sun around which the world currencies would have to gyrate. And this is exactly what took place, as a result of the Second Imperialist World War, but in reverse.

Close to thirty-eight years have elapsed since the Second Imperialist World War ended in the summer of 1945. However, late in January of this year, two giants of German finance capital, Krupp and Thyssen, were merged with a joint capital 20 times as large as they had owned at the moment of history when they hired the Austrian "paperhanger"

Adolf Schickelgruber and other petty-bourgeois and middle-class flunkys to launch German finance capital's expansionist drive at the beginning of the decade of the 30's. Why were Hitler, Goebbels, Goering, Rosenberg and the rest of the "leaders of the Nazi Party" indicted at Nuremberg in 1946, and not their masters, the Krupps, Thyssens, Schachts, and the rest of the German finance capitalists? That is one of the pivotal questions that the Working Class of the world must answer in its own interest, as it prepares for the class counter-attack after six decades of extremely painful and uninterrupted series of defeats.

And the working class will assuredly mount that counter-offensive and usher in a new era of real progress and civilization for mankind.

Socialism is inevitable, posits the science of Marxism, regardless of when and where the struggle for Socialism begins or when the transition from the Socialist to the Communist stage occurs in time and history. The writing on the wall of history is already visible, not in the infantile strictures of the "marxist-leninists" but rather in the living marrow of social relations. Take heed of the transcendental events which took place in the middle of January of this year in Nigeria, where close to three million (two-thirds of them Ghanaians)

"African aliens" were ordered to "leave the country immediately or be forcibly expelled," and fathom the social volcano that threatens the existence of the capitalist system of production. (In an accompanying article we deal with this subject extensively.)

This is the world, the real world, that exists today, and from the realities of that world the science of orthodox Marxism delineates the revolutionary path of the World Proletariat with theoretical precision and accuracy. However, loud voices are heard today, fifty-odd million of them, to be sure, suggesting to the Working Class that "there are alternate roads to Socialism, which are easier, less risky and less violent." And they continue to advise, "orthodox Marxism is already obsolete due to the impact of time on social phenomena. We are living in a different period of history which neither Marx nor Engels ever lived in. Therefore, new paths have to be charted, new tactics have to be adopted." And all of that advice spells out the ideological and political content of "marxism-leninism." Their theory and practice suggest nothing but policies of retreat, compromise and adaptation to the class enemy. They are petty-bourgeois hucksters and purveyors of reformism, and not fighters for the Proletarian Revolution. They are the modern avatars of the social segment that Marx and Engels characterized as "the adulterating element within the working class" and which Lenin referred to as the "foreign element within the working class." We have characterized the petty bourgeoisie and the middle class of the entire world today as the political Praetorian Guard of the world bourgeoisie. They front for the ruling class in the managerial posts of banking, industry and commerce, as well as in every agency and institution of the state. Indeed, there isn't a single area of social relations where the petty bourgeoisie and middle class is absent. And it is precisely that social segment, the petty bourgeoisie, that spawns the hordes of miserable, venal, cowardly, treacherous "marxist-leninists." For that reason, the Working Class must begin a process of immunization that will effectively prevent any kind of infiltration and infection from that vile and virulent social sector.

This year marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of the birth of our movement in August, 1958, after breaking loose from the rotten op-

portunism which permeated the "Communist Party of the United States," and within which we had conducted a protracted inner-party struggle for the purity of orthodox Marxism for close to two decades.

Right from the beginning of our independent existence we were besieged by many "marxist-leninist movements" which were active in the peripheral areas of the "Communist Party of the United States" and the "Socialist Workers Party" ("Trotskyites"), offering us all kinds of "united front" relations. Our proletarian instinct, more than our theoretical understanding, alerted us to the danger involved in joining with the very same petty-bourgeois, anti-working class doctrinaires that we had exposed and left behind within the "CPUSA." But after a few years of systematically assimilating the theory of orthodox Marxism, we have become fully immunized against the "comradely advances" of those socially and politically corrupt elements. We shall not mention a single one of them by their self-anointed "titles," but there were veritable swarms of the varmint, nationally and internationally. Their reaction and response to our blunt and direct rejection came in a tumult of well adjetivized diatribes, questioning our very right to existence both as a movement and as individuals. But all of that left us as cold as the proverbial cucumber. We just assimilated the negative lesson and went on with our responsibilities as staunch, undeviating, steadfast and unyielding orthodox Marxists.

In order to illustrate this point as close to life as we can describe it, permit us to quote from two consecutive letters which we addressed to one of those "enterprising m-l groups." We have deliberately deleted all names and identifications in regards to that "m-l group" but everything else remains unaltered and uncensored. The "group" in question was one of those petty-bourgeois "m-l communes" which proliferated so abundantly during the middle and late 60's and beyond.

The first letter read as follows:

July 16, 1975

Dear Sirs:

We are in possession of three letters from the "Z" Books or "T" Marxist-Leninist Collective.

We couldn't help but note the fact that in the first letter dated November 22, 1974, you signed "Z" Books. In the second letter dated June 16, 1975, you signed

"J.R." for T.M.L.C. In the third letter, this time addressed not to Vanguard or AWCP but to Armando Roman at his home address and this time signed "S.P.," whoever he might be.

In every one of your letters, at least by inference; you make some inquiries about the AWCP which is spelled in the first letter ACWP and which was corrected in the second letter. You ask — whatever became of POC? And yet you know of the existence of the AWCP and you even know where the "private residence" of Armando Roman is.

We are not over suspicious, just simply observant. Could we ask you just one simple question — how come?

Our original decision was not to answer for the simple reason that for a long time already our policy has been not to sell or mail the Vanguard. The Vanguard is published every two months and every single issue is distributed free in the working class areas of New York, Chicago, etc. We must honestly admit that the response from the thousands of copies distributed among the workers is indeed minimal, to say the most. But don't get us wrong, we don't expect anything else at this particular period of history from the American working class. Being Marxists we are keenly aware of the state of consciousness within the working class at every specific period of social development and history. In other words we do not expect any other reaction from the only revolutionary class in the United States or elsewhere at this moment. Being Marxists we refuse to play the role of "makers of revolutions." We participated enough in that infantile practice in our past history, and particularly in our P.O.C. period.

You say in your letters that you are interested in two particular things that we are decidedly not interested in at all. One is the history of the "evolution of anti-revisionism since the year 1958" — the year that the POC was "born" right in the very "womb" of the "Communist Party of the United States." We too attempted to restrict and compress this particular aspect of the class struggle (the history of the struggle against pseudo-Marxism) within the period following the 20th Congress of the "Communist Party of the Soviet Union" (1956). However, we learned that pseudo-Marxism is as old as the science of the revolution of the proletariat — Marxism itself. The other question of interest (for you) is your announced desire to "join a political entity." We are not interested in joining anything or anybody nor are we carrying out any kind of political proselytizing. Let us explain — there are an estimated 42 million "marxist-leninists" in the world without counting the "Trotskyite" groupings. That sure is a lot of pseudo-Marxism as well as a huge bunch of "m-ls," don't you think? If our aim was numbers why in hell did we bother to leave the "CPUSA" in the first place?

We might sound "sectarian" to you or even arrogant for being this frank and direct with you. You may conclude that we are just a bunch of self-contained "elitists." Whatever you may think, whatever your opinion of us may be it won't change us one iota. And vice versa, whatever we may think of you will not change you in the least. And here we come to the

most important, we think, of the questions you raise. You express a desire to make a "serious study of the history of anti-revisionism since 1958." On our part we prefer to continue the struggle to complete our most decisive task, that of "changing the changers" as applied to ourselves. It is in this area of Marxist theory that we have discovered the key to our own motion as a genuine Marxist movement. No individual or entity will ever mature as Marxists without practicing genuine scientific self-criticism. There you have the difference between, on the one hand, Hammer and Steel group, the P.L.P., as well as many other so-called "m-l" groupings which developed during the period of time that you refer to, and on the other hand the AWCP.

Obviously, you don't need us and we don't need you, but if we are consistent in our decision to become real Marxists, real communists, we both need the classics of Marxism. But you will never assimilate the scientific content of the classics of Marxism if your attitude is that of the intellectuals, which we suspect, in fact we know it is. Otherwise you wouldn't be talking about any "serious study." "Serious study" smacks too much of a simple exercise in intellectual dilettantism.

We are going to mail you some copies of the Vanguard, not to facilitate your "study," but on the contrary to try to steer you away from it, if that is at all possible.

We read your May Day leaflet and it will be obvious to you as soon as you begin to read our literature that we hold opposite views on every single revolutionary projection. (However, you may conclude that it is all a matter of opinion. That will be your misfortune, not ours. Opinions, one or a million, either reflect or do not reflect reality. If we are wrong we'll go to hell, politically and historically speaking, and we deserve such a fate. And if you are wrong that will be your political funeral.) If you want to insist that in the "third world" (neo-colonies in our terminology) the workers and the peasants are carrying out an "anti-imperialist struggle" that's your business. As for us, and following the teachings of Marxism on the theoretical content of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there are peasants and peasants. In fact the same "generalization" was used by Stalin and company as a rationale for the return of capitalist relations in Russia even while Lenin was still alive. That "theoretical" rationale was used by the Russian "marxist-leninists" to scramble together the kulaks, the landless peasants and the rural proletariat. In regards to the "main ally" of the American working class in the form of the political dictatorship that you suggest, "worker-student," it's all yours, we want no part of it. All of this will become more explicit when you acquaint yourselves with our position on the role of the students in the present world.

Had we received this leaflet back in 1958 or even a few years later, we would have made a special trip to your city to propose some kind of rapprochement. However, 18 long years have intervened since POC was "born" and we have shed tons and tons of "revisionist" garbage that we carried over as normal, logical baggage from our past. We were as rabid "anti-fascist" as

(Continued on Page 4)

### The Only Class That Owns And Leads America — And The World



Three generations of "real white man strain" and "real American leadership stock."

Old John D. flanked by two of his grandsons, Nelson (l.) and David (r.)

The above photo was taken shortly after the Standard Oil Trust was "smashed" under the "disintegrating" impact of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law.

(Continued from Page 3)

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Joe Stalin and Georgi Dimitrov. We were as dyed-in-the-wool "anti-imperialists" as Kwame Nkrumah, Gus Hall, Kim Il Sung, "Uncle Ho," or Mao Tse-tung. We are not "anti-fascist" anymore. We are not "anti-imperialist" anymore. We woke up, ideologically and politically speaking. We were "anti-revisionist," which wouldn't have been so bad if we had not been so ignorant as to limit the scope of the "anti-revisionist" struggle, first to the Yugoslav "C.P.," then to the American "C.P.," and lastly to the "CPSU."

Is it a wonder then that we swallowed the Maoist "anti-revisionist revisionism" hook, line and sinker? But it was worse than that. Even after we got rid of the influence of Mao, Chou, Lin and company we continued to be "Stalinists." Is there no end to ignorance? There is, fortunately. We kept on pushing back the "origin of revisionism" from the 20th Congress of the "CPSU" to the Seventh World Congress of the C.I., to the Sixth Congress of the C.I., to the time that Lenin died in January, 1924, until finally we discovered that the struggle against "revisionism" had been a mere effect, a reaction to the appearance of the science of Marxism. In the words of Frederick Engels:

"The issue is purely one of principle: is the struggle to be conducted as a class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, or is it to be permitted that in good opportunist (or as it is called in the socialist translation: Possibilitist) style the class character of the movement, together with the programme, is everywhere to be dropped where more votes, more adherents, can be won by this means? By declaring themselves in favour of the latter alternative the proletariat class character of the movement and made separation inevitable. All the better. The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles and France, which is now forming a workers' party for the first time, is no exception. We in Germany have got beyond the first phase of the internal struggle; other phases still lie before us. Unity is quite a good thing so long as it is possible, but there are things which stand above unity. And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life against self-styled Socialists than against anyone else (for we regarded the bourgeoisie only as a class and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois), one cannot be greatly grieved that the inevitable struggle has broken out." (Correspondence, Frederick Engels to A. Bebel, October 28, 1882)

If, as we say, we were rabid "anti-imperialists" and "anti-fascists" we must also add that we paraded our "marxist-leninist" banner with the utmost show of proletarian pride as well as petty-bourgeois stupidity. In fact it wasn't until very recently, perhaps 2 or 3 years ago, that the fact finally dawned on us that it was the "stupid revisionists" that invented the term "marxist-leninist." So you see, we are not talking down to you, we are not trying to lecture you. We are merely substituting our own concepts of the history of POC for what you refer to as "serious study." Whatever you do with our letter and our opinion is as

much your business as it is ours with the do with yours or anybody else's.

If you feel sort of shocked by our "line" let us explain that that is a true reflection of the way we have grown and developed — through shock, through the dialectical change of moving as Engels put it, "from one state of ignorance to a higher state of ignorance" and which represents the only accessible path to knowledge, any real knowledge, that is.

"R.H." For the Editorial Board of the Vanguard

P.S. We are forwarding to you a couple of samples of the mail that we get requesting literature from the AWCP. This we do in order to show you that when we refuse to answer requests for subscriptions or any other kind of AWCP material we are just carrying out established Party procedures and policy.

The second letter stated the following: This in answer to yours of August 25, 1975:

In our letter of July 16, 1975 we stated that our original decision was to disregard your letters altogether. But then in "violation" of our own procedures and our previous dispositions on this matter, we proceeded to communicate with you.

Again we must confess that our decision was to send you that letter, mail the Vanguard and write fairs to any further correspondence with you. However your answer proved to us that we were in error, that we had underestimated your ability to teach us. You see, our main source of knowledge is the classics of scientific socialism — Marxism, but we also draw substantially from empirical knowledge, from experience. In fact, we nurture the practice and extremely rewarding habit of checking our policies (which we have the presumption of referring to as our theory), with the enemy. This is the reason our "abstract, obscure and lengthy" articles are full of quotations from every genre of bourgeois "theories," including the "marxist-leninist" variant of the species.

In your letter of August 25th, you complain about "being attacked" by us, in at least two places. But we don't feel that you are "attacking us" in any way or form. You are simply projecting your line, your theory and your tactics. In which way could it be said that you are attacking us? To be sure those opinions of yours in regards to the "AWCP line" have been

standardized in every "marxist-leninist" party and grouping.

You blab about "studying and not just reading" the Marxist classics. But that's just a bunch of rhetorical hot air because you don't know what the study of Marxism really signifies and since you are absolutely ignorant about the science of Marxism we'll give you a lesson for free on how "not just read but study Marxism."

First, permit us to dispose of the trivia before we enter into the polemic concerning the difference between Marxism and pseudo-Marxism. The question "How come?" remains, and deliberately so, unanswered. Let us re-quote ourselves to make this point absolutely clear. "You ask—what-ever became of POC? And yet you know of the existence of the AWCP and you even know where the 'private residence' of Armando Roman is." Let us add that we don't give a hoot how many FBI's or CIA's (which are more of political bugaboos in nature than that of so-called "secret service agencies") know about us or don't.

Our line is not a conspiratorial secret, every issue of the Vanguard, every leaflet, every statement that we make projects that line with absolute unambiguity and the fullest clarity.

We should "hang our heads in shame" after you "caught us red-handed" (forgive the anti-communist phrase or is it anti-Indian?) mailing a newspaper that we have previously said was "not for sale or mail." This borders on the unconstitutional. This is terrible! Where is our touted ability to use the law of development of our movement — Marxist criticism and self-criticism? Not only that, every two years we mail one or two copies of Vanguard to the leading American universities and as a result expose you "comrade" to the extortionist practices of those bourgeois "intellectual hateries." And you know what? You wouldn't believe it, but they react to the Vanguard articles in exactly the same way that you do. Let us specify. According to the university creatures, the Vanguard is "unstylistic," "untheoretical," "repetitive," "misinformed," "anti-democratic," "sectarian," "dogmatic," "anti-intellectual" and about fifty other epithets. Even those that don't call us names at least by inference, question "our right to existence." They refer to us as "political weirdos," "different from every other kind of communist." And the so-called "Left," the "Stalinists," the "Trotskyites," the "Maoists," the "libertarians" etc., call us "pro-

fascist," "anti-third world," "anti-communist," "anti-Soviet," "anti-Chinese" and also "sectarian," "dogmatic," and "anti-Marxist."

There you have in capsule form the eclectic expression of petty-bourgeois intellectual reaction to the line of the AWCP and the Marxist Vanguard. And yet, we don't feel "attacked," "persecuted," "vilified" or "badgered" in any way or form. We find these opinions about our Vanguard merited, in fact well deserved. And why? For the same reasons that we pointed out previously in relation to your opinion of the AWCP and the Vanguard.

Those "liberals" and "m-is" have told us on a million occasions, that our line is expressive of the popular saying "everybody is out of step but Johnny." But the history of the revolutionary movement points to the fact that Marx, Engels and Lenin were lectured precisely in the same manner ever since the day that the first principles of Marxist science were propounded. To all of those that trouble themselves with "exposing" our line we answer in the same way we did to you in our letter of July 16th: "Opinions, one or a million, either reflect or do not reflect reality. If we are wrong we'll go to hell, politically and historically speaking, and we deserve such a fate.

And if you are wrong that will be your political funeral." By the way let us dispose of a question that you pose, at least one aspect of it, right here and now. You wanted to know what ever became of the Turning Point "movement"? "Comrade," like we said (or is it "as we said") as an intellectual grammarian would inally "they went to hell, politically and historically speaking, and they deserved such a fate." Note that the "Turning Pointers" appeared and disappeared like so many shooting stars without leaving a trace of their existence either in theory or in practice. And whether you are aware of it or not, that's exactly where you and your petty business are headed for, Marxist bookshelves and all—towards absolute political oblivion. We will deal fully with this "bothersome" question (bothersome to you) later on. In the meantime, better dust-off some of your choice "marxist-leninist" adjectives and be ready to hurl them at us for we are going to peel your intellectual, "m-l" skin off and prove to you how transparent your ignorance of Marxism really is. In your letter of August 25th, you practically "pulverized us" with a quote from Frederick Engels which you presented as follows:

"We would like to quote to you Engels' Preface to the Second Edition of his work, The Peasant War in Germany. 'It is the specific duty of the leaders...to keep in mind that Socialism, having become a science, demands the same treatment as every other science—it must be studied.'" This "theoretical" con-game, misuse and distortion of the classics reminds us of the same methodology or "m-l" technique used by the "Communist Party of the United States." Many years after "anti-revisionist" Bert Sutta (kingpin of "Turning Point") totally disappeared from the political scene the Gene Dennis, William Z. Foster and Gus Hall crowd were displaying the same Engels quote in a sloganized form as the emblem of the infamous "m-l" Jefferson School in New York City. Did that

slogan teach the 5,000 petty-bourgeois enrollees of that "Marxist School" any real Marxism? On the contrary, as it should be expected, that castrated projection of Marxist theory became an integral part of the counter-revolutionary ideological arsenal of "marxism-leninism."

In his What Is To Be Done? Lenin used the very same preface to The Peasant War in Germany to draw important lessons for the Working Class in the struggle for its own emancipation. The part of Engels' preface chosen by Lenin was the one that explained the concentric character of the revolutionary movement of the Proletariat, the need to struggle on the economic, political and ideological (theoretical) areas of the class struggle.

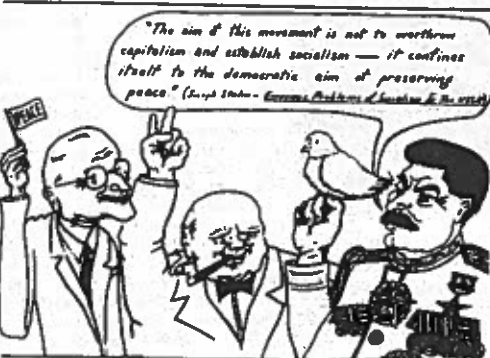
Since you deliberately emptied Engels' formulations of every bit of Marxist content we will, just as deliberately, restore the original Marxist ingredients that you left out. What Engels really stated was that the Working Class itself (and not the petty bourgeoisie) would generate the genuine leaders of the proletarian revolutionary movement. Engels' formulations read as follows:

"The German workers have two important advantages over those of the rest of Europe. First, they belong to the most theoretical people of Europe, and have retained the sense of theory which the so-called 'educated' classes of Germany have almost completely lost. Without German philosophy, particularly that of Hegel, German scientific socialism—the only scientific socialism that ever existed—would never have come into being. Without the workers' sense of theory this scientific socialism would never have entered their flesh and blood as much as is the case. What an incalculable advantage this is may be seen, on the one hand, from the indifference to theory which is one of the main reasons why the English working-class movement crawls along so slowly in spite of the splendid organization of the individual trades, and on the other hand, from the mischief and confusion wrought by Proudhonism in its original form among the French and Belgians, and in the form further caricatured by Bakunin among the Spaniards and Italians.

"It must be said to the credit of the German workers that they have exploited the advantage of their situation with rare understanding. For the first time since a workers' movement has existed, the struggle is being waged pursuant to its three sides—the theoretical, the political and the economic-practical (resistance to the capitalists)—in harmony and in its interconnections, and in a systematic way. It is precisely in this, as it were concentric, attack that the strength and invincibility of the German movement lies.

"Due to this advantageous situation, on the one hand, and to the insular peculiarities of the English and the forcible suppression of the French movement, on the other hand, the German workers stand for the moment in the vanguard of the proletarian struggle. How long events will allow them to occupy this place of honour, cannot be foretold. But let us hope that as long as they occupy it they will fill it fittingly. This demands redoubled efforts in every field of struggle and agitation. In particular, it will be (Continued on Page 5)

**"Theoretical Tenets Of Marxism-Leninism"**



Reprinted from The Vanguard, April-May, 1980

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the duty of the leaders to gain an ever clearer insight into all theoretical questions, to free themselves more and more from the influence of traditional phrases inherited from the old world outlook, and constantly to keep in mind that socialism, since it has become a science, demands that it be pursued as a science, that is, that it be studied." (Emphasis Ours)

Mr. "R," note those portions of Engels' quote that we have underlined. To us it is absolutely clear why you deleted those parts of the text and why you began the quote from Engels not from the premise of the rising ability of the workers to master theory as against the inability of the petty bourgeoisie and the middle class to do so. On the contrary, you wanted to prove just the opposite. And that is why you started with "the leaders" and thereby ignored Engels' main point, which was the fact that the only revolutionary class, the working class, is also the only theoretical class. And yet, in your abysmal ignorance of Marxism, as well as in your petty-bourgeois conception of the working class, you insist that the American workers will never understand any theoretical journal, either the Vanguard or any other. This opinion is not original, it has been mouthed by all intellectuals in connection with any kind of theory and all brands of knowledge. Obviously all of that represents nothing else than petty-bourgeois values and conceptions of knowledge. Since you belong to the 42 million plus "m-ls" of the world, your approach to the mastery of theory from the social (class) standpoint flows from Karl Kautsky's opportunist proposition that "socialism gets into the working class from the outside." Meaning that the petty-bourgeois intellectual's main task is to "teach the principles of socialism to the workers." But Marxism insists that the workers not only are capable of assimilating Marxist theory, or indeed any kind of theory, but that in fact they are the only ones with such capability. Do you want additional authoritative proof of this fact? Then listen to Karl Marx's opinion about the ability of the workers to grasp the theoretical content of Capital:

"The appreciation which 'Das Kapital' rapidly gained in wide circles of the German working-class is the best reward of my labours. Herr Mayer, a Vienna manufacturer, who in economic matters represents the bourgeois point of view, in a pamphlet published during the Franco-German War aptly expounded the idea that the great capacity for theory, which used to be considered a hereditary German profession, had almost completely disappeared amongst the so-called educated classes in Germany, but that amongst its working-class, on the contrary, that capacity was celebrating its revival."

In your August 25th diatribe you advise us to learn how to apply Marxist criticism and self-criticism "in the correct way" and in the process "realize" that the workers don't want any part of Vanguard and that "such an attitude is to their credit." Of course, mistaking from the classics (as in our quote from Engels) is part of the routine methodology utilized by very brand of "m-l." But when you misquote our own document and then read it back to us that

really hits bottom, that indeed reached the depths of "m-l" cynicism.

In connection with the fact that the workers are not attuned to our line, we were the ones to tell you, not as an "admission" but as a matter of fact. We'll go much farther and "admit" that the working class listens to the CPUSA, the SWP and even the PLP infinitely more than to us today. Is that good or bad? That question is irrelevant because it is real and in fact very logical and even dialectical. The working class has been defeated (on a world scale, mind you), in the same way as it was defeated in France and Germany in 1848-50; it was defeated and massacred in France in 1848-49 and in 1871 (the Paris Commune); it was defeated in Russia in 1905; it was defeated, yes in Russia, after the Revolution of 1917, regardless of the "m-ls'" opinion and "theories" about it. Were Marx and Engels "listened to" by the working classes of France and Germany immediately following these defeats? History proves that they were not listened to at all. Under the pressure of the reactionary policies of the French and German bourgeoisies, the working class was forced to "listen to" every kind of petty-bourgeois intellectual opportunist flunkey. You can reach whatever conclusions you wish from this.

In your August 25th letter you interpret the AWCPC's estimate of the present relationship of class forces within the U.S. and the state of political and ideological consciousness within the American working class as follows:

"If you aren't politically proselytizing and since you 'don't expect anything' from the American working class, then why do you continue to put out your paper and hand it out to workers?"

But pick up our July 16th letter and read with us:

"We must honestly admit that the response from the thousands of copies distributed among the workers is indeed minimal, to say the least. But don't get us wrong, we don't expect anything else at this particular period of history from the American working class. Being Marxists we are keenly aware of the state of consciousness within the working class at every specific period of social development and history. In other words we do not expect any other reaction from the only revolutionary class in the United States or elsewhere at this moment. Being Marxists we refuse to play the role of 'makers of revolutions.' We participated enough in that infantile practice in

our past history, and particularly in our P.O.C. period."

Where do we state that "we don't expect anything from the working class," period? Why do you delete, not the conditioning, but the fundamental premises of the statement, which is contained in the following parts that you so conveniently "forgot" — "Being Marxists we are keenly aware of the state of consciousness within the working class at every specific period of social development and history. In other words, we do not expect any other reaction from the only revolutionary class in the United States or elsewhere at this moment."

It is you Mr. "R" and your class, the petty bourgeoisie, that "do not expect anything" from the working class either now or ever, no matter how many "marxist-leninist" titles or "revolutionary" labels as "true champions of the working class" you may put on yourself.

Understanding that the whole American working class has been totally bribed in this particular period of history is not "renouncing or renegeing on that class," which is our class not yours. For your information, and this in a certain sense is the crux of the matter, we are a movement, a revolutionary organism, 100% proletarian, not only in our theoretical principles but in our social practice. We are workers, every single one of us and that is the reason why we are able to criticize our class in the very same way that it is possible for us to practice Marxist self-criticism. By the way, your remarks about our "chauvinism" provided a few days of laughter in our ranks and not only because our Party membership, from the standpoint of ethnic and racial composition, is represented by a two-thirds non-white ratio, but primarily because we know this petty-bourgeois political bullshit from way, way back. Those in our ranks that were members of the old "CPUSA" remember the days of the "struggle" of the party against the terms "blackball," "whitewash," etc. We have been "blasted" by the "marxist-leninists" of different parties and groupings for referring to the late U Thant (may his soul rest in peace in the "third world's" bourgeois heaven) as the "brown Hammarkjold." We are not at all bothered by the terms nigger, spic, pollock, kike, or chink. Those are in fact splendid anti-working class terms, invented by the white ruling class, disseminated by the white middle class and petty bourgeoisie, "agitated" by the white "liberals" and "m-ls" and "resented" only

and only by the black and brown petty bourgeois. We put quotes on resented because those epithets mark the limits of the struggle "for the rights of Negro, Puerto Rican and Chicano minorities" and represent the main slogans of the black and brown petty bourgeoisies' "struggle for a piece of the action." We don't know and we don't care if you are involved or not involved in the "titanic struggles in behalf of the Indians of the reservations." We don't know and we don't care if you were involved in the "titanic struggle to return Alcatraz Island to the Indians." However, we do know one thing — that no "m-l" in this blessed country of ours is proposing to return Manhattan Island to the Indians nor do we hear any "marxist-leninist" talking about returning Texas, New Mexico, Arizona or California to the Chicanos (not to mention the Mexicans below the Rio Grande). But let us return to our supposed "renegacy in connection with the political and historical role of the American working class." We stand by our political assessment of the American working class at this juncture of its development and history.

To say that the American working class has been and continues to be a bribed segment of present-day American society is but to state an irrefutable fact concerning American social reality. This bribery is temporary, no question about that. There are only two permanently bribed classes in the United States, namely, the petty bourgeoisie and the middle class and which to be sure (in a social and political sense), are indistinguishable from each other.

What has been the historical experience in regards to the phenomenon of a working class that has been temporarily bribed? Let us present some Marxist documentation. From Engels:

"You ask me what the English workers think about colonial policy. Well, exactly the same as they think about politics in general: the same as the bourgeois think. There is no workers' party here, you see, there are only Conservatives and Liberal-Radicals, and the workers gaily share the feast of England's monopoly of the world market and the colonies."

And again Engels:

"The truth is this: During the period of England's industrial monopoly the English working-class have, to a certain extent, shared in the benefits of the monopoly. These benefits were very unequally parcelled out amongst them, the privileged minority pocketed the most, but even the great mass had, at least, a temporary share now and then. And that is the reason why, since the dying-out of Owenism there has been no socialism in England. With the breakdown of that monopoly the English working-class will lose that privileged position; it will find itself generally—the privileged and leading minority not excepted—on a level with its fellow workers abroad."

Mr. "R," since you are not acquainted with even the rudiments of Marxist theory you could not have the slightest notion of what the materialist conception of history is all about. Consequently, you don't know any history at all, not even American history. And it is for this reason that we are presenting to you the next quotation from Engels in regards to the state of

ideology prevalent in the working class in a particular and specific period of its development. In the following quote Engels could teach you (if you possessed such capabilities of assimilation) that the American working class is not just bribed but extremely backwards for concrete historical reasons. But when one adds to that the tremendous economic and political power which American finance capital has today, one begins to realize how deadly and politically overwhelming is the ability of the American ruling class to bribe, at least temporarily, all segments of American society. And the American working class could not escape that reality at the present any more than the British working class could in the past.

You petty-bourgeois elements love to deal with abstract questions. In fact you don't know any other world than the world of the speculative and the abstract. Following is Engels' brilliant analysis of the state of ideology of the American working class in the last decades of the 19th century:

"It is remarkable but wholly natural how firmly rooted bourgeois prejudices are even in the working class of such a young country, which has never known feudalism and has grown up on a bourgeois foundation from the beginning. Out of this very opposition to the mother country—which is still garbed in its feudal disguise—the American worker imagines that the traditional bourgeois regime he inherited is something progressive and superior by nature and for all time, a *non plus ultra*. Just as in New England Puritanism, the reason for the whole colony's existence, has on that very ground become an heirloom and almost inseparable from local patriotism. The Americans may strain and struggle as much as they like, but they simply cannot discount their future—colossally great as it is—like a bill of exchange; they must wait for the date on which it falls due; and just because their future is so great, their present must occupy itself mainly with preparatory work for that future." (Emphasis Ours)

And finally Engels pointed out not only to the effect and impact of the ruling class' bribery on the English workers but to the only factors of change which were at all possible when he stated:

"The English proletariat is actually becoming more and more bourgeois, so that this most bourgeois of all nations is apparently aiming ultimately at the possession of a bourgeois aristocracy and a bourgeois proletariat alongside the bourgeoisie. For a nation which exploits the whole world this is of course to a certain extent justifiable. The only thing that would help here would be a few thoroughly bad years." (Emphasis Ours)

Does all of this criticism and realistic assessment of the British working class represent an act of "renegacy" on the part of Engels? That charge has been levelled against both Marx and Engels by petty-bourgeois professors and "revolutionaries." But sloganizing the so-called "love of the working class" by the petty-bourgeois opportunists can never be found in the classics of Marxism. Neither Marx, Engels nor Lenin ever failed to make a scientific assessment of the

(Continued on Page 6)

### The Founders Of Scientific Socialism



Karl Marx



Frederick Engels

(Continued from Page 5) working class at any particular period of history and they never deviated one iota from the social reality that such an assessment had to reflect.

However, this is but one side of the relentless struggle within the working class movement, the most important it is true, since it involves the pivotal factor of proletarian leadership in the proletarian revolution. But there is another side which is of extreme importance. And that involves the role of the petty-bourgeois element in the proletarian revolution, or what Lenin referred to as the "foreign element" in the workers' struggle. On this aspect of the perspective for the attainment and success of the world proletarian revolution we will quote from a reference by Karl Marx to the struggle against the infamous petty-bourgeois "Zurichers":

"I wrote direct to Hirsch (then in Paris, from where he has since been banished, for the second time) to accept the editorial post, stating that he alone afforded us the certainty that a mixture of doctors, students, and professional socialist rogues, such as strut about in the Zakanft, etc., and have already begun to penetrate the Vorwarts would be kept out, and the Party line would be adhered to strictly. These people, nonentities in theory and useless in practice, want to draw the teeth of socialism (which they have fixed up in accordance with the university recipes) and particularly of the Social-Democratic Party, to enlighten the workers or, as they put it, to imbue them with 'elements of education' from their confused half-knowledge, and above all to make the Party respectable in the eyes of the petty bourgeoisie. They are just wretched counter-revolutionary windbags."

Do you understand this, Mr. "R"? What remains of your "workers-students dictatorship of the proletariat" canard after the above?

In your letter of the 25th of August you insist that Karl Marx and Frederick Engels went through many periods of "serious studies." That is exactly what every single bourgeois "biographer" of Marx, including the "marxist-leninists" assert. By actual count there are, in the United States alone, five new "biographies" of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels and in every one of them there appears a caricature of those great proletarians dressed up in petty-bourgeois intellectual uniforms. But Mr. "R," if you want to know what Karl Marx's main historical role was listen then to an authentic biographer of Marx, to Frederick Engels:

"For Marx was above all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival."

In your leaflet you presented your political views which in content are as "marxist-leninist" as those of Brezhnev, Mao Tse-tung, Gus Hall, or any two-by-four ideologue of the S.W.P. But in

your letter of August 25th you become shy and timorous all of a sudden and refuse to defend your political convictions. And that is the reason you chose to throw ideological curves instead of coming to grips directly with our rebuttal of all of the issues that you "champion." We told you that "anti-fascism" is a political hoax. You said nothing about that. Instead you tested your case on what was stated in your "May 1st" leaflet to the effect that there is an "anti-fascist revolution in Portugal." What is Brezhnev's position on the "Portuguese revolution," on its "anti-fascist," "semi-proletarian" purported character? What is the opinion of every so-called "communist party" of the world including the CPUSA in regard to this "Portuguese revolution"? The same as yours. Exactly the same. But the question arises now—did those "m-l" big shots borrow the line from you or was it vice-versa?

You state that we deal with Stalin as an individual and that that certainly does not represent any class analysis. It takes gallons of opportunist petty-bourgeois gall to make that stupid statement. In the last issue of the Vanguard which we mailed to you (August-September, 1975) the following statement was made:

"It is crystal clear. Marxist tactics, as projected by Lenin, called for a policy of exacerbating the contradictions that inevitably and inexorably were driving the "advanced" capitalist states toward another inter-imperialist war. A war for the re-division of the world, i.e. for the hegemonic control of all the colonial and semi-colonial areas, with their inexhaustible sources of raw materials, cheap labor and super-profits. Such were the tactics that a consistent Marxist, Lenin, suggested in advance of the approaching Second Imperialist World War. But the Russian social-imperialists preferred to play it the "liberal way." And why? Because Stalin and Co. were no communists, no Marxists at all. Because the so-called "U.S.S.R." was no longer a socialist but an imperialist state, with a "socialist" facade. Socialism was defeated in Russia soon after Lenin had his first stroke in the autumn of 1921. And it was the "bolshhevik leaders," the Stalins, Trotzkys, Zinovievs, Kamenevs, Radeks, Bukharins, Lunacharskys, Mikoyans, Gorkis, Khrushchevs, Suslovs, etc. that did the counter-revolutionary dirty work for the Russian bourgeoisie."

Could "doing the counter-revolutionary dirty work for the Russian bourgeoisie" be interpreted as any subjective assessment of "arch-villain Joseph Stalin and Co."?

In the present issue of the Vanguard (October-November, 1975) it is stated:

"As far as the ideologists of the bourgeoisie are concerned classes and class interests are just rhetorical inventions of "dogmatists and sectarians." Hence, the "social scientists" explain the historical process as a series of unconnected accidents, involving "classless" individuals, who are depicted as "spokesmen and representatives of the whole of society." Those persons might be catalogued as "Republicans" or "Democrats"; "liberals" or "conservatives"; "fascists" or "communists"; "rich" or "poor"; "black," "white" or "red"; but

those individuals are never identified with any class, and most certainly, never related to any specific class interests.

So, Professor Charles L. Mee, the author of "Meeting at Potsdam," and the Wall Street Journal reviewer Edmund Fuller, discussed the actions of Harry S. Truman, Winston Churchill and Joseph Stalin without even a hint about the classes or the class interests that they served."

It is your petty-bourgeois breed of "m-ls" that analyzes everything from the premise of the subjective elements of the class struggle and that proceed from the Carlylian school of historiography. In other words, the "m-ls" take off from the premise of the "decisive role of the individual hero in history" which Marxism has refuted a million times. That is why you blab about "Browder the revisionist" and "William Z. Foster the zig-zagger." How about both of those gentlemen as petty-bourgeois tools (forget about the fable about Foster being a worker) of the Russo-American bourgeoisies' hegemonic policies? To make it concrete how about the "anti-fascism" of those characters? How about their role as "Dimitroviens," "Stalinists" and "Roosevelians" exponents of the theory of the Second Imperialist World War? How about their role as "defenders of the socialist fatherland"? How about their role as "fighters for the right of self-determination of the colonial peoples of the world"? How about their role as agitators for the "world revolution" which you yourselves parrot with such idiotic pride in your leaflet? Mr. "R," are you for the "world revolution" or for the world proletarian revolution? You know they are not the same even as slogans go. The first represents an ideologico-political excretion of the class collaborationist 7th World Congress of the C.I., and the second projects the historical task of a united world proletariat. You know what that means, Mr. "R"? It means that the "third world" bulcrap which includes the acceptance of the neo-colonial bourgeoisie and their venal petty-bourgeois servitors as "positive ingredients of history," will be absent, in fact, totally eliminated as a prerequisite for the success of the world proletarian revolution, since those forces constitute first line allies of the imperialist hegemony, namely, the United States and Russia and as such represent integral parts of the world counter-revolution.

You wonder how the October Revolution could be defeated "right under Lenin's nose." Wasn't the counter-revolution of 1848 and 1850 carried out "under Marx's and Engels' noses"? Wasn't the revolution of 1871, the Paris Commune, defeated not only "under Blanqui's nose" but also "under Marx's and Engels' respective noses"? Wasn't the counter-revolution of 1905 accomplished "right under Lenin's nose"?

What is so strange then about the October Revolution being reversed (defeated) "right under Lenin's nose"? Who is ascribing "decisive powers in history" to particular individuals? Is it us or is it the "marxist-leninists"?

You ask "why didn't you leave the CPUSA at the same time that the 'heroic anti-revisionists' of the 'New Committee for Publications,' the 'Paul Robeson Club,' the 'Maritime Committee for the Communist Party' and the 'Workers Freedom League' did"?

Since chronology is such an important factor in bourgeois historiography, we are not at all surprised that you posed this question. After all, you are writing "a serious study of the history of revisionism" and for this you need dates, not ideological or political content. But did it ever occur to you that we could shove this chronology gambit down your throat by asking why didn't your "heroes" leave the "CPUSA" at least when the C.P.A. was set up in 1947? However, for us that is not at all important, and that is why our answer will not lean on the "time" factor. Every so-called "anti-revisionist struggle" which sprouted soon after the publication of the notorious Duclos letter which appeared in Cahiers de Communisme in April, 1945, represented nothing but a struggle for power (struggle for pie) among the opportunist career seekers within the leadership of the "CPUSA." Naturally, those "movements" were as durable as the "principles" sustained by those venal, grubby elements. And that is the reason why they, as we stated earlier, "appeared and disappeared like so many shooting stars" which soon disintegrated in the torrid political atmosphere generated by the real class struggle.

And now we come, it seems, to the touchiest of subjects, "issues" if you prefer, that you raised. That subject to be absolutely frank, clear and unambiguous is the role of homosexuality in present society. For your own reasons you prefer to deal with this subject slant-wise so

to say. Let us read back to your own "polemical arguments" in regards to this "issue": "In the same issue [Vanguard, February-March, 1971] and in the same political report, it is stated that 'Our Party's collective is made up wholly and totally of normal proletarian males and females.' Then again, 'The women cadre in our Party are women in the full natural and social meaning of the term.' What is a 'normal' proletarian male or female? What is a fully 'natural and social' woman? These terms are wrought with bourgeois ideology, and no scientific Marxist would use these terms. Women do not have a 'natural' essence, and their socialization is determined by the class nature of society. If you do not understand this, you are in no way a scientific Marxist."

Before anything else Mr. "R" we understand how social production in the capitalist system has been socialized but your "socialization of women" only an "m-l" demagogue or a petty-bourgeois cretin could invent and then try to palm off as Marxist theory. The closest we ever came to this stupid formulation is contained in the so-called "Communist blanket" allegation made by an early vintage of anti-Marxist petty-bourgeois ideologists. But at least "those creators" of that ideological canard were referring to the relations of n.o.r.m.a.l. human beings, which obviously is not your case at all. For some subjective or/and ideological reason you refuse to distinguish between the abnormal and the normal on sex questions. But Mr. "R," Marxism is not a branch or extension of the A.M.A. which converted their "science" into politics by the simple device of passing a resolution to the effect that the homos did not represent (as was previously held "scientifically") a state of abnormality. To us it's absolutely clear why the A.M.A. chose this period of world history to declare the homos and the lesbians "normal." Since you found it so difficult to read back to us our own statement on this subject let us read it back to you in full, in toto: "Our Party's collective is made up wholly and totally of normal proletarian males and females."

In the matter of sex relations our Party collective is 100% heterosexual.

In fact, our Party collective is not any more tolerant of sex deviates than it is of renegades from the class struggle and the revolution.

There is a close social link and kinship between the two categories of social and political misfits mentioned above which becomes more evident from day to day.

To put it bluntly—in our Party there never was, there is not now, and there never will be room for faggots or lesbians.

Let that social scum go where they belong and where they are welcomed without reservations.

Let them go to the "Communist Party of the United States." Let them join the "Trotzkites" and the "new left" pseudo-revolutionaries.

Those "gay revolutionaries" participate in all activities of the "old and the new left." You see them in the "peace demonstrations"; you spot them in "civil rights demonstrations"; you even watch them on television raising their fists in "revolutionary" salute, shouting the slogan "Say it loud, gay is proud."

This element, like the rest of the (Continued on Page 7)

The Essence Of The "Anti-Fascist War"



Reprinted from The Vanguard, August-September, 1980

(Continued from Page 6)  
 lumpenproletariat scum of the middle class and petty bourgeoisie, is as "revolutionary" as the ruling class policy of "permissiveness" allows their display of public depravity.  
 No serious revolutionary movement will have anything to do with homos, lesbians, drug addicts or any other variant of what Frederick Engels referred to as "social crapula," or, which is the same—the depraved lumpenproletariat.

It seems to us that the question has already been explained and yet you feign "misunderstanding" and "confusion" and ask the question "What is a 'normal' proletarian male or female?" Answer—one that is not only endowed by nature with organs and hormones that permit them not only to display those organs but to use them for the purpose that nature created them for, procreation.

You may possess any number of college degrees, but on the question of Marxist theory you are on a par with a retarded mongoloid, and for that reason you will never understand what Frederick Engels meant when he advanced the proposition of sex love as dialectical proof of the unity of opposites in nature. What's more he made it quite explicit, that by sex love he meant only and only the relations between the male and the female, between normal man and normal woman. He was certainly not referring to the unnatural relations among fagsots or lesbians. Let us quote you some further scientific propositions projected by Engels on the same subject:

"But love! - yes, with Feuerbach love is everywhere and at all times the wonder-working god who should help to surmount all difficulties of practical life - and at that in a society which is split into classes with diametrically opposite interests. At this point the last relic of its revolutionary character disappears from his philosophy, leaving only the old cant: Love one another - fall into each other's arms regardless of distinctions of sex or estate—a universal orgy of reconciliation."

And so that there be no equivocation whatsoever in regards to Frederick Engels' position on homosexuality let us read to you another quote where he clearly made the differentiation between normal and abnormal sex relations, between moral and immoral sex love:

"Sex love in our sense of the term was so immaterial to that classical love poet of antiquity, old Anacreon, that even the sex of the beloved one was a matter of complete indifference to him.

"Our sex love differs materially from the simple sexual desire, the eros, of the ancients. First, it presupposes reciprocal love on the part of the loved one; in this respect the woman stands on a par with the man." (Emphasis Ours)

Now we'll contrast the Marxist with the petty-bourgeois "revolutionist" position on homosexuality. In 1863 Johann Baptiste von Schweitzer, a middle-class lawyer, joined Ferdinand Lassalle's "People's Party" and proceeded to write a "working class novel" entitled "Lucinde, or Capital and Labor." Schweitzer dedicated his "Proletarian opus magnum" to Ferdinand Lassalle. And what sort of person was this "celebrated Socialist" and "great labor leader" Lassalle? On many occasions

Frederick Engels exposed Lassalle as a venal con man and as a middle-class professional pimp. In a word, Ferdinand Lassalle didn't have a single principle or moral cell in his entire depraved petty-bourgeois carcass. But soon after the "dedication" of Schweitzer's "novel" - his (Schweitzer's) record as a rotten homosexual was uncovered. In 1862 he had spent time in jail for assaulting a boy in a Mannheim park. When the rank-and-file members of the "People's Party" began to protest against the presence of a homosexual in the ranks of the Party, and demanded his ouster, Ferdinand Lassalle wrote a letter to one of the protesters which read as follows:

"I am doing as you ask but will not conceal that the letter you wrote me at the insistence of a number of your members has caused me much displeasure. The abnormality attributed to Dr. von Schweitzer has nothing whatever to do with his political character. I need only remind you that however incomprehensible such unnatural tastes appear to us, the tendency of which Dr. von Schweitzer is accused was the general rule among the ancient Greeks, their statesmen and their philosophers. Ancient Greece saw nothing wrong in it, and I consider the Greek philosophers and the Greek people knew the meaning of morality. I could understand your not wishing Dr. von Schweitzer to marry your daughter. But why not think, work and struggle in his company? What has any department of political activity to do with sexual abnormality?"

Schweitzer was never expelled from the "People's Party." On the contrary, he was transferred to another city and promoted.

Note how clear is the contrast between Engels' and Lassalle's attitudes on homosexuality in general, and specifically, in regards to its manifestation in ancient Greece. The essence of these two disparaging positions are to be found not in abstract theories of morality, but in concrete and specific class positions. On this question, as on any other question in capitalist society there are two basic conceptions - the proletarian and the bourgeois.

Hence, the attitude of the "m-ls" towards homosexuality today obviously corresponds to that of Ferdinand Lassalle's and not to that of Marx, Engels or Lenin.

In the accompanying material which we are mailing to you we elucidate further our position on the question of homosexuality. We are not just against homosexuality because we are heterosexual, but

**A Great Man With Quotes On "Great" and On "Man"**



Galus Julius Caesar, the over-rated "general and statesman" and according to an ancient historian "husband to every woman and wife to every man." (AC-DC, eh?)

basically, because the politics and thence the ethics of the working class precludes any tolerance of that deadly social excretion.

We have written many articles exposing the American ruling class' massive propaganda, let loose in an attempt to institutionalize depravity of every kind, and in particular, to sanctify homosexuality. For years, the "media" has kept up a steady barrage of propaganda in support of "the rights of the homosexuals." In the New York Times of September 10, 1975 the apologia for homosexual depravity is wrapped in a convenient "anti-fascist" tinsel, in order to make it ideologically palatable. Following are excerpts from the "Times" article:

"In the concentration camps where the Jews were compelled to wear yellow stars, the homosexuals were forced to wear pink triangles, and were treated as the lowest of the low by the Nazis.

"Nearly a quarter of a million homosexuals were executed by the Nazis between 1937 and 1945, along with the six million Jews. Today, the moral revision against the holocaust remains strong, though perhaps not strong enough. Many know about the yellow star, but the pink triangle still lies buried as a virtual historical secret.

"Just as the Jews of Europe had to hide or perish, so many homosexuals today must hide in New York City to avoid the penalties of 'coming out' in the open: loss of job, harassment and abuse, even rejection by family and friends.

"Today, and every day until In-tro. 554 is passed, the pink triangle is being worn not only by homosexuals, but also by those who believe that the tolerance of good people is what permits bigotry to persist. The City Council, it is hoped, will get the message this time."

Observe that this paeon to homosexuality is converted into an extension of one of the crassest political hoaxes perpetrated by the "United Nations" gang of imperialists. We are referring to the "massacre of six million Jews by the Nazis." That political hoax was used during the Second Imperialist World War as a propaganda ploy to win over to the side of the "United Nations coalition" gang, the sympathy of the workers of the whole world. The same rationale was used during the post-war period as a smokescreen behind which the hegemonic drive of Russo-American imperialism was concealed. And today, in the period of the "Peace Millennium" it is still being used as a cover for the reactionary policies of the American-Russian-Chinese "Entente."

If the German bourgeoisie committed the crime imputed to them, that of massacring six million people, whether they be Jews, Slavs, French, or any other race or nationality, why is the German ruling class not only alive today but still in power despite the political histrionics staged at the so-called Nuremberg trials?

But let us not stray too far away from the subject we are discussing, homosexuality, and its role in history and in present society. According to the New York Times editors the Nazis "massacred the homosexuals" but the facts of history and social experience prove that the Nazi leadership was permeated with homosexuals and that homosexuality was a constant

practice amongst the "Nazi leaders" all the way from the Hitler-Goebbels-Rosenberg echelon of petty-bourgeois and middle-class leadership all the way down to the lowest rank of the commissioned officers in the army and in the S.A. In William L. Shirer's book *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, which he wrote in 1959, the elimination of Ernst Roehm and his faction from the Nazi party, in the so-called "June 30, 1934 blood purge" was described as follows:

"Karl Ernst, a former hotel bellhop and ex-bouncer in a cafe frequented by homosexuals, whom Roehm had made leader of the Berlin S.A., had alerted the storm troopers. Ernst, a handsome but not a bright young man, believed then and for the remaining twenty-four hours or so of his life that he was faced with a putch from the Right.

"At the moment of 2 A.M. on June 30 when Hitler, with Goebbels at his side, was taking off from Hangelar Airfield near Bonn, Captain Roehm and his S.A. lieutenants were peacefully slumbering in their beds at the Hansbauer Hotel at Wiessee on the shores of the Tegernsee. Edmund Heines, the S.A. Obergruppenfuhrer of Silesia, a convicted murderer, a notorious homosexual with a girlish face on the brawny body of piano mover, was in bed with a young man. So far did the S.A. chiefs seem from staging a revolt that Roehm had left his staff guards in Munich. There appeared to be plenty of carousing among the S.A. leaders.

"Shortly after dawn Hitler and his party sped out of Munich toward Wiessee in a long column of cars. They found Roehm and his friends still fast asleep in the Hansbauer Hotel. The awakening was rude. Heines and his young male companion were dragged out of bed, taken outside the hotel and summarily shot on the orders of Hitler."

Only an unregenerate demagogue, either "liberal" or "marxist-leninist" (they are essentially the same) could distort social reality and history in the manner that the New York Times did above. And this is the reason why all "liberals" and "marxist-leninists" agree that accepting homosexual depravity as "normal, moral and natural" represents a step forward in the unfolding process of human society and history. Mr. "R" you ask (with tongue in

**Der Fuehrer? Wrong. Der Flunky? Right!**



Adolph (the Paperhanger) Hitler, whom German finance-capital molded and used until he blew his petty-bourgeois, venal brains out.

cheek) what is "the natural essence of woman"? Did you ever hear about Karl Marx's agreement with William Petty's formulation that "in social production labor is the father and nature is the mother"?

Dialectical materialism is totally alien to you, and therefore, it doesn't ever enter your empty petty-bourgeois head that human society and its development is but a specific form of "matter in motion." Even the thinking process is as Engels put it "matter that thinks." While we are on this subject let us quote to you, two brief statements by Frederick Engels in regards to the infinitude of the process of "matter in motion":

"All nature, from the smallest thing to the biggest, from grains of sand to suns, from protista to man, has its existence in eternal coming into being and going out of being, in ceaseless flux, in unrelenting motion and change.

"Nothing is eternal but eternally changing, eternally moving matter and the laws according to which it moves and changes."

One of the A.W.C.P.'s most powerful assets is the fact that every one of its cadre is an active member of the working class—a surplus-value producing wage slave. This relationship to the means of production provides the cadre in this Party with tremendous social and political stability. And it is for this reason that the guardians of the American imperialist state, the middle-class and petty-bourgeois bureaucrats and cops in the justice and police departments, find it extremely difficult to make any other than a direct political case against our Party and its members. In other words charges of "moral turpitude" or "anti-social criminality" against us are almost a practical impossibility.

But on the other hand, the lumpenproletarian excretions of society, including the homosexuals and the rip-off artists are extremely vulnerable, morally and politically speaking. Even upper middle-class homos such as "diplomat and statesman" Sumner Welles, had to be fished out of the clink by "big Indian" Franklin Delano Roosevelt, his bureaucratic "chief," whenever Mr. (or is it Ms.?) Sumner Welles, was caught in any of the frequent homosexual bacchanals in which he participated.

The rationale that homosexuality is a "private affair between two consenting adults" is as fallacious as it is idiotic. Where is the "adulthood" of the 30,000 (actually an understatement) "estimated" teenage lumpen "sex partners" of the petty-bourgeois and middle-class homosexuals in New York City alone? The fact is that every city, every town and village in our country has its equivalent or ratio of juvenile perverts of all colors and races, who act, to quote the "media's" euphemistic term as "male prostitutes." Even in this term one can detect the depth of social demagoguery and social sophistry used by the "creators of American public opinion." Women prostitutes cater to men. Is that the case with this juvenile scum of the earth? We are not defending prostitution of any kind, but next to the social filth involved in acting as partners of the homosexuals, the real prostitutes, the so-called hookers, call-girls, etc. are as moral as the ancient Greek hetaira. To sum up, there is nothing more filthy than those gangs of young lumpen

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(Continued from Page 7) pervers, that is, outside of those who use them - the petty-bourgeois and middle-class homosexuals. In fact both types are homosexuals and pervers. The only difference that could be made is that one is the result of a natural-social aberration and the other one, is the child of a social-natural aberration. However, both represent nothing but specific expressions of the anti-social character of homosexuality, and as such should be socially quarantined.

The question arises now should any real Marxist agree to, or support in any way or form the ruling class' policy of "permissiveness" in regards to the homosexuals? Never! And least of all should they allow this morally filthy and politically vulnerable element to contaminate the ranks of the workers. And let us make it ab-

solutely clear right here and now, that our only concern is for the working class. All the propertied classes in the United States and elsewhere for that matter are already beyond salvation. Everyone of those social segments are morally and politically putrefied.

Some "straggling liberals" will argue that the homos are "innocent victims of one of nature's accidents" and that for that reason "they should not be condemned." We are not just calling for condemnation, we are calling for condemnation and quarantining of that social hazard in the same way as active tuberculars, typhoid carriers, lepers, polio myelitis cases, etc. are medically (socially) isolated. We are calling for condemnation and quarantining of those social elements for the same social reason that their "sex partners" the rip-off artists, the drug addicts, the mug-

gers, the pimps, the heist men, are quarantined (jailed) all over the world.

We may add that we didn't "invent" or "create" any of these approaches to the lumpenproletariat. We are still too backwards, theoretically and politically speaking, to be able even to discover what is so obvious in this society. It was Karl Marx and Frederick Engels who first uncovered the reactionary, nay counter-revolutionary social character of the lumpenproletariat.

Referring to the historical role of the "lazarus layers" (the lumpenproletariat) and pinpointing the revolutionary tactics of the proletariat in regard to that counter-revolutionary social excretion, Engels stated:

"The lumpenproletariat, this scum of the demoralized elements of all classes, which establishes its

headquarters in all the big cities, is the worst of all possible allies. This rabble is absolutely venal and absolutely brazen. If the French workers, in every revolution, inscribed on the houses: *Mort aux voleurs!* Death to the thieves! and even shot many, they did it, not out of enthusiasm for property, but because they rightly considered it necessary to keep that gang at distance. Every leader of the workers who uses these scoundrels as guards or bases himself on them, proves himself by this action alone a traitor to the movement."

Hence, the only thing that we are doing and that in opposition to every "marxist-leninist" opinion is to apply those Marxist teachings to the realities of the present-day class struggle.

In the last paragraph of your letter of August 25th you ask us to "be comradely" etc., etc. From

that paragraph we will single out the phrase "we would much rather pay this money to you rather than to bourgeois libraries."

In his *Poverty of Philosophy* Karl Marx remarked that the "petty-bourgeois cannot conceive any other man than bourgeois man," and you prove Marx's truism to the hilt. You are a petty trader and that is the reason why you assume that everybody is involved in "buying and/or selling." However, we are not interested in any kind of "deals." We don't belong to the breed of hucksters, you do.

Good-bye Mr. "R," and allow us to express our "true sentiments" towards you by putting those "feelings" in the characteristic way in which the Italian workers are wont to do: "Ma si non te vedo piu, felice morte!"

(The End)

## "Liberation" . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

connection with British capitalism close to a century ago, applies today to the entire capitalist system of production. Capitalism's inability to expand has brought world capitalism to the very shore of the Styx River of history. In fact, it has already gone through at least two of the seven turns of the Styx that historically obsolete system is driven to its inexorable ending in socio-historical "Hades."

In the early stages in the development of the capitalist system of production, in its infancy, it could be said, colonialism represented one of its primitive sources of accumulation. It is one of the ironies of history that colonialism today, or neo-colonialism, is to be more precise and exact, has become the last refuge of the "profit system" and the "money system." As we put it in the series of articles entitled "Third World" — Myth And Reality — "Finance capital, in fact the entire capitalist class, is now tapping its last frontier in regards to the world market. Beyond the neo-colonial markets there is nothing but oblivion and death for the capitalist system."

Of course, the armies of petty-bourgeois retainers of the bourgeoisie of the world keep up a constant chatter about the social solidity and historical permanency of bourgeois society. But, at the same time, they react to the ever-worsening social, economic and political conditions in every state, nation and region of the globe with undisguised apprehension and anxiety. This does not mean that they understand the intrinsic meaning and full portent of the present "world crisis." Such a degree of social comprehension is way beyond the grasp of all petty-bourgeois intellectuals.

For the longest time, the hordes of petty-bourgeois flunkys and sycophants have been trying to offer a "political" solution to a problem that originates at the economic base of society. Those intellectual "savants" who firmly believe that it is possible to "create and regulate" a social structure through the power of "pure reason" have been quite busy during the last decade propounding an assortment of "theories" purporting to act as a deterrent to the impending catastrophe. Among those apocryphal theories one finds such "theoretical" morsels as: (1) the "theory" that "the whole world

has developed a definite tendency towards political unification." This "theory" has been unofficially baptised as the "convergence theory." (2) the "theory" about "how technology and science have become a direct productive force"; (3) the "theory" of "the present tendency towards the international economic integration of society"; (4) the "theory" which holds that "colonialism has been totally eradicated from modern society"; (5) the "theory" that alleges that "it is so possible to prevent the outbreak of wars in capitalist society."

Now, we will proceed to relate each and every one of these "theories" to their original proponents or to their loudest intellectual hawkers. We shall begin with the so-called, convergence theory. In an article which appeared in the *Vanguard* of December, 1969-January, 1970 and entitled *Apollo Moon Shots — Imperialist "Peace" Broadside*, we dealt with the "convergence theory" as follows:

"So confident are the Russian 'm-ls' of the staying power of the counter-revolution that the same Peter L. Kapitza quoted before openly projected the possibility, nay, the necessity of 'merging the socialist and capitalist systems,' or in other words, interlocking more closely the class interests of the American, Russian and Chinese finance capitalists:

'Dr. Pyotr L. Kapitza, dean of Soviet physicists, aligned himself today with a little-known group of Soviet scientists who believe in the ultimate convergence of the Soviet and American systems.

At a news conference midway through his first visit to this country Dr. Kapitza endorsed the idea, championed in an essay by Dr. Andrei D. Sakharov, that only through such convergence can the two great powers avoid a fatal clash.

In this process, the Communist states would become increasingly democratic and the Western governments could continue their trend toward greater government planning and social benefits—that is, toward socialism.

The convergence idea rejects the classic Marxist view of ultimate economic collapse and revolution in the capitalist world. It was set forth at length in an essay circulated privately last year by Dr. Sakharov, one of the most brilliant Soviet physicists.

Dr. Kapitza [is] four times a winner of the Order of Lenin and a

member of the Presidium of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Dr. Sakharov realized that a scientific approach should help bring the two giants closer together, Dr. Kapitza said.

Concerning the convergence concept, he added:

'I believe such bringing of the two systems together, as Sakharov says, is correct,' (New York Times, October 9, 1969)." (*Vanguard*, December, 1969 - January, 1970)

So, according to the "convergence theory," the "capitalist world" and the "socialist world" are on the high road to eventuate a hybrid social system, half-capitalist and half-socialist. But the question arises, even it was possible to fuse the essence of those two basically antagonistic social systems, where is the socialist ingredient to be found in the present world? Most certainly not in Russia, not in China, not in the "Soviet bloc," in fact, nowhere in the world. The truth is that the United States, Russia and China, as bourgeois states, are as solidly united as it is possible for capitalist states to be. It is idiotic to suggest the hybridization of skunk-cabbage by crossing it with skunk-cabbage.

In the series of articles entitled "Third World" — Myth And Reality we examined the false and fraudulent content of "theories" #2, 3, 4 and 5 (see Pamphlet of the same title). "Theory" #2, as presented in those articles, read as follows:

"Every ideologist and apologist of the bourgeoisie (finance capital or plain national comprador), stresses "the need for co-operation among all nations of the world." However, those rationales for such "co-operation" vary depending on the political exigencies corresponding to the specific division of labor among the bourgeoisies of the world. But, on one particular rationale, the international breed of intellectual servants of the bourgeoisie speak out with one "united, loud voice" — "It is mainly the distribution and sharing of scientific and technological development that must act as the social alloy of that cooperation." Three cheers for abstract "science"! The modern bourgeoisie has always exhibited a "deep love" for this type of "science" — pseudo-science.

So deeply ingrained is this "concern for science" among the ideologists of American finance capital that they never fail to make a synthesis of their "humanism and philanthropism" with their un-

bounded faith in "science." And this ideological mush is daily being offered as the panacea for the "problems of the LDC nations."

Harold Geneen is the chairman and chief executive of what is known as the "wealthiest corporation in the whole world," International Telephone and Telegraph. Expressing the great confidence that the class interests that he serves (American finance capital) has in the "infallibility of science" as a social cure-all, he advances a typical suggestion for eliminating the apocalyptic state of hunger prevalent in each and every one of the neo-colonial nations as well as in some of the "advanced" nations:

"Currently, one-third of the world's population suffers from malnutrition, and hundreds of thousands are starving to death.

That is an intolerable specter for humanity, and there must be effective action to avoid it.

But with the proper action, it can emerge from the technology and production know-how of American industry.

For example, one scientific estimate envisions a one-mile square structure in which yeast-like, protein-rich, single-cell microorganisms grow at a rate that would supply all the world's protein needs continuously. Such a dramatic prospect could supplement conventional harvests and largely neutralize the effects of natural catastrophe upon our food supplies.

Single-cell microorganisms are attractive as a food source because they double their weight every few hours — an accomplishment that takes months and great quantities of grain with meat-producing animals.

Since the microorganisms are potentially producers of fats and carbohydrates as well as protein, this approach to food production, if carried to practicality, could bring about a nutritional revolution as significant as the Industrial Revolution.

Scientists already are studying the growth of single-cell protein in tree sugar byproducts and other nutritive media, but the technology is in its infancy and has not enjoyed adequate priority or financial support.

Now, America, by bringing its technological and industrial strength to bear, has the opportunity to lead the world into a new age of nutrition.

This nation, in the previous decade, landed men on the moon

and returned them safely, demonstrating that we have the capacity to fulfill a national goal of extraordinary difficulty. The global food situation today is a new challenge for a new time — and is worthy of a commitment on a scale comparable to that which made the Project Apollo lunar-landing possible.

An effort to eliminate the world's hunger pangs would require extensive thought and analysis by the best minds and in situations in the fields of nutrition and food production. However, as a start, such a program might be patterned along the lines of Project Apollo.

A prime objective should be the capacity to transfer the necessary apparatus and technical processes to any nation anywhere on the globe to enable it to produce its own basic food supply.

The urgency of the world food situation is clear and a failure to act could produce long-term consequences even beyond human suffering. Indeed, the final goals of an undertaking along the lines I have suggested are a more stable peace and enlarged human understanding." (New York Times, June 16, 1975)

And the ideologists of Russian finance capital are no less enamoured of abstract "science" than their American, British, or French counterparts. In V. Afanasyev's book *Marxist Philosophy* the same supra-class conception of science was projected when the Russian "m-l" stated:

"Science plays a great part in laying the material and technical basis of communism. As communist construction advances the latest achievements of science will be applied on an increasingly wide scale. This will result in the organic fusion of science with production, and science will become a direct productive force. The fusion of science with production will be a major factor in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

In the process of building communism, alongside the development of the instruments and means of production, people, the main productive force of society, will also change. The development and improvement of the means of production necessarily presuppose people capable of furthering technical progress and keeping in step with it, people who do not lag behind the higher demands made on them by more complex technology. These people — workers, technicians,

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 engineers and scientists called upon to set in motion the technology of communism, to breathe life into — are brought up in the process of building the material and technical basis of communism." (V. Afanasyev, Marxist Philosophy, emphasis ours)

This "scientific road to communist construction," logically, eliminates the need for class struggle and the social revolution. According to the Russian "m-ls" all that is needed is to accumulate the elements of "science" and technology, and ipso-facto the task of "building a communist society" will evolve automatically and spontaneously.

But all this "scientific" blarney is of very old ideological vintage. In fact, the so-called "technocrats" in the U.S.A., Britain, France and other "developed nations" advance the very same "scientific principles" as a means of avoiding the impact of the contradictions inherent in the capitalist system of production.

And if the "learned m-ls of the Soviet Academy of Sciences" will allow us to pose a theoretical question, please answer the following; if "science will become a direct productive force," how come science (as distinct from pseudo-science) has existed for centuries as an element in the development of the productive forces without ever becoming "an independent social force"?

Gentlemen, you don't fool us, you are not arguing for science under "communist society." What you are arguing for is pseudo-science today. The "science" that is daily being suggested as a social panacea for the "ills of the present world." But isn't this the same theoretical baloney being dished out by all the ideologists and apologists of American finance capital in relation to "solving the problems" of the "LDC nations" of the world? Or to bring the problem closer to home, does your concern for "science" explain why you are importing thousands of American patents every year? Messrs. the Russian "m-ls," we got your number. For us, you are made out of political cellophane, you are acting in exactly the same manner that every group of intellectual ideologists and apologists of capitalism are acting today. Your concern for "science" is but an ideological figleaf for the Russian ruling class' drive for profit.

Obviously, from the standpoint of orthodox Marxism, "socialist Russia" is as close to "building communism" as "democratic America."

The role of science in history and particularly in the history of the bourgeois social system shows that right from the initial stages of development of the feudal system of production, the middle classes of Europe (the rising bourgeoisie) had to conduct a struggle for the development of science as a component part of its revolutionary struggle for its class power.

It was during that extremely revolutionary period in the history of mankind that some of the greatest discoveries and advances in science were made. Mathematics, physics, astronomy, medicine, engineering, etc. received tremendous scientific impetus during that same period. That was the epoch of the giants of literature, the arts and the sciences. Those were the halcyon days of the great scientists of

the stature of da Vinci, Copernicus, Galileo, Servetus, Bruno, etc.

Every positive thrust forward in the development of the productive forces within the capitalist system has been attended by a parallel revolution in science. Thus the transition from handicrafts to manufacture and thence to the industrial revolution in England, had real scientific development as its historical midwife. Thus the discovery of the power loom, the steam engine, electricity, wire and wireless communications, the discovery of coal, oil and other forms of industrial energy represented scientific foundations conditioning and propitiating the further development of the productive forces. And yet to conceive science as an "independent productive force" is not only unscientific and unhistorical but downright counter-revolutionary.

**A Real Scientist**



Galileo Galilei (1564-1642) Italian astronomer and physicist, developed further the Copernican theory of heliocentrism, thereby "expelling god from the physical universe."

Neither Marx, Engels nor Lenin ever conceived science as an "independent force," under any type of prevailing social system. And why? Because such a conception would convert science into an "objective law" of social development. An "independent" science, or what is the name for the present period of history, a supra-class conception of science can only be the creature of bourgeois "scientists" such as the "m-ls" are." (Vanguard, June-July, 1977)

"Theory" #3 is but an extension and development of "theory" #2. Following we present relevant excerpts from the series of articles mentioned above:

"In the first article of this series we quoted from "academician" V. Afanasyev's "Marxist Philosophy" where the "m-l" professor peddled this particular type of class collaborationist poison.

Expanding upon this unscientific conception of science another Russian "m-l" professor, Yuri Shishkov, in his pamphlet "Two Systems of Economic Integration" stated the following:

"Economic integration is a comparatively new phenomenon, and it has not yet been studied very fully. There are still no generally established principles on certain aspects as to this process, which is still unfolding. Economists and journalists have applied the phrase to many different things, from company mergers, or the socialization of production in a single country to a merging of the economies of two or more countries.

Marxists treat integration as a specific form of internationalization of the economic life of two or more countries in line with the present level of the productive forces and material and technical socialization of production....

This world trend towards economic union, involving countries with all sorts of social and

political systems, indicates that integration is a natural phenomenon, a historical imperative of our time.

Economic integration is the result of the international division of labour or, more precisely, of specialization and co-operation by which "many separate production processes" are as Lenin said, "merged into one social production process, a process which goes beyond national boundaries...."

International scientific and technical co-operation is also very much part of this system. Science has grown into a direct productive force; research and development are vital necessity for every country and every major enterprise....

The changes in the character of the international division of labour, the new stage reached by scientific and technical cooperation among different countries, and also the development of giant international corporations in the capitalist world, mark the beginning of a qualitatively new stage in international economic life, in which there are stable production and scientific, technical and financial links between different countries, leading to structural changes in the international division of labour...." (Yuri Shishkov, Two Systems of Economic Integration)

All of this "scientific" junk and political sophistry is representative or prototypical, in the most profound way of the theory and practice of each and every state in the so-called "socialist world." And, of course, the same "theoretical" garbage is parroted by the "m-ls" of all the "communist" parties of the world.

After examining the theoreticopolitical content of professor Shishkov's "theories on the laws of motion of modern capitalism," it becomes crystal clear that there isn't even an iota of genuine Marxist theory (orthodox Marxism) left in the ranks of the "m-ls."

The "theory" of so-called "economic integration" is but an ideologico-political invention needed as a rationale for the stepped-up exploitation of the masses of the neo-colonial workers throughout the world. Hence, "economic integration" acts as a "theoretical" fig leaf for what constitutes the main characteristic and feature of the present world — colonial exploitation via a truncated form of industrialization.

This new division of labor on a world scale is a fact but the "m-l

theoreticians" conveniently forget the fact that it is taking place within the bounds of the capitalist system of production and therefore ignore what is the most basic factor of those relations — the inevitable factor of exploitation." (Vanguard, August-September, 1977)

Keeping in mind the quote from Marx's Capital with which we opened this article, we will continue to turn the full glare of orthodox Marxist science on the spurious "theory" of "economic integration." From the same source that we quoted earlier on "theories" #2 and 3, we have selected the following extended portions, which specifically deal with the substance of "theories" #4 and #5:

"In Socialism: Utopian and Scientific Engels analyzed the fundamental factors of the crisis of overproduction, the essential form of the economic crisis in capitalist society:

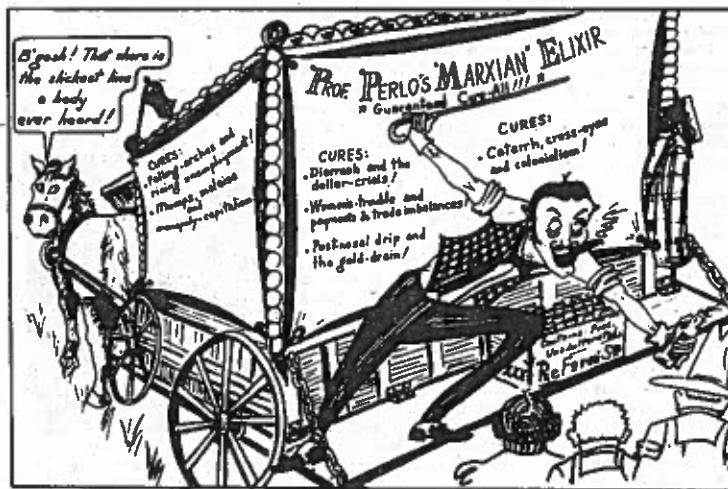
"The capitalistic mode of production moves in these two forms of the antagonism immanent to it from its very origin. It is never able to get out of that 'vicious circle' which Fourier had already discovered. What Fourier could not, indeed, see in his time is that this circle is gradually narrowing; that the movement becomes more and more spiral, and must come to an end, like the movement of the planets, by collision with the centre. It is the compelling force of anarchy in the production of society at large that more and more completely turns the great majority of men into proletarians; and it is the masses of the proletariat again who will finally put an end to anarchy in production. It is the compelling force of anarchy in social production that turns the limitless perfectibility of machinery under modern industry into a compulsory law by which every individual industrial capitalist must perfect his machinery more and more, under penalty of ruin.

But the perfecting of machinery is making human labour superfluous. If the introduction and increase of machinery means the displacement of millions of manual by a few machine-workers, improvement in machinery means the displacement of more and more of the machine-workers themselves. It means, in the last instance, the production of a number of available wage workers in excess of the average needs of capital, the

formation of a complete industrial reserve army, as I called it in 1845, available at the times when industry is working at high pressure, to be cast out upon the street when the inevitable crash comes, a constant dead weight upon the limbs of the working-class in its struggle for existence with capital, a regulator for the keeping of wages down to the low level that suits the interests of capital. Thus it comes about, to quote Marx, that machinery becomes the most powerful weapon in the war of capital against the working class; that the instruments of labour constantly tear the means of subsistence out of the hands of the labourer; that the very product of the worker is turned into an instrument for his subjugation. Thus it comes about that the economising of the instruments of labour becomes at the same time, from the outset, the most reckless waste of labour-power, and robbery based upon the normal conditions under which labour functions; that machinery, 'the most powerful instrument for shortening labour time, becomes the most unfailing means for placing every moment of the labourer's time and that of his family at the disposal of the capitalist for the purpose of expanding the value of his capital.' Thus it comes about that the overwork of some becomes the preliminary condition for the idleness of others, and that modern industry, which hunts after new consumers over the whole world, forces the consumption of the masses at home to a starvation minimum, and in doing thus destroys its own home market. The law that always equilibrates the relative surplus-population, or industrial reserve army, to the extent and energy of accumulation, this law rivets the labourer to capital more firmly than the wedges of Vulcan did Prometheus to the rock. It establishes an accumulation of misery, corresponding with accumulation of capital. Accumulation of wealth at one pole is, therefore, at the same time accumulation of misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation, at the opposite pole, i.e., on the side of the class that produces its own product in the form of capital." (Marx's 'Capital.') And to expect any other division of the products from the capitalistic mode of production is the same as expecting the electrodes of a battery not to decompose

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**Modern Cagliostros With "Marxist-Leninist" Shingles**



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accumulated water, not to liberate oxygen at the positive, hydrogen at the negative pole, so long as they are connected with the battery.

We have seen that the ever-increasing perfectibility of modern machinery is, by the anarchy of social production, turned into a compulsory law that forces the individual industrial capitalist always to improve his machinery, always to increase its productive force. The bare possibility of extending the field of production is transformed for him into a similar compulsory law. The enormous expansive force of modern industry, compared with which that of gases is mere child's play, appear to us now as necessity for expansion, both qualitative and quantitative, that laughs at all resistance. Such resistance is offered by consumption, by sales, by the markets for the products of modern industry. But the capacity for extension, extensive and intensive, of markets is primarily governed by quite different laws that work much less energetically. The extension of the markets cannot keep pace with the extension of production. The collision becomes inevitable, and as this cannot produce any real solution so long as it does not break in pieces the capitalist mode of production, the collisions become periodic. Capitalist production has begotten another 'vicious circle.' (Frederick Engels, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific)

After assimilating fully and profoundly the theoretical projections of Marx and Engels just quoted above the question arises — How Marxist is the "theory of economic integration" propounded by the "m-ls"?

And further — What is there in common between professor Shishkov's casual suggestion of "leading to structural changes" and Engels' trenchant assertion: "The collision becomes inevitable, and as this cannot produce any real solution so long as it does not break in pieces the capitalist mode of production, the collisions become periodic. Capitalist production has begotten another 'vicious circle.'"

The two Russian professors previously quoted projected the "theory of economic integration" as the basic foundation of what they insist is a general trend in modern society, the so-called "present tendency towards the unity of all mankind." However, all of this quasi-Christian exultations are expressive of a real process taking place in modern society. That process is nothing more nor less than the normal development of capitalist accumulation on a global scale. Hence, what is being "integrated" is world capitalism. And this "integration" is taking place in the only way that such a socio-historical phenomenon could occur — through the further concentration and centralization of capital and production at the economic base and through the unity of the world bourgeoisies in the social superstructure.

Concretely and specifically speaking, this means that the temporary stabilization of world capitalism has been attained through the cohesive and united effort of the entire bourgeoisies of the world. However, this "victory" of capitalism represents the gravest historical hazard for the capitalist system of production. And why? Simply because finance capital, in fact the entire capitalist

class, is now tapping its last frontier in regards to the world market. Beyond the neo-colonial markets there is nothing but oblivion and death for the capitalist system.

But, as we stated above professors Afanasyev and Shishkov limited their projection of "integration" to the economic aspects of the question. However, another Russian "m-l," Spartak Beglov, applied the same concept to the superstructural areas of "national liberation" and "world peace." Following we present brief excerpts from Beglov's pamphlet *International Relations in Nuclear Age*:

"Our age has changed the life of whole nations. Fifty years ago a handful of 'master'-states were free to domineer over hundreds of subjugated nations. Colonies covered almost the entire political map of the world. Only five Afro-Asian countries could be regarded as sovereign states. Today 60 independent nations of Africa and Asia are represented in the United Nations. This is a veritable revolution in the life of mankind!

Many developing countries which have recently thrown off the shackles of colonialism are also taking the road of socialist transformations....

There is much more that unites people than disunites them. This is an old truth but sometimes it is discovered again and again in relation to various phenomena. Those who stand for peace need unity, for otherwise the advocates of class prejudices and privileges will find numerous gaps to split the peace movement.

Ruling out war as a means of resolving contradictions between the two social systems is vital, above all, for those who create, with their hands and brain, the material and spiritual foundations of civilization, i.e., for the majority of mankind.

It is for the sake of the common man that the great struggle between the new and the old is being waged.

Every man cherishes the ideals of peace and progress, and therefore there is no doubt that the cooperation and good will of hundreds of millions of people will be able to withstand all threats to use the split atom to harm man." (Spartak Beglov, *International Relations in Nuclear Age*)

Russian finance capital, through its petty-bourgeois and middle-class ideologues has spelled out the "common tasks of the Entente coalition" in the epoch of the "Peace Millennium."

Meanwhile, the ideologists of American finance capital advance an identical brand of rationales in regards to the "need for the family of nations to close ranks, for the common good." Obviously, this is a rallying call for the world capitalist class and not to any so-called "family of nations."

In April, 1975, the then "president" of the U.S.A. dealt with the "Peace Millennium's" task of achieving "world-wide integration and cooperation" as follows:

"The leadership of the United States of America, since the end of World War II, has sustained and advanced the security, well-being and freedom of millions of human beings besides ourselves. Despite some setbacks, despite some mistakes, the United States has made peace a real prospect for us and for all nations. I know first hand that the Congress has been a partner in the development and in the support of American foreign

policy which five Presidents before me have carried forward, with changes of course but not of destination.

The course which our country chooses in the world today has never been of greater significance — for ourselves as a nation and for all mankind.

We build from a solid foundation. Our alliances with great industrial democracies in Europe, North America and Japan remain strong, with a greater degree of consultation and equity than ever before.

With the Soviet Union we have moved across a broad front toward a more stable, if still competitive relationship. We have begun to control the spiral of strategic nuclear armaments. After two decades of mutual estrangement we have achieved a historic opening with the People's Republic of China....

The issues I have discussed are the most pressing of the traditional agenda on foreign policy. But ahead of us also is a vast new agenda of issues in an interdependent world. The United States — with its economic power, its technology, its zest for new horizons — is the acknowledged world leader in dealing with many of these challenges. If this is a moment of uncertainty in the world, it is even more a moment of rare opportunity:

We are summoned to meet one of man's most basic challenges — hunger. At the World Food Conferences last November in Rome, the United States outlined a comprehensive program to close the ominous gap between population growth and food production over the long term. Our technological skill and our enormous productive capacity are crucial to accomplishing this task.

The old order — in trade, finance and raw materials — is changing, and American leadership is needed in the creation of new institutions and practices for worldwide prosperity and progress.

The world's oceans, with their immense resources and strategic importance, must become areas of co-operation rather than conflict. American policy is directed to that end.

Technology must be harnessed to the service of mankind while protecting the environment. This, too, is an arena for American leadership....

History is testing us today. We cannot afford indecision, disunity or disarray in the conduct of our foreign affairs.

You and I can resolve here and now that this nation shall move ahead with wisdom, with assurance and with national unity. The world

looks to us for the vigor and for the vision that we have demonstrated so often in the past in great moments of our national history.

And, as I look down the road, I see a confident America, secure in its strength, secure in its values — and determined to maintain both. I see a conciliatory America, extending its hand to allies and adversaries alike, forming bonds of co-operation to deal with the vast problems facing us all. I see a passionate America, its heart reaching out to orphans, to refugees and to our fellow human beings afflicted by war, by tyranny and by hunger.' (Gerald Ford's Address before Congress, April 10, 1975)

Neither Leonid Brezhnev nor Mao Tse-tung (before he croaked, of course) could have done a better job of imperialist demagoguery than "president" Ford did above.

Note the identity on the "peace" issue between Russian and American ideologues. Check out the political similarity between the Russian "m-ls" quest for "needed structural changes" and the American spokesman's remark: "The old order — in trade, finance and raw materials — is changing."

Jerry Ford's address to a joint session of Congress quoted above, took place in April, 1975. Three years earlier, the chairman of TRW, Inc., Mr. Simon Ramo, made a speech at the "White House Conference on the Industrial World Ahead." Logically, that "conference" was under the auspices and supervision of the then president of the U.S. and now "infamous and notorious" Richard Milhous Nixon. Mr. Ramo's speech had a "futuristic" ring and yet it also contained flashes of social realism regardless of its distorted projection. Said Mr. Ramo:

"The world between now and 1990 will have its fill of technology and resources issues — problems, opportunities, breakthroughs, controversies — a widening gap between developed and underdeveloped nations in consumption of increasingly scarce materials, growing pollution, failure to adjust to rapid technological change. And alongside these negatives, the promise of vastly improved communication and transportation, plentiful energy by nuclear techniques and fresh water by desalting the seas, weather control, new means for tapping the earth's hidden resources, and even, perhaps, control of aging.

So for useful anticipation we are forced to consider the interface of technology with society. Let us look to 1990 through specific examples. First however, let us disclose what these examples will suggest:

1. For real progress a systems approach will be needed, emphasizing interactions amongst numerous technological and social-economic parameters.

2. Great economic and social return will result from intelligent investment in advanced technology with increased productivity alone compensation for the cost.

3. Insistent public demand to solve 'social-engineering' problems — urban development, pollution control, improved health care, poverty elimination — will exert a powerful effect on the allocations of resources.

4. Our hybrid economy, part free enterprise and part governmentally controlled, will constitute a virtual Social-Industrial Complex by 1990, this developing government-

business teaming greatly influenced by technology.

5. From today's apparent surplus of engineers and scientists will emerge a severe shortage with a need particularly for interdisciplinary 'socio-technologists.'

As a first example, consider the new technology many see as the most important of all because it amounts to the creation of synthetic electronic brain power. Since information makes the world go 'round, this development will impact on every activity of man. Applied to business and industry, fact and powerful man-machine information systems will enable managers to operate closer to total awareness and control, with optimum scheduling and on-line measurement of labor, materials, cash flow and product distribution. A logical step by 1990 is interconnection of information flow among industrial entities whose harmoniously interlocked operations will respond to market actions in real time with payment for services and materials flowing electronically....

By 1990 we may have created new patterns for government-industry-science cooperation, the Social-Industrial Complex. We may have abandoned the new idea that to articulate goals and objectives and study alternative plans is to embark on a one-way road to a complete state-control of the economy and the life pattern. Instead we may see that to have freedom will require planning for it.' (Wall Street Journal, February 16, 1972)

Mr. Ramo was not really foretelling the future. He was not really talking about the America of 1990. He was actually describing not only the America of 1972 but Britain, Russia, China, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Japan, Norway and the rest of the so-called "industrialized" states of the world. The only futuristic vision that he was suggesting was the economic development of nation-states such as India, Egypt, Venezuela, Mexico, Brazil, Indonesia, Korea, Vietnam, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Nigeria, Tanzania, and indeed, each and everyone of the so-called "LDC" nations.

Mr. Ramo was not adding one single syllable (nor could anyone else, for that matter) to the scientific explanation of the inevitable course that capitalist society must take in its transition towards a new system of production.

In an article entitled "Capitalism Dying? No Doubt! But How?" which appeared in the *Vanguard* of December, 1976-January, 1977, we quoted from orthodox Marxism's theoretical projection of the economic laws that govern the socio-historical motion of the capitalist system of production.

We will, regardless of how tedious it may sound to the intellectuals and their parroting dilettanti, quote once more, at least, excerpts from those genuinely scientific propositions written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels:

"In another brilliant display of his great mastery of the dialectical method of analysis, Karl Marx traced the two basic forms of capitalist accumulation (the concentration and centralization of production and capital) to its ultimate stage of development. This nodal leap in capitalist production was formulated by Marx as follows:

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### Gerald The 38th



The "graceful" Michigander who led America "down the garden path" as Tricky Dick's appointee.

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"In stock companies the function is divorced from capital ownership, hence also labour is entirely divorced from ownership of means of production and surplus-labour. This result of the ultimate development of capitalist production is a necessary transitional phase towards the reconversion of capital into the property of producers, although no longer as the private property of the individual producers, but rather as the property of associated producers, as outright social property. On the other hand, the stock company is a transition toward the conversion of all functions in the reproduction process which still remain linked with capitalist property into mere functions of associated producers, into social functions.

Before we go any further, there is still the following economically important fact to be noted: Since profit here assumes the pure form of interest, undertakings of this sort are still possible if they yield bare interest, and this is one of the causes, stemming from the fall of the general rate of profit, since such undertakings, in which the ratio of constant capital to the variable is so enormous, do not necessarily enter into the equalization of the general rate of profit.

This is the abolition of the capitalist mode of production within the capitalist mode of production itself, and hence a self-dissolving contradiction, which *prima facie* represents a mere phase of transition to a new form of production. It manifests itself as such a contradiction in its effects. It establishes a monopoly in certain spheres, and thereby, requires state interference. It reproduces a new financial aristocracy, a new variety of parasites in the shape of promoters, speculators and simply nominal directors; a whole system of swindling and cheating by means of corporation promotion, stock issuance, and stock speculation. It is private production without the control of private property." (Karl Marx, Capital, Vol. III)

Here we have a really scientific explanation of social evolution, where the material forces of society and not the "will of men" determine social motion." (Vanguard, August-September, 1977)

For anyone who is acquainted with the *modus operandi*, that is, with the theory and practice of the "marxist-leninist" ideologues, it becomes crystal clear that, to paraphrase a popular saying, "When you have read or heard one of them, you have read or heard all of them." In order to substantiate this assertion, we suggest that the reader compare Spartak Beglov's "theoretical" vagaries with those of any other "m-l" ideologue anywhere in the world. For the moment, and in order to simplify the suggestion, permit us to offer an American "m-l" as the ideological guinea-pig.

In the July-August, 1977 issue of Political Affairs, "theoretical" organ of the so-called Communist Party of the United States, and in an article entitled "National Liberation: An 'October' Dream Fulfilled," its author, James Jackson, dealt precisely with "m-l" Beglov's thesis. Following we present excerpted portions of "m-l" Jackson's article:

"In a relatively short span of time, the modern liberation movement has scored a series of outstanding victories, stripping im-

perialism of most of its colonial possessions. Scores of independent states have been born of this struggle and the route to social advance has been opened to tens of millions of people.

"The sacrifice and heroism of the fighters for freedom and against injustice, the militant accomplishment of outstanding leaders from the ranks of the oppressed themselves, have the place of honor in these victories. The struggles for national liberation objectively are allied to the working-class forces of social emancipation internationally and the socialist state power bases of the world working class. The fight for freedom, social needs and democratic rights combines with the struggle for world peace. The success of the modern national liberation movement is testament to the universal power of the Marxist-Leninist imperative of proletarian internationalism as the lodestar to all scientific guidance to revolutionary practice.

"Standing tall in the small international brigade of pioneer fighters for a reborn Africa, freed of the shackles imposed by rapacious imperialists and colonizers, was the venerated Black American Communist, W.E.B. Du Bois. In the heritage of his writings he left an injunction to oppressed peoples to cherish and understand the miracle-seer that Russia's working class, under the scientific guidance of the Party of Marxism-Leninism, has rendered the workers of all lands and the peoples of the whole world by making their glorious 'October'!

"The builders of the new nation and new economy were neither angels nor devils," he wrote, "but striving people whom despite ages of injustice and oppression, despite the organized and united attacks of the chief civilized nations of the modern world, including the United States, suffered, toiled, and persisted until they built the workers' first socialist state. That some innocent persons suffered in this process was regrettable, but the total result was a glorious victory in the uplift of mankind."

"The national liberation struggle is itself a thrust toward an anti-imperialist, non-capitalist alternative socio-economic and political system.

"According to an article in the New York Times of May 12, 1977, by former U.S. Secretary of Commerce, Peter G. Peterson, there are about one billion people living in extreme poverty in the third world. One of two persons' nutritional intake is below acceptable standards. Sixty-two per cent of these people are illiterate. These billion people live in countries which collectively

invest only 3 per cent of their national income in agriculture. It is reckoned that a \$10 billion a year added investment in grain could end the starvation diet in 15 years.

"This year the world will spend \$300 billion—one twentieth of its gross product, on arms. A small part of this armament waste could properly feed the 500 million undernourished people of the world. The energies and creative potential of 20 million men are consumed daily by the world's military establishments. This human labor waste could rehouse the ill-housed third of humankind in a decade.

"National liberation of peoples, freedom and social progress require peace, and the struggle for peace and disarmament strengthens and reinforces the total cause of humanity's advancement." (Political Affairs, July-August, 1977)

Isn't it true that Mr. James Jackson's treatment of such "m-l" theoretical constants" as "peaceful coexistence," "the struggle for peace," "the revolutionary road of the national liberation struggle in present history," etc., is nothing but a tedious rehash of Beglov's "revolutionary" nonsense? It is.

But what neither Beglov, Jackson, nor any other petty-bourgeois flunky of the capitalist class, "liberal," "socialist" or "marxist-leninist" can do is to contain the onrushing tide of events that totally refute those patently false and spurious "theories." Nor do those events signify the occurrence of a series of fortuitous or transient social phenomena. No, indeed. The intrinsic significance of those events is to be found in the forceful, undistainable way in which the immanent laws of motion of social development and history are daily, hourly pushing the capitalist system of production out of the stage of history, and thereby conditioning the birth of the only social system that can and will succeed the historically obsolescent and socially retardatory capitalist system of production — the Socialist System of Production.

Of course, no petty-bourgeois "liberal," "socialist" or "marxist-leninist" will ever agree with this orthodox Marxist conception of history, instead they advance such evolutionary panaceas as the ones mouthed by Messrs. H. Geneen, G. Ford, S. Ramo, V. Afanasyev, Y. Shishkov, S. Beglov and J. Jackson, quoted earlier in this article. But regardless of how many "evolutionary theories" the petty-bourgeois intellectuals will muster, the fact remains that in nature and in human society the "old" and the "new" cannot be fused together. Only the elimination of the "old" and the development of the "new"

really signifies social advance and historical progress. This, too, of course, will be rejected by one and all petty-bourgeois sycophants of the bourgeoisie, but the fact remains, as orthodox Marxist science posits, that it is the immanent laws of social development that constitute the dynamism of history, and not the "ideas" or the "will" of men. This does not mean that men, and particularly classes, will not fight to preserve or to destroy the social system that operates at a given stage of history. The very nature of class society presupposes that form of social struggle. That is precisely what revolution and counter-revolution is all about.

It is precisely because the forward motion of the productive forces in human society creates insoluble contradictions between the mode of production and the relations of production (class relations) that a "life and death struggle" erupts in the social superstructure. This struggle took place in ancient times (Rome) between, on the one hand, the land- and slave-owning patrician class, and the masses of exploited slaves and oppressed peoples, on the other hand. History, represented by the developing productive forces, did not take into account "the ideas" or "the will" of the patrician class, it just proceeded to obliterate the patriarchal slave system of production and to supplant it with the feudal social system, which at that time represented a social advance and a historical forward thrust.

Centuries later, the feudal system of production itself developed the basic contradictions that inevitably compel society to adopt a new system of production. The middle classes of the medieval epoch of history represented the early sprouts of the capitalist class. They were a most positive and even heroic social force during that period of history. They fought with valor and tenacity for everything that was revolutionary and progressive in the areas of politics, science, the arts, etc. But that is not what the modern bourgeoisie (big or petty) represents now. Today, the big bourgeoisie represents, in the words of Lenin, "reaction all along the line," and the petty bourgeoisie and the middle class stand, in our formulation, as "the political Praetorian Guard of the bourgeoisie."

On many occasions we have said that, while the bourgeoisie and its hordes of petty-bourgeois retainers do not understand or could not understand the basic meaning of the "world crisis," nevertheless they are worried sick over the present "world crisis." Sometimes they chatter excitedly about some mythical "symptoms of recovery" and some other times they sink into a mood of profound depression and anxiety. And at all times they can be observed hurriedly scurrying all over the face of the earth vainly trying to allay in others the same fears that torture their own venal souls. Invariably, in their travels they bring with them "another message of hope," another "plan for reversing the ever-worsening economic and political situation which has surfaced in the past few years." And of course, the "revolutionary socialists" and the "marxist-leninists" are doing yeoman service for the bourgeoisie in this respect. At the beginning of February of this year, that German Social-Democratic work-horse, Willy Brandt, headed a group of in-

ternational flunkys of the capitalist class charged with the task of inventing a few more panaceas that would quiet down the rising concern of the producing classes, and particularly that the workers, of Europe, Asia, North, Central and South America, Africa and Australia. The Times of February 10, 1983 carried a special report from Bonn, West Germany, where Willy Brandt's "Independent Commission on International Development Issues" has its headquarters. The New York Times' dispatch read in part:

"An international commission led by Willy Brandt, former Chancellor of West Germany, today called upon world governments to take emergency measures in 'a new spirit of solidarity' to avert an economic collapse that it said could bring global political anarchy.

"The summons, issued by the Independent Commission on International Development Issues, accompanied a new report listing steps that it said should be taken to check a slide toward 'a depression comparable only to the crisis of half a century ago.'

"Deteriorating economic conditions already threaten the political stability of developing countries," said Mr. Brandt, now chairman of West Germany's Social Democratic Party. "Further decline is likely to cause the disintegration of societies and create conditions of anarchy in many parts of the world."

"Besides Mr. Brandt, the 18-member panel includes former Prime Minister Edward Heath of Britain, Prime Minister Olaf Palme of Sweden and other current or former government officials.

"The position of the group — a call for a huge transfusion of aid and other support for developing countries of the third world — goes beyond what the conservative governments of the United States and Britain generally consider wise and feasible.

"Rather, the report, like the commission's first in 1980, largely reflects demands that the third world has made in its search for global negotiations.

"Today, in an open letter to the leaders of world governments, the commission said that its 1980 report, which was widely publicized, had anticipated many of the developments that have aggravated the global economic climate but that its recommendations had largely gone unheeded.

"Matters have got worse," the letter said. "North and South, industrialized and developing economies alike, rich and poor countries now face immense and, in some cases, critical dangers as the world economy continues its slide into depression."

"Prospects for the future are alarming," Mr. Brandt warned in a foreword to the report. "Increased global uncertainties have reduced expectations of growth even more, and the problem of managing the international imbalances of payments is increasing the threat of grave crises in international finance. We have serious doubts as to whether the existing world machinery can cope with these imbalances and the management of world liquidity and debt." (New York Times, February 10, 1983)

A few days later another Social-Democratic stalwart, Francois Mitterand, summoned "the world's elite of letters and the arts" to a

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### U.S.A. "Marxist-Leninists" In Action!



Some of the top brass of the so-called Communist Party of the United States caught in the act of doing their periodic political genuflections in Moscow. This photo, taken over a decade ago, shows from left to right, William Weststone, Henry Winston, Gus Hall, and James Jackson, a tried and tested pack of flunkies of finance capital.

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gathering at the Sorbonne to discuss ways and means of overcoming the economic and political doldrums that have descended upon capitalist society these days. Reporting on this "transcendent" pow-wow, the Wall Street Journal stated:

"The Concorde is a beautiful bird, a work of art," declared William Styron, the author of 'Sophie's Choice,' before an audience of several hundred intellectuals who were the guests of the French government in Paris this past weekend. As befits a writer of global stature, Mr. Styron found the jet just; straining only a bit, he flattered his hosts by claiming that a French product successfully combined culture and economic development, which were the twin topics of the two-day colloquium at the Sorbonne. And he managed, with the tact of a Talleyrand, to touch on the only concrete lesson of the meeting: A free ticket on the Concorde will lure the world's most exalted personages to Paris." (Wall Street Journal, February 15, 1983)

Well, at least the WSJ scribe, Raymond Sokolov, who specializes in "Leisure and Arts" topics, put his finger on the petty-bourgeois intellectual's social trigger when he remarked: "A free ticket on the Concorde will lure the world's most exalted personages to Paris." You are so right, Mr. Sokolov, you sure know your petty-bourgeois breed. "It's money that makes that mare go." For cash the petty-bourgeois intellectuals will do anything, will say anything, and will write anything. Venality and grubbiness is the social essence of the petty-bourgeois intellectual's soul.

And naturally, the New York Times couldn't be absent from that convention of "super-charged brains." And this is what the Times' "nickel-a-liner" reported:

"A dazzling array of novelists, movie stars, directors and intellectuals gathered here this weekend at the invitation of the French Government to explore the role of culture in resolving the world's economic crisis.

"There was little consensus on how to solve things, but agreement on the propositions that conventional economics had failed and that the creative genius of artists might be just what the world needs to avoid depression and collapse.

"This was summed up by John Kenneth Galbraith, the American economist, who said: 'The clear implication is that the artist, the person concerned with artistic endeavor, must show an assertiveness in fields that are not his or her own.'

"Just as war is too important to be left to the generals, so is an economic crisis too important to be left to the economists or the 'practical men,' he said.

"In one room, Mr. Lang gathered together such writers as Norman Mailer, Kate Millet, William Styron, Elle Wiesel, Graham Greene, Susan Sontag, Mary McCarthy, Amos Oz and Alvin Toffler; such directors as Francis Ford Coppola, Arthur Penn, Allan Pakula, Sidney Lumet, Volker Schlöndorff and Peter Brook; such Nobel Prize winners as Wassili Leontieff, Gabriel Garcia Marquez and Ilya Prigogine, and such stars as Sophia Loren and Peter Ustinov.

"At times even the stars were stunstruck: 'The people here are in-

credible,' said Mr. Coppola as he cast an eye about a glittering Sorbonne dining room at lunch time Saturday. 'So many people from so many fields. It's a little like college — a very good college.'

"This is a particular concern of President Francois Mitterand, who in his address to the group today, compared the world situation to that of the 13th century. He called for a new Renaissance that would unite scientists and artists in a common endeavor.

"The originality of the French experiment lies there,' Mr. Mitterand said, referring to his Government's version of socialism, 'at the intersection of technology and creativity.'

"But the broad nature of the topics led to what were often murky discussions and a highly abstract style of argument that annoyed many of the participants, notably the Americans.

"For example, a description of a round table on 'Creation and Economy' declared: 'The crisis faced by our industrial civilization finds one of its fundamental causes in the rigidity that has progressively hindered initiatives, active forces behind creation. In order that art and beauty may blossom, we must encourage all efforts toward their more than ever vital renewal that is so deeply necessary for the economic revitalizing of the country's economy.'

"There was particular discussion of a theme that had been a favorite of Mr. Lang's: The need, as he once put it in a now famous speech, for 'real cultural resistance' against 'this financial and intellectual imperialism' of the United States.

"With some exceptions, most of those present declared that there was such a thing as 'cultural imperialism.' And if there was a villain at the conference, it was the American television show 'Dallas.'

"Speaker after speaker referred to the internationally popular program as an example of the power of the United States to project what they saw as some of the worst products of American culture into almost every home in the non-Communist world.

"There is a country with enormous economic power that has the ability to spread its culture to every country in the world," he said. "That country is America. It's a fact, and the Americans themselves can't deny that. Why is it a sacrilege to say it?"

"On the other hand, several delegates from the developing world complained about discussing a shortened workweek in the West when their societies were still faced with poverty and mass unemployment.

"Our cultures are being reduced little by little to nothing," said Joseph Ki-Zerbo, a historian from Upper Volta. "These technologies have no passport and no visa, but they are affecting us and shaping us."

"When the meeting broke up Sunday, hundreds of people went for the concerts, and a huge crowd gathered in the Amphitheater's resplendent foyer.

"Look at that crowd, this socialist demonstration," said Amos Oz, the Israeli writer, staring down from a stairway. "Maybe it's getting ready to start a revolution." (New York Times, February 14, 1983)

This particular gathering at La Sorbonne could not be conceived

as unique or extraordinary. In fact, it could be characterized as routine. It was but one among the thousands of "get-togethers," "meetings," etc. that the Praetorian Guard of the bourgeoisie (the petty bourgeoisie) carries out practically every day of the week, and in every country and nation of the world.

Of course, the "media," which constitutes an integral part of the Praetorian Guard, could not fail to characterize the "egregious" intellectual seminar, and proceeded to shower superlatives on the Sorbonne "aristates." In just two sentences we read about "the creative genius of artists" and "the artist, the person concerned with artistic endeavor, must show an assertiveness in fields that are not his or her own." The gathering was characterized as "a little like college — a very good college." One of the "round table discussions" was tagged as "Creation and Economy," and "the land of the free and the home of the brave" was described as "a country with enormous economic power that has the ability to spread its culture to every country in the world." Finally, the exalted Amos Oz, entranced by the "magnitude" of the gathering, remarked "maybe it's getting ready to start a revolution."

During the bourgeois revolution of the Middle Ages, the moment, in the words of Karl Marx, called for giants and created giants, men of such social stature as Leonardo Da Vinci, Dante Alighieri, Galileo Galilei, Giordano Bruno, and many, many others. This is a fact of social development and history. But we ask, in which way can the Sorbonne participants be compared to the men that Marx and Engels referred to as "universal men"? No comparison is possible. Eagles and fleas admit of no comparison. The Sorbonne gathering was indeed, not just a little like college, but quite a lot. The petty-bourgeois intellectuals cannot be pried loose from the colleges any more than the frog can be conceived out of the swamp that conditioned and propitiated its tadpole stage of existence.

Listen to this super-narcissistic formulation—"Creation and Econ-

omy." That sounds fantastic, but it isn't. After all, didn't the philosopher of the petty bourgeoisie, Friedrich Nietzsche, excitedly exclaim once "If there be gods, how could I live without being one?"

In regards to the assertion that the U.S.A. "is a country with enormous economic power that has the ability to spread its culture to every country in the world," that is unquestionably true in general, but the question arises, what represents the social kernel of American culture today? It is "reaction all along the line." It is a culture of extreme decadence and advanced decay. But so is French culture, English culture, German culture, Russian culture, Chinese culture, not to speak of Czechoslovak culture or Polish culture. Hence, what American finance capital spreads to Europe and elsewhere is not so-called culture but social loot gathered in the form of surplus value produced by the working class of the entire world. And that is why the "redoubtable" William Styron asserted so enthusiastically that "a free ticket on the Concorde will lure the world's most exalted personages to Paris." Only the ailing and the dead "super-brains" stayed away from La Sorbonne on that occasion. For instance, Jean Paul Sartre and his "lover" Jean Genet, out of the closet denizens of present-day bourgeois Parnassus, would have loved to have joined that "prestigious gathering of the beautiful people."

"Consecrated" Parnassian Amos Oz suggested that the gathering might be ready to start a revolution. No, the petty bourgeoisie and the intellectuals in particular, cannot start anything in the world today. They just carry out the counter-revolutionary chores assigned to them by their masters, the bourgeoisie, and that is as far as their "creativity" goes.

The main, in fact, the only task of the Sorbonne gathering was to leave the impression that the economic and political crisis which is rocking bourgeois society can be eradicated by "positive, creative thinking." But, as has been the case in the hundreds of similar

gatherings held before, the laws of motion of social development and history have disregarded and will continue to disregard every anthropocentric and narcissistic notion of the intellectuals. Therefore, the world crisis continues to grow in quantum and intensity, and no "philosophical," "technological," or "esthetic" panaceas will deter or detour those natural forces or the concrete direction of history.

We have said, on hundreds of occasions, that it is in the neo-colonial areas of the world that the threatening social volcano should be expected to erupt with its fullest devastating impact. And everything that is happening today corroborates fully this orthodox Marxist analysis of evolving history. The next portion of this article will deal with this socio-historical process as we have recorded its development in our literature in the past fifteen years.

The first subject that we will deal with is the socio-historical roots of post-Second Imperialist World War "national liberation struggles." In an article which appeared in the August-September, 1972 issue of The Vanguard, we traced the origins of those apocryphal struggles to the economic and social outcome of that war. Following we present pertinent excerpts from that article:

"It was in the summer of 1944 that the two top "partners" in the "United Nations Alliance" held the Bretton Woods and Dumbarton Oaks conferences. In those two confabs the economic and political base for the future world hegemony of the U.S.A. and Russia was definitely established.

In the first half of 1945, first at the Crimea Conference and later at the Potsdam Conference, the two imperialist hegemonies concocted the plans for the redistribution of the world, with themselves as the beneficiaries.

In December of 1945, the Moscow Conference of Foreign Ministers was held and it represented the first concrete, practical effort to carry out the re-carving of the colonial world. It was to be Korea's misfortune to become the first colonial victim to be split between (Continued on Page 13)

*Three Representatives Of The "Universal Men" Breed Of Social Giants Who, During The Renaissance Period Of History, Fought For Science, The Letters And The Arts. Men, Who Unlike The Present Crop Of "Great Men," Did Not Fawn On The Ruling Feudal Class Of Their Epoch.*



Dante Alighieri (Il divino Dante — 1265-1321), initiator of the Renaissance in Europe. Author of the monumental Divina Comedia.



Rene Descartes (1596-1650), French Mathematician and early exponent of Mechanistic Materialism.



Michelangelo Buonarroti, painter, sculptor, architect and poet (1475-1564).

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the two top imperialist marauders. Thus the 38th Parallel became the geographical point which marked the initial division of the colonial territorial loot resulting from the Second Imperialist World War.

Three months after the Moscow Conference Winston Churchill and Harry S. Truman "officially" unveiled the "Cold War" gimmick which history has proven to be an extremely convenient and useful weapon in the "Entente" hegemony and in fact, to all imperialist powers.

The "Cold War" era with its "Truman Doctrine," "Marshall Plan," "NATO," "Warsaw Pact," "East Berlin blockade," "Berlin airlift," "German and Japanese revanchism," "Cominform," "European Common Market," "Czechoslovak revolution," "containment of Communism," "Struggle for peace," "brinkmanship," "McCarthyism," "MacArthurian military tactics," "nuclear war threat," "SEATO," etc., successfully screened off the uninterrupted process of the "Entente's" establishment of its world economic, political and military power.

Today, 27 years after the end of the Second Imperialist World War, all of these "Entente" "Cold War" political props to all intents and purposes have been totally effaced and discarded.

In the next few months The Vanguard will publish a series of articles analyzing the social and political content of the imperialist "peace" era which the world has just entered. In those articles the Editors of Vanguard will trace the historical process of development of the "Cold War" tactic and its transmutation into "Cold War" and right into the "peace millennia."

Social experience has proven, without the least reason for doubt, that the redivision of the world has just been completed. The historical reasons for this "gradual," slow and protracted socio-political process were analyzed in the Vanguard of October-November, 1971, where it was stated:

"Over a quarter of a century has elapsed since the Second Imperialist World War came to a close in 1945. Twenty-six long years have been added to human history since "V-E Day" (May 7, 1945) and "V-J Day" (September 2, 1945). Yet it is only now, at the present moment of history, that the "victorious United Nations" are about to foist their articular form of imperialist peace in the whole world.

What was the reason for this low, painfully protracted social process?

The answer is: because the two warring partners in the "United Nations" imperialist alliance, namely, the U.S.A. and Russia, fought the redatory second imperialist war under the banner of "democracy" and "freedom for all nations and peoples." Because, those two imperialist "super-powers" saw the need to preserve their respective socio-political shingles as the chief representatives of "democracy" (the U.S.A.) and "Socialism" (Russia).

Holding fast to those tags climated the development of a subtle tactic in the post Second Imperialist War period. That tactic, the "Cold War" hoax began as on as the "victory" celebrations rover, and has lasted until the sent.

When the "great patriotic war," "the war for the four freedoms," "the war for human progress and against fascist obscurantism" ended in 1945, only one problem involved in the shift to imperialist world hegemony was solved. That problem was the military, economic and political elimination of the Axis gang of imperialist rivals. That task was accomplished, thoroughly and decisively. But the problem of redividing the colonial loot wrested from the "defeated" Axis predators, as well as that of "inheriting" the colonial empires from the "victorious" but weakened allies, remained as a colossal imperialist task. . . .

Europe's leadership, through the concrete action of the law of uneven development of capitalism, had to fall and did fall right into the hands of American and Russian imperialisms. In fact, history has proven that not only Europe but the whole world is under their hegemonic power.

During the period of the Second Imperialist World War, and in order to sell their "cause" to the colonial peoples, the "United Nations" gang of imperialists made all kinds of demagogic declarations and promises in regards to "national freedom for all nations," "guaranteed full rights for all peoples," etc.

Therefore, the "new" imperialist masters could not immediately and openly make their hegemonic claims. The real transference of colonial power from the "losers" to the "winners" had to be accomplished in the slow, protracted manner which social and historical circumstances permitted.

Had the Axis powers won the Second Imperialist War from the British, French, Russian and American imperialisms, the transference of power from the "defeated" to the "victors" would have been achieved quite rapidly if not instantaneously.

#### Historical Roots of American Finance Capital's Colonial Policy

But the American imperialists had been trained historically in the method of gradual acquisition of a colonial empire in the Western Hemisphere. In fact American imperialism was the chief exponent and "expert" of the policy of indirect colonialism—or possessor of semi-colonies. Indeed it had nearly a century of experience in the development of that particular policy of establishing semi-colonial relations.

On their part, the Russian imperialists—the direct descendants of the Russian bourgeoisie and the historical heirs of the Tsarist empire—were faced with a troublesome problem and that was the need to conceal their historical past. This was accomplished by their claim of a different social ancestry and political lineage. They swore that they were the legitimate offsprings of the Great October. They also claimed to be the true "disciples and continuators" of the Great Lenin and as such represented the "vanguard of the world proletarian revolution."

It is not an accident of history that in the course of re-dividing the world the Russian imperialists "discovered" a "new" form of bourgeois dictatorship—the "all-class state."

The Russian imperialists, during the same period, have also

"discovered" a myriad of "new forms of socialism" such as "new democracy" in the peripheral areas of Russia and "non-capitalist forms" of neo-colonial regimes.

But those "discoveries" have not prevented the Russian imperialists from consolidating their "socialist" empire within the very borders of Russia and around its peripheral areas in Europe. And it most certainly has not at all interfered with Russia's acquisition of vast neo-colonial interests all over Asia, Africa and in Latin America.

Hence, each and everyone of the nations of the colonial areas, each and every weak "developed" nation in North America and Europe has been drawn into the vortex of the "spheres of influence" of one, two or of all three of the "Entente" hegemony.

Thus the main immediate task facing the "Entente" triarchs today is to consolidate their acquired hegemonic power in the whole world. And this has to be accomplished with the most thorough form of political cohesiveness amongst the partners.

The above explains the frenzied efforts to liquidate the "Cold War" and to erase its lingering image from the minds of all the peoples of the world. . . .

For the politically naive petty bourgeois, "peace" is simply "the absence of war," but for the class conscious bourgeois and the class conscious proletarian, "Peace is the continuation of war politics by other means."

And this particular "peace" does not stem or rise out of the so-called "Vietnam War." No, indeed! It is the continuation of the Second Imperialist War with all its participants relating to that "peace" as "victor" or "vanquished" power; as "strengthened" or as "weakened" imperialisms. In that "peace" the relations of each imperialist state to the riches and the wealth of the colonies will be clearly and explicitly expressed based on the distinctive categories presented above.

Let us repeat for the sake of emphasis—the imperialist "peace" that is being heralded today does not arise out of the so-called "Vietnam War." In fact, the struggle in

Indochina as a whole, the Korean war, the two Arab-Israeli wars, the Indonesian civil wars and massacres, the Nigerian and Congolese civil wars, the "Cuban revolution" or civil war, etc., constitute both, a specific form of the redivision of the world (bleeding the revolution white) as well as specific props of imperialist "peace" (creation of neo-colonial bourgeois regimes). (Vanguard, October-November, 1971)

#### The "Dialectics" of "Marxism-Leninism"

The "m-ls" have one and only one use for the science of Marxism and that is to distort it. But they do not distort Marxist propositions for the subjective enjoyment of their petty-bourgeois souls. In fact, distorting Marxism is their business, their profession. It is for this reason that the "marx-leninists" all over the world freely indulge in the distortion of the Marxian conception of contradiction. In every article, in fact in any political literary effort of the "m-ls" there is a perennial element to be found. And that is the eternal harping on abstract general reference to "contradictions and conflicts between the working-class and the capitalists"; "contradictions and conflicts between the imperialists," etc.

Such a caricature of Marxism has a reason and a purpose. And that reason and that purpose is to mislead the working classes of the world and to prevent them from apprehending the concrete social process and the specific relationship of class forces on a national as well as on an international scale.

With the aid of those "theoretical" abstractions, the "m-ls" proceed to paint a world where the forces of "good" (the "forces of socialism and national liberation") and the single force of "evil" ("imperialism") are "entangled in a life and death struggle" with the "socialists and the patriots moving from victory to victory" and the "imperialists moving from defeat to defeat."

Hence the "m-ls" are always babbling about "the great victories

of the working classes of the world over their exploiters."

It is from this ideological-political material that the "m-ls" weave their whole counter-revolutionary fabric of "crumbling imperialisms" and "victorious world revolutions."

But despite all the rantings of the "m-ls" and their ideological alter egos, the "liberals," the existing social conditions and class relations disprove all contentions based on the distorted conception of the operation of the law of uneven development of capitalism in the present world.

Concretely speaking, the task of the "m-l" ideologues is to conceal the existence of a coalescent group of imperialist powers who have carved out for themselves the hegemonic influence over the rest of the world. These world hegemony are the U.S., Russia and China. It is these three imperialist marauders, with the direct and indirect support of the rest of the imperialist powers, and the venal collaboration and cooperation of the national bourgeoisies of the neo-colonies, that command and control the totality of the economy of the world.

It is precisely the above system of alliances that constitutes the main characteristic of the present world relationship of forces.

Referring precisely to the unavoidable need for the imperialist powers to establish temporary "agreements," Lenin in his great work *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, stated way back in 1916:

"The capitalists divide the world, not out of any particular malice, but because the degree of concentration which has been reached forces them to adopt this method in order to get profits. And they divide it in proportion to 'capital,' in proportion to 'strength,' because there cannot be any other system of division under commodity production and capitalism. But strength varies with the degree of economic and political development. In order to understand what takes place, it is necessary to know what questions are settled by this change of forces.

The question as to whether these changes are 'purely' economic or non-economic (e.g., military) is a secondary one, which does not in the least affect the fundamental view on the latest epoch of capitalism. To substitute for the question of the content of the struggles and agreements between capitalist combines the question of the form of these struggles and agreements (today peaceful, tomorrow war-like, the next day war-like again) is to sink to the role of sophist.

The epoch of modern capitalism shows us that certain relations are established between capitalist alliances, based on the economic division of the world, while parallel with this fact and in connection with it, certain relations are established between political alliances, between states, on the basis of the territorial division of the world, of the struggle for colonies, of the 'struggle for economic territory.' (Lenin, *Imperialism The Highest Stage of Capitalism*)

In order to be able to understand the present world it is absolutely necessary to proceed from a class criticism of imperialism.

Again we seek guidance in Lenin's teachings on the nature and character of imperialism in order to

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#### Early Specimens Of Neo-Colonial Flunkys Of American, Russian, Chinese, etc. Finance Capital



In the above photo taken on Oct. 4, 1960, these five experts on "national liberation" were shown discussing ways and means of how to carry out the neo-colonialist policies of the world bourgeoisie. All of them dead now. Unfortunately for the working class, a new crop of neo-colonial agents has succeeded them.

The above photo, from left to right, includes Saeb Salam of Lebanon, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, U Thant of Burma and Jawaharlal Nehru of India.

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concretize the theoretical tenets of Marxism to the present historical moment of the class struggle.

#### A Marxist Analysis of Imperialism

In his book *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, already referred to, Lenin dedicated a whole chapter to the question of criticism of imperialism. Following we quote excerpts from Lenin's writing on the subject:

"The enormous dimensions of finance capital concentrated in a few hands and creating an extremely extensive and close network of ties and relationships which subordinate not only the small and medium, but also even the very small capitalists and small masters, on the one hand, and the intense struggle waged against other national state groups of financiers for the division of the world and domination over other countries, on the other hand, cause the wholesale transition of the possessing classes to the side of imperialism. The signs of the times are a 'general' enthusiasm regarding its prospects, a passionate defence of imperialism, and every possible embellishment of its real nature. The imperialist ideology also penetrates the working class. There is no Chinese Wall between it and the other classes. The leaders of the so-called 'Social-Democratic' Party of Germany are today justly called 'social-imperialists', that is, socialists in words and imperialists in deeds; but as early as 1902, Hobson noted the existence of 'Fabian imperialists' who belonged to the opportunist Fabian Society in England.

Bourgeois scholars and publicists usually come out in defence of imperialism in a somewhat veiled form, and obscure its complete domination and its profound roots; they strive to concentrate attention from the main issue by means of ridiculous schemes for 'reform,' such as police supervision of the trusts and banks, etc. Less frequently, cynical and frank imperialists speak out and are bold enough to admit the absurdity of the idea of reforming the fundamental features of imperialism. We will give an example. The German imperialists attempt, in the magazine *Archives of World Economy*, to follow the movements for national emancipation in the colonies, particularly, of course, in colonies other than those belonging to Germany. They note the ferment and protest movements in India, the movement in Natal (South Africa), the movement in the Dutch East Indies, etc. One of them, commenting on an English report of the speeches delivered at a conference of subject peoples and races, held on June 28-30, 1910, at which representatives of various peoples subject to foreign domination in Africa, Asia and Europe were present, writes as follows in appraising the speeches delivered at this conference:

"We are told that we must fight against imperialism; that the dominant states should recognize the right of subject peoples to home rule; that an international tribunal should supervise the fulfilment of treaties concluded between the great powers and weak peoples. One does not get any further than the expression of these pious wishes. We see no trace of

understanding of the fact that imperialism is indissolubly bound up with capitalism in its present form' (1) 'and therefore also no trace of the realisation that an open struggle against imperialism would be hopeless, unless, perhaps, the fight is confined to protests against certain of its especially abhorrent excesses.'

Since the reform of the basis of imperialism is a deception, a 'pious wish', since the bourgeois representatives of the oppressed nations go no 'further' forward, the bourgeois representatives of the oppressing nation go 'further' backward, to servility, towards imperialism, concealed by the cloak of 'science,' 'Logic,' indeed!

The question as to whether it is possible to reform the basis of imperialism, whether to go forward to the accentuation and deepening of the antagonisms which it engenders, or backwards, towards allaying these antagonisms, is a fundamental question in the critique of imperialism. As a consequence of the fact that the political features of imperialism are reaction all along the line... a petty-bourgeois-democratic opposition has been rising against imperialism in almost all imperialist countries since the beginning of the twentieth century. And the desertion of Kautsky and of the broad international Kautskyan trend form Marxism is displayed in the very fact that Kautsky not only did not trouble to oppose, not only was unable to oppose this petty-bourgeois reformist opposition, which is really reactionary in its economic base, but in practice actually became merged with it.

In the United States the imperialist war waged against Spain in 1898 stirred up the opposition of the 'anti-imperialists,' the last of the Mohicans of bourgeois democracy. They declared this war to be 'criminal'; they denounced the annexation of foreign territories as being a violation of the Constitution, and denounced the 'Jingo treachery' by means of which Aguinaldo, leader of the native Filipinos, was deceived (the Americans promised him the independence of his country, but later they landed troops and annexed it). They quoted the words of Lincoln:

"When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism."

But while all this criticism shrank from recognising the indissoluble bond between imperialism and the trusts, and, therefore, between imperialism and the very foundations of capitalism; while it shrank from joining up with the forces engendered by large-scale capitalism and its development—it remained a 'pious wish.'

This is also, in the main, the attitude of Hobson in his criticism of imperialism. Hobson anticipated Kautsky in protesting against the 'inevitability of imperialism' argument, and in urging the need to raise the consuming capacity of the 'people' (under capitalism). The petty-bourgeois point of view in the critique of imperialism, the domination of the banks, the financial oligarchy, etc., is that adopted by the authors we have often quoted, such as Agahd A. Lansburgh, L. Eschwege; and among French writers Victor Berard, author of a superficial

book entitled *England and Imperialism* which appeared in 1900. All these authors, who make no claim to be Marxists, contrast imperialism with free competition and democracy; they condemn the Bagdad railway scheme as leading to disputes and war, utter 'pious wishes' for peace, etc. This applies also to the compiler of international stock and share issue statistics, A. Neymarck, who after calculating the hundreds of billions of francs representing 'international' securities, exclaimed in 1912: 'Is it possible to believe that peace may be disturbed... that, in the face of these enormous figures, anyone would risk starting a war?'

Such simplicity of mind on the part of the bourgeois economists is not surprising. Besides, it is in their interest to pretend to be so naive and to talk 'seriously' about peace under imperialism. But what remains of Kautsky's Marxism, when, in 1914-15-16, he takes up the same attitude as the bourgeois reformists and affirms that 'everybody is agreed' (imperialists, pseudo-socialists and social-pacifists) as regards peace? Instead of an analysis of imperialism and an exposure of the depths of its contradictions, we have nothing but a reformist 'pious wish' to wave it aside, to evade it.' (V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Chapter IX, "The Critique of Imperialism")

Note Lenin's precise reference to the relations between the ruling imperialist class (finance capital) and the middle class and the petty bourgeoisie. Also take note of what he terms "the wholesale transition of the possessing classes to the side of imperialism" and their "general enthusiasm regarding the prospects."

Could anyone conceive of anything more remote from this scientifically precise assessment of the bourgeois classes in the epoch of imperialism than that political concoction of the American "marxist-leninists" called the "anti-monopoly coalition"?

Dwell on Lenin's analysis of the impact of imperialist ideology on the working classes of the imperialist states. What is there in common between this scientific examination of the imperialist superstructure and the abstract, idealistic (deliberately and consciously done) conception of the ideological content of the working class in the U.S. and in the world?

Obviously an ideological and political chasm exists between Lenin, the great Marxist and the cowardly petty-bourgeois pigmies that have made a career, a miserable modus vivendi from the rotten practice of serving the ruling class by distorting the revolutionary science of the working class—Marxism.

There is no better way of demonstrating that deep ideological and political abyss than by exposing the "m-l" and "liberal" to the glare of genuine Marxist theory." (*Vanguard*, August-September, 1972)

The second subject examines the specific division of labor between American finance capital and Russian finance capital around the task of dividing the neo-colonial world, the so-called "third world" among themselves. In the Main Report presented at the Second Congress of our Party, held in July, 1970 and which dealt with the subject under examination, we stated:

"Summarizing, or rather assessing, the stage of development of American and Russian finance capital "Open Door" policy relations in the world, the Christian Science Monitor commented recently:

"On the stark winter nights which turn Afghanistan into a frozen landscape straight out of a Boris Pasternak novel, little bands of foreign diplomats gather in the hospitable warmth of one another's homes.

There is a back-slapping bonhomie, and something approaching barbershop-quartet singing.

It is not particularly remarkable, one might think, that foreigners in such a remote diplomatic post as Kabul should gather together in mutual cordiality. Except for one thing: The diplomats are Soviets and Americans. Together they have made Afghanistan the setting for a remarkable working relationship between their two powerful nations.

The bread one eats in the Afghan capital of Kabul may have been baked in American machinery, but the wheat is Russian. Each country builds sections of highway for the Afghans, but when the sections meet it is arranged with frictionless coordination. The Russians built the airport at Kabul. But the Americans built the one at Kandahar, second largest city, and guide the development of Aereana Airlines, the national airline in which Pan American World Airways has a 49 percent interest." (*Christian Science Monitor*, March 9, 1970)

This "bonhomie," of course, is not at all limited to the frigid winter nights in Kabul.

In torrid Africa and in the balmy Middle East, this imperialist "camaraderie" among the "Entente" predators takes place just as openly and spontaneously. In fact, it constitutes "officially" proclaimed State policy of American imperialism.

Reporting on American proconsul William P. Rogers' safari into Africa, the *New York Times* singled out the "Open Door" policy for special comment:

"First of all, Mr. Rogers made clear, the United States will not regard Africa as a strategic battleground in the cold war and will not be obsessed by attempts to preempt Soviet and Chinese activity there. Recalling the political evangelism of the Eisenhower Administration, Mr. Rogers said in a chat with United States Embassy employees in Rabat last week: 'It is unfortunate that ideas of an East-West conflict did permeate our thinking on Africa in the past.' He added that the Nixon Administration will 'not approach it in that way.' (*New York Times*, February 15, 1970).

The extent of Russian imperialism's penetration of the Arab world is already immense. This fact is emphasized by the *Christian Science Monitor* when it makes editorial comments to the effect that:

"If influence follows trade and aid, then there is much argument for the belief that the Russian camel's nose is well inside the Arab's tent... Moscow supplies arms, military advisers, technicians, credits. It builds dams. It buys much of Egypt's cotton and would like to buy more of the area's oil." (*Christian Science Monitor*, December 23, 1969).

And the *U.S. News & World*

Report of October 13, 1969, dealing with the same subject of Russian imperialist penetration in the Middle East, stated:

"In Iraq, the Soviets are more deeply entrenched than ever: And that's saying a lot. They are now involved in oil production on the Persian Gulf for the first time, thanks to an Iraqi contract allowing them to develop the rich north Rumaila field, which was taken away from the Western-owned Iraq Petroleum Company. In addition to Soviet technicians, the Iraqis are getting a 72-million-dollar Soviet loan for exploitation of this field—part of a 120-million-dollar loan which includes other projects.

Western interests lost out in a bid to work rich sulphur deposits in North Central Iraq. This was given to a Polish state concern—a 140-million-dollar project.

The Russians are going ahead full tilt with the 600-million-dollar Euphrates Dam project, for which there are more than 300 Soviet technicians on hand. This number is expected to double by the end of the year. Soviets are also constructing railway lines, developing oil fields." (*U.S. News & World Report*, October 13, 1969).

Russian imperialism is infiltrating Africa from different geographical points, but the single event that has really spelled out the full scope of that penetration is represented by the Russian imperialists' criminal and open participation in the rape of Nigeria.

The *New York Times* of January 21, 1970 carried a Moscow dispatch which bluntly and cynically pointed to Russian imperialism's role in the "Nigerian Civil War." That dispatch stated:

"Nigeria's Ambassador said today that Soviet aid to his country was the most important factor in the defeat of the Biafran secessionists.

At a news conference at his embassy, G. T. Kurubo strongly praised Moscow's extensive military aid, which included jet bombers and fighters as well as artillery.

He said that victory over the Biafrans was the result of the Soviet assistance—more than any other single thing—more than all other things together."

Mr. Kurubo would not disclose the extent of the aid, which is a carefully guarded secret here, but he said Moscow had helped "in a very great way."

Ambassador Kurubo, asserting that the Soviet Union "came out openly and honestly on the side of right, the side of the federal Government," said: "There is something commendable, something great and something honorable in this attitude."

Remarking that hundreds of Nigerian students had studied in the Soviet Union, he termed educational aid more valuable than "shiploads and planeloads of tinned sausages, tinned peas and second-hand tweed jackets to wear in the tropical sun." (*New York Times*, January 20, 1970).

The "Nigerian case" is quite instructive as a socio-historical laboratory where the present relationship of forces and the modus operandi of the "Entente" powers can best be observed.

Not a single official government in the world recognized the "Biafran secessionist" faction. Africa's equivalent to the Latin American Organization of American States (O.A.S.) and

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which has a similar-sounding title—Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.)—threw its full weight (which means the total economic and political influence of the "Entente") on the side of Nigeria's "Federal Government."

The number one jackal of Nigeria's military "gorillaship" is Maj. Gen. Yakubu Gowon, who received his military training at Sandhurst Military Academy in Britain.

Russian and British imperialists were assigned the task of "supporting" the Gowon faction in Nigeria.

On the side of the "secessionists" Gen. Odumegwu Ojukwu (educated at Oxford University) who fled the "Biafran disaster" in a special plane with tons of personal property and leaving behind 2 million Biafran casualties, was purportedly being supported by the French imperialists.

The American imperialists remained behind the scenes adding their weight to that of Russian and British imperialism while at the same time "organizing Red Cross disaster relief drives for the starving Biafrans."

An interesting comment with a significant class slant was made by the New York Times, when in discussing the relationship between the "opposing generals in the Nigerian conflict" casually commented:

"There was a time when the two young officers were companions who drank together." (New York Times, January 16, 1970).

Tanzania represents one of the myriads of the neo-colonialist regimes which have hung up a "Socialist" shingle, the better to play their venal role as tools and instruments of the "Entente's" neo-colonialist policies.

Julius Nyerere and his cohorts are vociferously proclaiming their "independence" and "sovereignty," but as soon as you match their words to their deeds, their venality and dependency to the "Entente" imperialists is clearly exposed.

In the New York Times edition corresponding to January 4, 1970, the Tanzanian version of "Socialism" is put on display as follows:

"Socialism is the policy of Tanzania, and there is a good deal of ideology in the air. But it has worked so far in a practical, flexible way congenial to American diplomats, for example.

A final reason for the state takeover of foreign trade is the Government's commitment to public ownership. This was part of President Nyerere's Arusha Declaration of February 1967, which called for all Tanzanians to share her poverty and for the country to seek not so much spectacular industrial projects but homelier investment to make her self-reliant.

Since the Arusha Declaration, the country's banks and insurance firms have been nationalized along with companies making cement, cigarettes, shoes and beer.

It sounds rigorous. But in practice the nationalization means the companies sell a major part of their shares to the National Development Corporation on negotiated and deferred terms, thus converting their equity capital into a loan. The old management has been left in charge and most companies have increased profits.

The American Embassy is sympathetic to the planning efforts here." (New York Times, January 4, 1970)

The socio-historical roots of Tanzania's "Socialism" were candidly disclosed in a book by Alexander MacDonald entitled *Tanzania: Young Nation In a Hurry*, from which we quote the following excerpts:

'Stoutest champion of Tanganyikan independence in the immediate postwar years [World War II] was the United Nations itself. Britain was now obliged, as Administering Authority of the territory, to submit an annual progress report to the trusteeship Council.

The first Mission in 1948 came back to New York with a report...the Mission (U.N.) reported it was 'greatly impressed by the quality of African minds, their general and reasonable understanding of local affairs and requirements, and their appreciation of territorial problems.'

The Mission recommended measures 'to accelerate the development' toward self-government. It suggested that additional seats be added in Legco so that each of the eight territorial provinces could be represented by an African, that an electoral system be set up for Legco membership, which was still being appointed, and that Africans be named to the Executive Council.

Concession by concession, however, the African population was each year granted a larger stake in territorial affairs, and by the time of the 1954 UN report, a body existed that could appropriately take over the nationalist cause. This was the Tanganyika African National Union, vitalized that year by the leadership of Julius Nyerere.

The TAA had been organized in 1927 (with the blessing of Sir Donald Cameron, then the Governor), among the government servants, particularly the junior officials and teachers. It functioned principally as a social club for urban Africans and by 1948 had branches in thirty-nine communities and a membership of 1,780. Yet the TAA attracted little interest from either the general African public or the European community.

In 1953 the TAA saw what it wanted. It welcomed Kirila Japhet back from his trip to New York and then sent him on a tour of the territory to report on the case of the evicted Meru. He was urged also to suggest the need for national independence. The TAA suddenly had become political. And the champion of that independence was to be Julius Nyerere.

In 1949 he [Nyerere] entered the University of Edinburgh...Returning home in 1952, Nyerere went to St. Francis School at Pugu, just outside Dar es Salaam, to teach biology and to become active in the TAA.

In 1953 Nyerere was elected president of TAA and, aware of the role it must now have to play, he decided on a complete reorganization.

To better encompass the reforms it was undertaking, the organization changed its name to the Tanganyika African National Union.

For some years there had been murmurs for political freedom among the tribal unions and occasionally from the TAA, but TANU had hardly been organized when it was given a prime opportunity to put the demand for independence

before the world at large. This was brought about by the arrival of the UN Visiting Mission in August 1954.

The Mission entered Tanganyika by way of Bukoba and Mwanza, on Lake Victoria, and immediately heard tribal complaints about land alienation. In Dar es Salaam, the UN team met with Nyerere and other TANU leaders and heard nationalist objectives for the first time cogently presented.

The meeting had abundant results. When the Mission's report came out in January 1955, it noted not only that its members had been impressed by TANU's 'moderation and sense of realism' but it suggested that there should be a timetable for political development in the territory that would conclude with an African-controlled government. This not only was recognition of TANU as the responsible voice of the people but notice of the fact that independence was only a matter of time.

When the 30 new members took their seats in Legco [in February 1959], the opening speech by Governor Turnbull virtually told TANU that the fight for political freedom was won. It was right and proper, said Sir Richard, that the African majority take over both legislature and the government, 'a government to which Her Majesty's Government will be able to devolve its trust as being a government under which responsible people of all races would feel secure.'

He [Nyerere] said in a statement two days later: 'It is said that Tanganyika has 120 tribes. I suggest that the way to democracy is to say we have 122 tribes in Tanganyika, -the youngest- and relatively the most educated being the European and Asian tribes. Let us then have tribal but not racial problems, if we must have problems at all.' He added, 'We did not like this parity election: ten Africans, ten Europeans, ten Asians. But TANU fought and won it and we sit here today not ten Africans, ten Europeans and ten Asians but 30 Tanganyikans.'

Sir Richard named five of the new Legco members, including three Africans, to his cabinet. Nyerere declined an appointment so that he could lead the opposition as chairman of the new Tanganyika Elected Members Organization.

The new government [of August 1960 Elections] had been only a month in office when Governor Turnbull announced in Legco that a constitutional conference would be held in London in March 1961, to arrange for self-government and full independence later in that year.

Julius Nyerere's most urgent thoughts were on the problem of finances. TANU already had an economic development committee planning the nation's future, but the need primarily and inevitably would be for capital. So Nyerere sped off on a fund raising trip to London, Bonn and Washington. He wanted — and eventually got — loans of \$10 million each from West Germany and the U.S. and \$30 million from Great Britain.

It was a sign of changing times and emerging nations: a self-effacing, dedicated man from a rude hut in the African quarter of Dar es Salaam, shopping in the capitals of the Western world for multi-million dollar loans for his people...[Our emphasis]

The constitutional conference was not held, as planned, in London. Rather, Colonial Secretary Iain MacLeod came to Dar es Salaam in March with a small staff and, with Governor Turnbull, Chief Minister Nyerere and other ministers, sat down to business. The meeting took place in Karimjee Hall, where Legco held its sessions. Instead of laboring through weeks of discussion, the Colonial Secretary announced two days later that self-government would begin on May 1, and full independence on December 28 of the same year. There were no reservations, no minority reports.

After a meeting of the national executive, Oscar Kambona announced that the official government policy was to be a socialist one, 'to suit Africans.'

A few weeks after the [1961 '3 year'] plan's publication, Julius Nyerere went abroad on his fund-raising tour.

Not only did foreign government aid begin to arrive but private investors abroad now became interested in Tanganyika's future...For a country where industry had been almost nonexistent, Tanganyika was beginning to look modestly commercial.

The [1964 '5 year'] plan was becoming part of the life and fiber of the people. But it was going to require more than such acceptance. How, for instance, was the plan being received by the investors—the foreign governments and private financiers? By the end of 1964 Nyerere could report favorably on this. 'The government grants and loans were coming in, he announced, and private investment was surpassing expectation. The first to aid were Great Britain, the United States, West Germany and Israel. Approximately \$6 million a year was already being received from the United Kingdom in technical

assistance... Nonaligned Tanganyika now turned to the East to match this considerable bounty from the West. In June Vice-President Kawawa and a ten-man economic mission went to Peking to sit down with Premier Chou En-Lai and Foreign Minister Chen Yi. They returned to announce a \$45 million...loan agreement...

Two months after the visit to China, Rashidi Kawawa and his economic mission went in the other direction: to Moscow, Warsaw and Prague. In less than a fortnight they were back to announce more massive aid. Russia, Poland and Czechoslovakia had agreed to \$45 million in aid to finance a variety of building and technical assistance projects. Russia would make a geological survey, to promote prospecting for solid minerals, oil and raw components for cement production. The U.S.S.R. would also establish a fish-processing plant, a meat-packing plant, a cotton-linting mill and a spinning mill. Poland, which had separately signed a trade agreement with Tanganyika, would, under the loan agreement, help establish a sugar estate and refinery at Wami and make a study of electrification needs in Zanzibar. The Czechs agreed to provide finances for factories producing automobile tires and tubes, shoes and ceramics, and for state farm development...

To encourage foreign investment, the government passed the Investment Protection Act which allowed a number of concessions, including tax relief measures and guarantees of the repatriation of capital and profits. This may have induced the releasing of once reluctant private capital, for by the end of 1964, new investment was building up into many millions. Most important, the money was going into processing ventures that added an industrial look to the burgeoning economy.' (Alexander MacDonald, *Tanzania: Young Nation In A Hurry*.)

The American imperialists, who have "lost" another war in Asia (the first "military defeat" being the Korean War, so-called) are showing an awful lot of vitality and arrogance for one who is supposed to have been thoroughly thrashed.

In the process of "losing" the wars in Korea and Vietnam, the American corporations have managed to multiply their capital investments a hundredfold in Southeast Asia.

Assessing the economic penetration in their "Vietnamese Waterloo," the U.S. News & World Report made the following statement in its January, 1970 issue:

'Since 1965, just short of 2 billion dollars has been poured by the U.S. into the building of bases, airfields, ports, roads, supply depots and communications networks. All this — and much more — will be left behind when the Americans go.' (U.S. News & World Report, January 19, 1970 — Our emphasis)

But investments in Vietnam, and indeed in the whole of Indochina, represent but a tiny part of American imperialism's corporate holdings in Asia. American finance capital investments in Asia are proliferating and expanding at an even more rapid pace than American corporate investments in Africa and Latin America.

The war in Vietnam, whatever remains of it, with its military-

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Chinese proconsul Chou En-lai and Tanzanian petty-bourgeois agent Julius Nyerere discussing problems of "mutual interest" during Chou's visit to Dar es Salaam back in 1965.

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 political corollary — the "invasion of Cambodia"—acts as a convenient smokescreen that conceals the stepped-up penetration of Asia by the American monopolies.

While the American middle class and the hippies shout their slogans of "Negotiate the war" and "Get out of Cambodia," American finance capital goes on its merry way expanding its capital investments in that region of the world.

For a long time already American imperialism is settling-up its economic vehicles of exploitation and oppression in the Asian continent.

Details of one of these economic agencies of American imperialism were presented in a New York Times article in January of 1969:

"The Private Investment Company for Asia, a new multi-national corporation designed to make private capital investments in the underdeveloped nations in the Far East, announced over the weekend that it has completed its formation.

The first meeting of the board of directors, a blue-ribbon group of international finance and trade leaders, will be held Feb. 12 in Tokyo, the company's headquarters site.

Called PICA for short, the company was formed by a group of prominent financial and industrial concerns in the United States, Japan, Europe, Canada and Australia....

About 120 financial institutions and companies have agreed to subscribe PICA's capital.

The board is expected to elect Willem A. van Ravesteijn president of PICA. Mr. Van Ravesteijn formerly was managing director of the Industrial and Mining Development Bank of Iran.

Yoshizane Iwasa, president of the Fuji Bank in Japan, is to become chairman of the board.

Stanley de J. Osborne, partner of Lazard Freres & Co., will be chairman of the executive committee.

The other American directors of PICA will be Eugene R. Black, former president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; Emilio G. Collado, executive vice president of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey); Jacques Maisonrouge, president of IBM World Trade Corporation... Senator Jacob K. Javits, Republican of New York, was instrumental in interesting a number of the sponsors 'in the need and practicality of the undertaking,' PICA said.

Senator Javits also helped form ADELA, a similar private investment company organized to make private investments in Latin America.' (New York Times, January 13, 1969)

Another example of American imperialist economic domination in Asia is found in the emergence of the "Asiadollar" currency.

If the "Eurodollar" acts as a monetary strait-jacket for European capital, the impact of the "Asiadollar" on Asian money markets should be deadly. As reported by the New York Times of October 13, 1969:

'Establishment of an Asiadollar market here earlier this year, modeled after the highly successful London-based Eurodollar, is designed 'for the integration of Asian money centers into the international currency market.'... So far, only the Bank of America

and the Chartered Bank have taken licenses to deal in Asiadollars. However, the entry of First National City Bank, the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, the Bank of Tokyo and the General Bank of the Netherlands into the Asiadollar scheme is expected momentarily....

'...Few question that it already has integrated the Asian money centers more closely into the world currency market.' (New York Times, October 13, 1969)' (Vanguard, October-November, 1970)

And further, in the October-November, 1970 issue of Vanguard, and in the same report quoted above, we dealt specifically with the "birth of Libyan socialism" as follows:

"Another "epoch-making revolution" was carried out in Libya on September 1, 1969 by a group of "military patriots."

Libya's "revolutionary coup d'etat" follows the same social and political pattern that we have observed elsewhere in Latin America and the Middle East. It's akin to the "revolt of the colonels" of Nasser and Company eighteen years ago.

At the same time it appears as an Arab variant of the "revolutionary takeover" of the Peruvian "gorillas" in 1968. In fact, it's another of the "Entente"-concocted "revolutions" which have been proliferating like wild weeds in this period of history.

The "Libyan revolution" is also being ballyhooed as a "new type revolution in the underdeveloped areas of the world which follows a non-capitalist road."

Despite all the cheap propaganda made as an apologia for this neo-colonial regime of Arab "gorillas" its counter-revolutionary character comes through in its full criminal venality. As in the case, or cases, of the Latin American "revolutionary" "gorillas," the American Imperialist press has made haste to give wide publicity to the "transcendental social impact" of the Libyan military coup d'etat.

The Christian Science Monitor of September 3, 1969, presented the "Libyan revolution" to the American people as follows:

"A military junta, apparently headed by a colonel, Saad ed din Bushairy, announced on Benghazi radio Sept. 1 that it had established a new republic with 'unity, socialism, and liberty' as its watchwords.

'Unity, liberty, and socialism' slogans, observers here noted, are those used by the Baath (Arab Socialist) party, two factions of which rule Syria and Iraq respectively.

Libya's annual oil revenues have skyrocketed from zero in 1956 to above \$500 million.

The oil boom increased the wealth of Libya's small but growing city classes, but has not improved the life of all its nearly two million people, who live in an area larger than Texas and who are still predominantly nomads.' (Christian Science Monitor, September 3, 1969).

And the Wall Street Journal, no less, assured the American people that:

'There is a new emphasis on Arab nationalism, and on solidarity with other Arab nations....

The officers of the RCC [Revolutionary Command Council] are youthful, idealistic and efficient.

Winning control of the 7,000-man army under the noses of their superiors, they used it to disarm police and internal security forces numbering some 20,000. Col. Khadafi says he and his followers plotted the revolution for years pooling their salaries so they could travel to clandestine meeting places. All the officers are of 'humble' origins, Col. Khadafi says, and all 'central committee' members agreed during their planning 'not to play cards, drink liquors, attend night clubs, and to be punctual in their prayers and to study everything...' (Wall Street Journal, October 16, 1969).

But regardless of all the Madison Avenue "treatment" given to the Libyan "revolutionary gorillas" the actions of the U.S. State Department belie the propaganda bit of the American press. Just five days after the Libyan "revolutionary coup d'etat" the United States Government was making public its official recognition of the Libyan junta, so-called. As reported by the New York Times:

'The United States had been in close consultation over the timing of recognition with Britain. Recognition was also extended today by Britain, France and Italy.

A State Department spokesman issued a statement declaring:

'The U.S. has noted the statement of the Revolutionary Command Council that all nations maintaining diplomatic relations with Libya are considered as recognizing the new Libyan Government.'

'The U.S. is maintaining diplomatic relations with Libya, the statement said, "and looks forward to a continuation of the traditional close ties between the two countries..."

State Department officials, when asked how the United States would extend recognition to a military clique whose leadership and composition were being kept deliberately anonymous, said that James Blake, charge d'affaires of the United States Embassy in Tripoli, had been instructed to "relay the information concerning recognition" to junta spokesmen in Tripoli.' (New York Times, September 7, 1969).

And in the same issue of the New York Times, another article reported on the Libyan "revolution" as follows:

'No one in the West was certain of the names of the new leaders or of the political complexion of the new Government.

Only one, Lieut. Col. Saadudin Abu Shwirrib, a 36-year-old graduate of Egyptian and British military schools and the United States Command and General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth, Kan., was publicly identified. He had been retired from the army in 1967 allegedly for anti-monarchist plotting....

Even though the United States was cutting its flying activities and deliberately keeping low, however, some officials foresaw the likelihood that the new revolutionary junta would be forced in time to zero in on Wheelus as a symbol of "Western imperialism" that was out of place in the modern, revolutionary Arab world.

'A lot of Arab countries have American oil companies at work,' said a Middle East specialist, 'but only one—Libya—has a United States base flying the United States flag. The King always used to hush it up in the press and radio, but it was a source of humiliation for

young Libyan officers and for the man-in-the-street.'

The future of United States oil interests in the new "Socialist" Libya, however, seemed less cloudy. Thirty-eight American oil companies have jointly invested more than \$1-billion in Libya's oil potential, and the sandy, sparsely populated North African country has boomed in a few years to the position of fourth producer in the world, just behind Venezuela.

Already enjoying an annual income of more than \$1-billion from oil, Libya expects \$1.5-billion next year, of which about \$84-million is destined for President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic....' (New York Times, September 7, 1969).

Now here it is, at last the "unidentified revolutionaries" of the Libyan breed of "gorillas" are recognized as belonging to a species known to political anthropologists as the "Leavenworth syndromata." The same poisonous, cowardly species to which the Peruvian, Bolivian, Venezuelan, Egyptian, Syrian, Korean, Vietnamese, Filipino, Puerto Rican, Tanzanian, Nigerian, Ghanaian, Cuban specimens of neo-colonial jackals belong.

Two issues later, the New York Times made a new discovery in regards to the social roots of the Libyan "Revolutionary Junta":

'The Revolutionary Command Council, which seized power in Libya last Monday, today appointed Mahmoud Soliman al-Maghreby, a lawyer who was a leader in Libya's labor union movement, as Premier....

Mr. Maghreby, who is 36 years old, studied law in the United States and worked as an advisor for Esso on his return to Libya, and became a leading member of the oil labor union movement....' (New York Times, September 9, 1969).

And on October 3, 1969, the New York Times summarized the month-old Libyan "revolution" by stating:

'...The new Arab Socialist regime of Libya needs money as much as did the monarchy that was overthrown Sept. 1, and the new Premier, Mahmoud Soliman al-Maghreby, has declared repeatedly that oil concessions to foreign concerns will be respected as long as the companies "respect the interests of the Libyan people..."

He has said also that foreign workers must be kept in Libya until Libyans can be trained to take their places. The training process will be a long one because the level of Libyan skills and technical competence is still generally low.

Western oil companies operating here acknowledge that the terms under which they do business are more favorable than anywhere else in the world at any time.' (New York Times, October 3, 1969).

In order that this venal accommodation to imperialism be made palatable to the Libyan as well as to the masses of Arab workers and toilers, a political straw man was created. This involved the "stern, un-negotiable demand for immediate evacuation of the Wheelus Air Force Base in Tripoli."

But while the loud shrieking for "American evacuation of Wheelus Air Force Base" was being blared from every available propaganda and publicity media by the phony revolutionaries, they were already preparing to accept indirect military control by the "Entente."

The emergence of the French military establishment as an adjunct of the Pentagon was discussed in a dispatch to the New York Times datelined in Paris, which stated:

'Libya is believed to have approached France shortly after a group of young army officers took over the country Sept. 1. While seeking to remove the American and British military presence, the new Libyan Government was said to be eager to avoid falling into the Soviet orbit. At the same time the young military leaders were also said to be eager to get a development program started and to make Libya, as one source put it, 'the Israel of the Arab world.'

The Times dispatch also said that French were reported to have offered to assume the responsibility for the maintenance and operation of the air bases in Libya that are being evacuated by Britain and the United States.' (New York Times, January 6, 1970).

Two days later another New York Times dispatch, also datelined from Paris, gave the specific facts about the "new" Libyan air force and "its" core of technicians: 'Jacques Isnard, military expert of the newspaper Le Monde, said today that "the Libyan Air Force practically does not exist" and expressed strong doubts that it could maintain and exploit a fleet of Mirages. Mr. Isnard estimated that the Libyan force consisted of a few Lockheed T-33 trainers and a twin-engine Dakota transport, all furnished by the United States in 1963.

Figures for pilots and maintenance personnel were not cited but they were believed to be small. Mr. Isnard said that one Mirage required 10 to 13 persons to fly and maintain and that a pilot with training on the T-33 would require two years to fly a Mirage and a totally inexperienced one four years.

The plane sold to Libya is believed to be the Mirage III, the same type as the 50 built for Israel but placed under embargo in 1967....' (New York Times, January 1, 1970).

Only a couple of weeks ago the New York Times published a photo showing President Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, King Hussein of Jordan, President Nureddin-al-Attassi of Syria, and the newly appointed Premier of Libya, Muammar el-Qaddafi. The foursome of Arab bourgeois "revolutionaries" met in Tripoli, capital of Libya, to celebrate—guess what!—"U.S. withdrawal from Wheelus Air Force Base," and to hall the only Arab thing in the whole "Libyan revolution," the new name for the base—Uqbah Ben Nafa Air Base.

Regardless of the Arabic symbols, the so-called "Libyan revolution" is nothing else than the socio-political creature of the "Entente" powers.' (Vanguard, October-November, 1970)

All of the above was written between 1970 and 1972. Eight months ago we took another searching look at those neo-colonial countries that supposedly "had fought their way to national freedom" and in several specific cases "had even taken the non-capitalist road," and every blessed "liberal" and "marxist-leninist" in this rotten bourgeois world swore on stacks of Bibles, Torahs, Korans and Rig-Vedas, that it was all "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help us God!"

(To be continued)