

"Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement" —V.I. Lenin

# IDEOLOGICAL FIGHTBACK



Continuing the ideological work of *The Communist* - founded in 1927

## NO PASARÁN! "THEY SHALL NOT PASS"



### HOLDING THE LINE AGAINST FASCISM

**Participation in  
Government by  
Communist Parties:  
A Way Out of Capitalist  
Crisis?**  
**Herwig Lerouge**

**NATO  
Spearhead of  
Western  
Fascism**  
**Jessica  
Coco**

**A Weakening  
U.S. Empire  
Lashes Out  
at Home and  
Abroad**  
**George  
Greene**



Summer/Fall 2015

Volume 2 Issue 2

\$4.

**PartyofCommunistsUSA.org**



VOLUME 2 ISSUE 2

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<http://ideologicalfightback>

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# 8 Points of Marxist-Leninist Unity



## 1) Marxism-Leninism

We apply the science of Marxism-Leninism as the means to achieve supremacy of the working class.

## 2) Vanguard Role – Cadre Party

We hold that the role of the party, as laid out by the Bolshevik example, is that of a Vanguard workers Party, that opposes and organizes against the Bourgeois state and its surrogate parties. Such a party acts as the general staff of the working class, educating, organizing and leading the Proletariat in its struggle for liberation. To that end, the Party must develop and train strong cadre to lead the struggle.

## 3) Dictatorship of the Proletariat

We hold, as Marx and Lenin wrote, that organizing a class conscious workers party is the only way to achieve liberation from the Bourgeoisie; – and that, due to the inevitability of the class struggle and the nature of the state as a tool of suppression of one class by another – only the overthrow of the Bourgeois State by the proletariat, and the active suppression of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat, will consolidate power for working class interests and bring about a Socialist State.

## 4) Democratic Centralism

A fundamental principle for building and Organizing the work of the party is democratic centralism. Democratic centralism combines the full initiative, right, and duty of party organizations to decide on questions within their scope of responsibility, with their accountability and regular reporting of activities to their party bodies, and the subordination of the minority to the majority and strict discipline once a decision has been made.

Underestimation or rejection of democratic centralism is typical of revisionists, testifying to their nonscientific approach and the influence of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideology.

## 5) Proletarian Internationalism

We support the international working class, and the struggle of oppressed groups for liberation from Imperialist domination and exploitation, both within this country and around the world. We oppose all forms of Imperialism. We fight against the mechanisms of Imperialism maintained by the current Bourgeois regime in our own country, and will actively oppose and work to end its wars of adventurism around the globe.

## 6) Support for real existing socialism of the 20th Century

We support and uphold the legacy and lessons of the Socialist revolutionary movements of the 20th century, and the contributions of Lenin, Stalin and other leading Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries. We will defend that legacy against defamation by Revisionists, Capitalists, Trotskyites, social democrats, anarchists, cold war liberal bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeois ultra-left radicals who undermine the revolutionary history and struggle of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. We reject the so-called “21st Century Socialism” and euro-communism as revisionist attempts to promote reformism and “market socialism” over true revolutionary struggle and Socialist collectivization.

## 7) Continuing Lenin’s opposition to Right Opportunism and Revisionism inside the world communist movement

We oppose all forms of Right Opportunism and Revisionism to supplant Marxist Leninist ideology in world communist parties, especially those tendencies found in the US communist movement. We identify this revisionism as an intrusion of bourgeois ideology that weakens and distorts our theory and purpose, leading to class-collaboration and counter-revolution.

## 8) Revolution is the sole means of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and a scientific socialist society.

We hold that class conscious struggle through revolution is the only means of achieving liberation for the working class. That any measure of reformism, collaboration, or conciliation with the bourgeoisie serves only to undermine and prolong the workers struggle, leading to the further consolidation of Capitalist power and dominance. “The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.” [Communist Manifesto, Chapter II, paragraph 7]

## **Participation in Government by Communist Parties : A Way Out of Capitalist Crisis?** by Herwig Lerouge

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In recent months, the possibility of participation in government by some (former) communist parties has been on the agenda. In Germany, Die Linke has participated and is still participating in regional governments. The party has debated a possible participation on a federal level. In Greece and the Netherlands, the left coalition Syriza and the « Socialistische Partij » (SP) have clearly announced their will to go to government. The absolute majority of the French Socialist Party in the recent 2012 parliamentary elections has evacuated the question of a new government participation by the French Communist Party. The PCF, the Italian Rifondazione Comunista and the Party of Italian Communists have been participating in governments over the last decades.

In 2008, the electoral successes of some of these parties led *The New Statesman*, the British left-wing magazine, to the conclusion:

*“Make no mistake, socialism - pure, unadulterated socialism, an ideology that was taken for dead by liberal capitalists – is making a strong comeback. Across the continent, there is a definite trend in which long-established parties of the centre left are challenged by unequivocally socialist parties. The parties in question advocate renationalisation of privatised state enterprises and a halt to further liberalisation of the public sector. They call for new wealth taxes to be imposed and for a radical redistribution of wealth. They defend the welfare state and the rights of all citizens to a decent pension and free health care. They strongly oppose war – and any further expansion of Nato. Most fundamentally of all, they challenge an economic system in which the interests of ordinary working people are subordinated to those of capital”.*

Unfortunately, these visions of a bright socialist future for Europe through the ballots have been overtaken by the latest electoral results and, more importantly by the political evolution of these parties.

### **The Italian tragedy**

Most of these parties were created after Gorbachov carried out his Velvet Counterrevolution. In Italy, the historical Italian Communist Party (PCI)

transformed itself in a Party Congress in Rimini in 1991 into an ordinary social-democrat party. In 2002, Bertinotti he presented his 63 theses, which included the ideas: of the “new working class”, the “new party concept” and getting rid of the “obsolete” vanguard party and replacing it with a “the party of the ‘movement of the movements’”. He discovered a “new definition of imperialism” where the world was no longer divided between capitalist blocks and war was no longer a means of re-dividing it; the old democratic centralism was replaced with the right of tendency; communism could only be revitalised through a complete break with “real existing socialism”.

The well known member of the Bilderberg-group, Romani Prodi, who was present at the Congress, perceived the U-turn of the leader of Rifondazione very well: “These are proposals of a reformist party that is ready to take government responsibility”.

In less than ten years, Bertinotti has succeeded in bring a great revolutionary potential under the control of the system. With no clear, anti-capitalist left opposition to the Prodi government’s policies of war and austerity, the right filled the political vacuum and Berlusconi was swept back into office. The PRC lost all of its parliamentary representation in the rout of the electoral left. It is the most recent experience of the harm that revisionism can do. Today, the Italian communist movement is in a deep crisis.

The twentieth century had already proven the failure of those who pretend to change the balance of power in favour of the working class through majorities in bourgeois parliaments.

In the euphoria of the Mitterand electoral victory of 1981, PCF president Georges Marchais sent four Communists into the government to change the “balance of power”. PCF leader Roland Leroy explained: “Our presence is consistent with our mission and our strategy: use every opportunity to take even the smallest step forward to build an original socialism by democratic means”.

Instead of getting an original socialism, the French working class got a deregulated “Code du Travail”, Social Security was further reduced and wages discon-

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nected from the index of prices. In July 1997, the leadership of the PCF did it again. The PCF joined the government of "la Gauche Plurielle" (PS - PCF - Greens - MDC). The result included more privatisations. The privatisation of Air France was overseen by the Communist transport minister Jean-Claude Gayssot. Thomson, Air France, France Télécom, the insurance companies GAN and CIC, Société Marseillaise de Crédit, CNP, Aérospatiale were "opened up to capital". The PCF leadership remained in the Socialist government of Jospin, when France supported the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia in 1999.

To claim to change the balance of power in favour of the working population in parliament is absurd in the eyes of all who watch the electoral circus, who see the thousands of lobby groups and think tanks paid by business groups to influence political decisions directly. The grip of the strongest groups of capital on the national States, the European institutions and the international financial institutions has never been so obviously open and shameless.

#### Is there a "third way" between revolution and reformism?

But lasting peace and social progress require a socialist society and a socialist revolution.

The parliamentary, peaceful road to socialism is based on the illusion that big business will willingly step aside and hand over its state machine to the work-

ing class without a fight, when it is sufficiently represented in parliament.

#### European Left

The European Left Party is a qualitative leap from revolution to (left) reformism. Neither in the "Manifesto of the European Left", nor the "Statute" is there any reference to the private ownership of the means of production, the inherent economic crises of this system, the murderous competition of monopoly companies, the redistribution of the world by the major imperialist powers. The Party of the European Left promises "a progressive alternative", "peace", "social justice", "sustainable development" and many other beautiful things that no one can object to.

It remains vague and all within the confines of the system and its property relations. You will search in vain for any reference to a strategy of social revolution.

#### Die Linke in Germany

A major party within The European Left is the German Left Party, Die Linke which was the result of the unification in 2007 of the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS, the official follow-up party to the leading GDR party SED) and the WASG (disappointed left social democrats, union officials and Trotskyite groups in the West of Germany).

WASG Hartz IV reform put an end to unemployment benefits for the jobless after one year, pushing

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them into a social assistance system and creating a huge low-wage sector. The consequences of the Hartz IV reform are disastrous for a large section of the working class. A United Nations report on the social situation in Germany records that today 13 percent of the population live below the poverty line and 1.3 million people, although in work, need extra support because their incomes are not enough to live on. Child poverty affects 2.5 million children. Studies have shown that 25 percent of students go to school without breakfast. In many schools, no hot lunch is provided. In Eastern Germany, 20 years after reunification, unemployment is still twice as high as in the West. 75% of all new jobs" are non-permanent. This is all for the benefit of the super-rich. However, three years later, according to the most recent polls, Die Linke will have difficulty in the next elections in surmounting the undemocratic 5% threshold. Membership has dropped to under 70,000.

### **The new social democracy**

Die Linke adopted a new programme at the 2011 Erfurt congress. It was presented as a synthesis between the so-called Marxist tendencies and the very reformist "realos".

Die Linke is a "socialist party that stands for alternatives, for a better future" (p4). But it is not clear whether all this will be realised in this capitalist system or if this system should be abolished. The problem is not the system, but "unrestricted capitalism" (p58), "the neo-liberal political model" (p56) and "deregulated financial markets" (p15).

The text talks of "a long emancipatory process, in which the dominance of capital is overcome through democratic, social and ecological forces", leading to a "society of democratic socialism" (p5). As long as the decisions made by large corporations are oriented towards desired returns rather than the public good, politics will be subject to blackmail and democracy will be undermined".

And the programme copies the old social-democrat thesis of "democracy that extends to economic decision-making and subjects all forms of ownership to emancipatory, social and ecological standards. Without democracy in the economy, democracy remains imperfect..." (p28)

The working class has no role in conquering political power. There is talk of "winning majorities" (p20) and "democratic socialism" can be achieved within the "democratic" structures of the German constitution

and a "social state of law". Intelligence services should be abolished but "democratic control" of the army and the police will be enough to transform them into tools of socialism.

### **Government participation**

In 2010 a government coalition of SPD and Die Linke ran the German capital. It closed down nurseries, cut benefits and privatised 120,000 council flats. Die Linke voted to partially privatise the Berlin tram system, campaigned against national wage parity for public sector workers and spoke out against efforts to bring the company that supplies Berlin with water back into public ownership. It also helped to privatise a part of the main Berlin hospital – leading to worse working conditions and lower wages.

Kindergartens and universities were not spared. This led to strong students' protests and the PDS Party Congress on December 6th 2003, in the fine Hotel Maritim in Berlin-centre, had to be protected from the students by riot-police who kicked the students off the streets.

Measures were taken in May 2003 to force parents to participate in the purchase of schoolbooks to the tune of up to 100 euros.

Die Linke in Berlin is also responsible for the deterioration of the situation of thousands of people who have to rent their homes. In May 2004, they sold 65,700 houses belonging to the public housing society GSW at the bargain price of 405 million euros to a Consortium from the Whitehall-Fund of the Investment bank Goldman Sachs and the Investment company Cerberus. In 2010 they allowed these companies to go on the stock exchange making thousands of Berlin houses an object of speculation.

### **Water becomes a commodity**

In 2002, the PDS (predecessor to the Die Linke party) received the economy ministry, but this changed nothing. Water prices rose by 33 percent. Things got so bad a referendum was called. After the victory of the referendum, they had to acknowledge it, but they went on opposing every legal initiative of the population.

Die Linke says it combines social and political protest with dressing up possible alternatives and political realisations within the frame of the government. As if today, there is a correlation of forces that makes possible putting such pressure on governments that

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they are forced to implement important reforms in favour of the people.

The experiences of communist participation in European governments have proven that this participation does not even stop privatisations, social regression, nor even imperialist wars. These experiences have shaken confidence in the parties that were part of the government and showed them to be no different from any other party.

Participation in a bourgeois government dominated by capitalist monopolies weakens the anti-capitalist forces.

### In Greece

Nevertheless some Parties refuse to learn from these experiences, proving thus that they have become real social-democrat parties, ready to take the place of the old discredited ones.

In Greece, the more the possibility of an electoral victory seemed realistic, the more Syriza, the local section of the European Left Party, made its programme acceptable for the EU leadership and the Greek bourgeoisie. Their government programme was presented as a "plan to end the crisis". [...]

Nowhere was the capitalist system mentioned as the cause of the crisis, only "neoliberal" management. It promised to cancel the harshest antisocial measures, to raise the minimum wage and to restore the previous level of protection against unemployment and illness. It promised to remove the special taxes for low and middle incomes. But the plan called for "stabilization of primary expenditure to a minimum 43 % of GDP, as opposed to 36 % of GDP under the memorandum, and at most 46 % of GDP". This would only have brought Greece to "the current average in the euro area". It is a programme that never went beyond the capitalist framework.

Before the new elections of June 17th, its "government program" "called for new negotiations on the loan agreement". There was no radical demand in the sense that those responsible for the crisis (the Greek and European industrial and financial capitalists ....) had to pay. Syriza will not cancel the debt. There are no radical measures to make the rich pay, nor any way of imposing measures. Everything was to be negotiated. "The cancellation of the zero tax regime for ship owners and the Church" would not be imposed, but "agreement would be sought" with the the maritime industry in order to remove the 58 exemptions. There was no measure to create a government capable of im-

posing these same measures. It would only "bring Greek tax rates to the level of the rest of the EU", where, as is well known, all the burden rests on working people. Nowhere was there any question of workers' control over the administration, nor the economic system. Who would control the bosses, the bankers? Nothing on the police, the military. Syriza remains in NATO, in the EU.

### Hard lessons from the past

These experiences confirm the positions of Marx, Lenin and of the Third International in this matter. They all reject participation in government with the exception of a situation where fascism is a real threat, in the case of a situation where it can be a transition to a real revolutionary government, in pre-revolutionary situations with very important class struggles and a favourable balance of power (e.g. Chile in the 70s or 1975 in Portugal...). In these situations, we may have to make alliances with forces that represent non-proletarian strata but are also oppressed by monopolies or threatened by fascism or opponents of the war. But only on the condition that this power (will) move towards popular democracy and socialism, that a different state controlled by the workers is built, which was not the case in Chile where the reaction massacred socialists and communists alike.

The workers' government as proposed by the Third International is understood as "the united front of all workers and a coalition of all workers' parties, in both the economic and political arena, to struggle against the power of the bourgeoisie and ultimately to overthrow it". Such a workers' government is possible only if it is born from the struggles of the masses themselves and is supported by militant workers' organisations.

Those who justify a coalition with bourgeois political parties in parliamentary institutions often use Dimitrov's writings on the united front against fascism. It is true that Dimitrov criticised those who refused the united front policy. But, according to Dimitrov, the antifascist popular front must be created on the basis of the united workers' front. Such a government must take revolutionary, anti-capitalist measures.

Dimitrov also warned that

*"maintaining a People's Front in France does not at all mean that the working class will support the present government (the Popular Front government of socialists and Radicals led by Léon Blum, and supported from outside by the FCP, see later) at any price... If for some*

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*reason or other the existing government should turn out to be unable to put through the programme of the People's Front, if it takes the line of retreat before the enemy at home and abroad, if its policy weakens the resistance to the fascist offensive, then the working class, while further strengthening the bonds of the People's Front, will strive to bring about the substitution of another government for the present one..."*

And this was what in fact happened and the FCP took too long to understand it. In 1936, after an electoral victory of the left parties, the Blum government of socialists and radicals was formed, supported from the outside by the FCP. A huge wave of strikes put pressure on the government to force it to implement the demands written down in the Popular Front programme. But in the words of its leader, this government set itself as its aim to find a way to "procure the necessary relief to those who suffer" within the framework of existing society. For Blum, the Popular Front's mission is to "manage bourgeois society" and to extract from it "a maximum of order, well being, security and justice". There is no question of destroying capitalism "which has still a long way to go". Anyway, the programme of the Popular Front did not allow any such thing because, he said, "we are a government of the Popular Front, not a socialist government; our aim is not to transform the social regime but to implement the programme of the Popular Front".

The Blum government was brought down after two years and it would take only two more years for the French capitalists to take their revenge and take back much of the concessions they had made. On the initiative of the Socialist party, the government led by the radical party leader Daladier, declared the CP illegal on the 21st of November 1939 and its Members of Parliament to be judged in court. The same radical and socialist members of Parliament voted, on the 7th of July, to give their confidence to the traitor government of Pétain.

Even in periods when participation in government can lead to the phase of open struggle for socialism, the utmost vigilance is necessary. The policy of both parties constituted a particular expression of an opportunist tendency. It assumed it was possible for the working class to come to power by a peaceful, legal and parliamentary way. It was in fact, the adoption of the social-democrat line.

It was in the interest of the bourgeoisie, because it was weak, to cooperate with the communists during and after the war. The communists should have taken

advantage of this situation to occupy key positions but they did not. Instead of winning mass support in order to take power, they disarmed the masses and spread illusions about bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism.

### **Today less than ever**

The first question is: what is the character of the society in which a communist party wants to participate in a government? It is a capitalist state. Its economic base is capitalism, and its task is therefore to manage capitalism, to protect and create favourable conditions for successful development of capitalism. This state has adopted constitutions and laws, rules and regulations that serve the purpose of ensuring the constitutional order, creating conditions for the growth of capital and preventing conflicts within society.

The anti-worker policy in these states is not the fault of bad politicians, bad parties with bad programmes. As long as the means of production remain in private hands, companies have to compete to survive, to accumulate, to increase their profits, to reduce wages, to refuse social demands. This law cannot be opposed by "good" politicians in government with the "right" ideas and programmes. Even Danielle Mitterrand, the wife of the former social-democratic President of France, told a reporter:

*" May 1981 (arrival to power of Mitterrand) I asked Francois: "Now that you have the power why don't you do what you promised?" He replied that he had no power in front of the World Bank, capitalism, neoliberalism. He had won a government but not in power. I learned that being the government, to be president, is of not much use in societies subject to capitalism".*

Moreover, today's capitalism can no longer take us back to the days of the so called "social market economy" with social partnership. That was an episode that must be seen against the background of the ideological competition between socialism and capitalism, of the strength of communist parties after the Resistance period and when demands could be met from the profits of the reconstruction phase after the war.

It is no longer possible and also no longer necessary to capitalist logic. 25 million officially unemployed in the EU-27 press on wages and the now globally accessible labour markets reduce the price of the work-force still more. Mass unemployment burdens the social budget twice: falling wages bring less income to social insurance while more beneficiaries have to be supplied from these funds. The collapse of

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the social system is only a matter of time. Moreover tax revenues from business activity are declining despite rising profits and more tax cuts will be needed to strengthen national capitalists in international markets.

The capitalist state is there to create favourable conditions for the increased profitability of companies, to create new markets for them through privatisation and redistribution of the national income in favour of capital owners. It is there to keep calm or repress the working class at home and to ensure the interests of capital in other regions.

So participation in governments under such conditions means only participating in social regression, even if it may be a little slower. It means disarming the resistance by giving false hopes to the workers' movement.

It is clear that some former communist parties have chosen to participate in power, often knowing this means making policy in the interest of capital and taking part in the destruction of social gains obtained by the struggle by the workers' movement.

Government participation has contributed to demobilising much-needed resistance and the development of a counter-power. Today, to change the balance of class forces, we need to unite for a series of defensive battles against social regression, to create a politically independent movement of workers and those who are prevented from working, and to spread an increasing anti-capitalist conscience in the workers' movement.

The weakness of the communist and class oriented trade union opposition is the main cause of the aggressive rule of capital in most capitalist countries. We

need an alternative political programme and we need to fight for it. It includes everyday demands, but also the propagation of abolishing capitalist property relations. These demands should not be addressed to potential partners in a left-wing government (who do not exist), but to the organised workers' movement and the other exploited strata of society. They should be addressed to combative unions, to all kinds of people's organisations active on one or other field of social, democratic, anti-imperialist or cultural struggle.

The real question is how communist parties prepare for the upcoming battles, how they organize so as to be able to effectively take charge of the new struggles together with the working class and the broad working population. The crisis encourages broad sections of the working people to turn their back on social democracy. We must not offer them a new renovated social democracy. What is needed is a revolutionary party that takes the current level of consciousness into account, that makes the problems of the common people its own, that speaks an understandable language, that seeks unity in struggle with the broadest group. On the other hand, it must be a party that does not give up its principles, that is for a society where there is no exploitation of man by man, no private ownership of the basic means of production, in which the working people are truly free and with a state that protects the freedom of the vast majority against the oppression of the minority.

Endnotes to be found on the web at:

<http://www.iccr.gr/en/news/Participation-in-government-by-communist-parties-a-way-out-of-capitalist-crisis-00001/>



# NATO spearhead of Western Fascism: What the Charlie Hebdo shooting, A Fascist Coup in Ukraine and Austerity have in common

by Jessica Coco

“The foreign units of the SS were really the precursors of the NATO army.” Paul Hausser, SS Panzer Corps Major General, 1954.<sup>1</sup>

On Feb. 27, 1933, the German parliament building, the Reichstag burned in a mysterious fire. Adolf Hitler immediately blamed the fire on the German Communist Party and arrested over 4,000 dissidents and critical journalists. With the NAZI's setting the Reichstag on fire and blaming the communists, they were able to impose the most draconian of laws; abolishing the parliament, and putting the Nazis in power. This lesson did not elude the Americans & the British.

*Starting March 24, 1999, NATO carried out a 78-day bombardment of Serbia that included 38,000 combat missions. The targets were overwhelmingly civilian. In addition to factories, bridges, and railroads, water networks, the electric grid, apartment buildings, and 480 schools and 33 hospitals were targeted. Serbian President Milosevic was captured, charged, and brought in front of the International Court. Shortly after stating he welcomed the trial in order to expose NATO, he suffered a mysterious heart attack & died before standing trial.*

*From 2003 to 2014, tens of thousands of troops under NATO command participated in a ruthless near decade long occupation that destroyed Iraq and Afghanistan. In Iraq alone over 1 million innocent civilian men, women, and children were killed. After NATO dropped White Phosphorus, (a type of napalm) in Basra, Iraq, the rate of birth defects measured 14 times that of Hiroshima after the H-bomb.<sup>2</sup> Contrary to International law, Saddam Hussein was tortured and hung instead of being brought in front of the International Court.*

*NATO turned to Libya in 2011 bombing it for 220 days. Once again civilian centers were heavily targeted. Like Saddam Hussein before, Gadhafi was never brought before the International Court; rather U.S./NATO had him brutally tortured and murdered for the crime of being the leader of an African country that refused to accept Western colonization & domination by Western/Wall Street Banks.*

*In Syria, 300,000 are now dead as we speak and there are over 6 million refugees. Again NATO targeted mercilessly predominately civilian centers.*



When most people think of NATO, they conjure up images of military interventions; usually claiming to be done for humanitarian reasons, such as those mentioned above. Of course a claim of humanitarian intervention is a farce, for what can be humanitarian about massacring millions of innocent civilians while raping the natural resources and enslaving that country to the Private Western Banking/Wall Street systems? This is not to say NATO invades countries solely for plunder. The former Yugoslavia is perfect examples of a country with no natural resources, but which was semi-socialist and featured a banking system independent of US & Western Banking interests.

With the Ukraine an interesting shift in US/NATO policy had taken place. US Secretary of State Victoria Nuland admitted quite proudly US involvement; stating how the US spent over \$5 billion to create regime change in order to overthrow and replace its democratically elected government with a fascist one led by the Neo-Nazi Svoboda leader Arseniy Yatsenyuk. For the first time US/NATO didn't claim it spent billions on a humanitarian intervention. Perhaps, because no one can rightfully believe putting Neo-Nazis in power is a humanitarian action.

## NATO's origin

At the end of World War 2, the people of Western Europe had had enough of capitalism; it's inequality, grinding poverty, starvation, and exploitation. While it is true the British, French, and Americans Imperialists fought alongside the Soviets against the Germans, Italian, and Japanese Fascists in WW2; unlike the Soviets, they were not fighting a war of ideologies, but one fought among capitalists for expansion and control of markets; paid for by the lives of the working class. And pay the working class did dearly: A staggering 37

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million people died in WW1; and another 85 million in WW2.<sup>4</sup> The people of France, Italy, Greece, and Belgium, were all organized to vote out their right-wing capitalist governments in the next elections. Strikes were being called throughout Western Europe. In France alone, a General Strike was called in which more than 3 million workers participated during Nov. of 1947, literally bringing the country to a stand still; and in Greece 2½ out of 7 million were officially communist party supporters. Western Europe was going to go communist; that is if something was not done.

According to James Reston, the New York Times correspondent this is where the Marshall Plan came in. It was actually created, not to provide economic investment or rebuild Europe's destroyed infrastructure, but to provide US military support to the (capitalist) French and Italian governments to be used against communists as well as to direct financial aid to the anti-communist parties (NYT Dec. 5, 1947).<sup>5</sup> In a 1949 State Department intelligence report, advisor and US diplomat George F. Kennan wrote that communists were "people who are committed to the belief that the government has direct responsibility for the welfare of the people" So they had to be dealt with harshly without regard for such niceties as democratization and human rights.<sup>6</sup>

In the case of a small, unindustrialized country like Greece, the British and Americans were able to maintain capitalist exploitation and oppression through brute force; rigging elections, murdering strikers and union leaders, massacring the population by dropping napalm, and staging right-wing coups. However, countries like Italy, France, and Germany were different. They were large countries and there was much to lose both politically and economically unlike Greece. Other methods had to be incorporated.

Created in 1949, the initials NATO stands for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Its 28 member nations' military is U.S.-commanded and serves predominantly British, German and Wall Street interests. According to Giuseppe de Lutiis and others, it grew out of the MI6 (British Secret Service) and the US Marshall Plan. In order to join and remain a member of NATO, a nation was obligated by its very charter to create an underground secret government to expressly counter "worker movements" as for example Italy did when it joined NATO in 1949.<sup>7</sup>

One method involved having right-wing governments subvert worker-led movements by rushing to offer concessions (such as unemployment insurance, social security, and higher wages). Providing tempo-

rary concessions that could later be rescinded allowed the Ruling Elite to undermine Communist Labor movements and buy time until the threats of revolution were no more. The Austerity measures we are now witnessing are part of this take back.

The other method was more sinister. As the CIC (US Counter Intelligence Corps) publicly tracked down certain German Nazis to be tried in the Nuremberg Show Trials to show how anti-Fascist the Americans were, others in the organization were secretly tracking down former Nazis and Fascists to recruit them into NATO's secret government and army. Former Nazis like the infamous Butcher of Lyon, Klaus Barbie and the little known Reinhard Gehlen. Though referred by Hitler as his right-hand man and involved in the torture, interrogation and starvation of over 4 million Soviet prisoners of war, Gehlen's name is rarely mentioned in schoolbooks. In fact, his Nazi past was completely wiped clean in order to have him appointed as Director of the BND (the West German Intelligence agency) after the war. As the former Director of the Nazi Intelligence agency, NATO considered him their greatest prize. Recruiting former Nazis and Fascists in various countries, he resurrected the Nazi spy ring, which he then incorporated to create NATO's underground organization: He more than anyone else was almost single-handedly responsible for its creation. With the help of Gehlen and other former Nazis, NATO was successful in propping up and maintaining right-wing governments in power using nefarious methods; some of which included: assassination, character assassination, rigged elections, control of the media & education, and most importantly what would be termed a "strategy of tension". It should be noted that even governments which called themselves Socialist in name, as for example in France, were really lackeys of NATO.

### Strategy of Tension

*On December 12, 1969 in Milan, Italy 17 people died and 88 were wounded in the Piazza Fontana Bombing.*

*On January 24, 1977, known as the Atocha Massacre, 5 people were killed and 4 wounded during a shooting spree in the Atocha railway station in Madrid, Spain. Most of those killed were members of the Workers' Commissions Trade Union.*

*During 1983-1985 in what is known as the Brabant killings, a group of what appeared random street killings in Belgium 28 people died and hundreds wounded.*

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Though US/NATO was successful in brutally overthrowing democratically elected governments and installing puppet right-wing governments in such countries like Greece in 1967, Haiti in 1991, and the Ukraine last year; Nevertheless, it was even more successful in Belgium, France, and Italy where covert manipulation was used instead. Elections gave citizens the illusion that they had a choice in their government; that their governments were beholden to their best interests in some way. Of course, elections were not free. It was a way to mask ruling class exploitation; to make it more palatable to citizens. They were in reality rigged and the only choice citizens really had was between which slavemaster (preapproved by Finance Capital) they wanted to vote for.

The "Strategy of Tension" combined with the use of public relations became NATO's signature tactic from the 1960's on. According to Italian Judge Casson, "The right-wing extremists and their supporters within NATO feared that the Italian Communists would become too powerful and hence in an attempt to 'destabilize in order to stabilize' the secret right-wing soldiers linked to the Gladio armies (the name of the secret Italian government and army) carried out massacres, which they blamed on the left. ..That's to say, to create tension within the country and hence promote conservative, reactionary social and political tendencies."<sup>8</sup>

In 1990 NATO's secret government and army came to light due to the courageous effort of Italian officials. Official figures state that in Italy alone between 1969-1987, NATO was involved in 14,591 acts of violence, including the aforementioned ones; leaving behind 491 dead and 1,181 injured.<sup>9</sup> Sadly while in Italy, Belgium, and Switzerland NATO's secret government and armies were being denounced, there was complete silence in the US and British media. After great waves of protests, the European Parliament finally felt forced in November 1990 to publically condemn Gladio, Stay Behind, and the numerous other secret NATO chapters; as well as demanding both a full investigation and their dismantling.

20 years later there have been no investigations nor proof of its dismantling.

### **9/11, Charlie Hebdo shooting, bank bailouts, and the Austerity Measure**

*NYC Sept. 11, 2001-2,996 people died in what became known as 9/11*

*12 people were killed on Jan. 9, 2014 as two gunmen opened fire at the French satirical publication*

*Charlie Hebdo. A day earlier, 4 innocent people died in the deadly Porte de Vincennes Supermarket shooting also in Paris.*

*On August 19, 2014 James Foley, American freelance journalist and photojournalist, was beheaded by so-called "ISIS". He was one of several reporters beheaded by "ISIS", which has captured front page news.*

During the 1930's and 1940's, (which represented the height of union & communist membership) the US government was putting people back to work through programs like the WPA in the US and the Marshall Plan in Europe; yet today the opposite is true. Manufacturing is encouraged to relocate factories and offices to outsource blue and white collar jobs. This has created unemployment rates over 35% in most of Europe and the US (the latter known for falsifying its official figures). At the same time the West is purposely creating massive unemployment, it is implementing Austerity: Slashing wages, pensions, food assistance and closing schools, libraries, and hospitals. For example, at a time when 1/2 the US population lives at or near the poverty level<sup>10</sup>; SNAP (AKA Foodstamps) was mercilessly cut on Nov. 2013. "Austerity" is due to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1992; engineered by US/NATO. The Soviet Union provided a bulwark against worker exploitation; as can be seen by NAFTA (one of the most anti-worker acts) and Clinton's Welfare Reform Bill being passed immediately afterwards. Homelessness and hunger once nearly nonexistent throughout Europe and the US are now endemic. While our governments strictly frames the conversation around such subjects as austerity, bank failures, and debt repayment, they are secretly laughing at us behind our backs for being such idiots as to even entertain this narrative. After all, any "fool" can see that it's irrational for any government to claim it doesn't have billions to provide for social programs that economically help its citizens, while at the same time giving away trillions upon trillions in bank bailouts to the 1% and invading foreign countries for the benefit of lining the pockets of war manufacturers. As the working class is experiencing economic warfare, what is the corporate-owned media focused on instead? "Islamic" terrorism, the latest hit song by Lady Gaga, or seeing Kim Kardashian's ass on her latest TV Reality show.

Only time can tell if the 9/11, Hebdo, and the ISIS attacks can be linked directly to US/NATO as the tens of thousands of others that have come before. One thing is clear these attacks have been used to justify

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the creation of agencies like the TSA that tap public phone lines and rationalize the passing of restrictive and oppressive laws curtailing civil rights. In fact, most of the anti-terrorist laws passed have been used as revenue generators (i.e. stopping working class people for outrageous traffic & loitering tickets) or to suppress and persecute working class movements and individuals trying to make their voices heard. Groups such as the anti-war coalitions, Occupy, environmental movements, or even whole cities like Ferguson fighting for the retention of their civil rights. The authorities have gone so far as persecute individuals doing something as simple as feeding the homeless and the needy. Its no coincidence that immediately after 9/11, both the Congress and Senate (as well as the media) focused their attention solely on passing the repressive Patriot Act, but none on the numerous discrepancies relating to the attack. For instance: how it was possible that NYC spent over \$1 billion on defense; yet not one of the thousands of missiles lining New York Bay shot down either plane? Or how Al Queda, the so-called organization responsible for the attack was on the US government payroll?

### Today

While the workers won considerable concessions after World War 2, the Fascists didn't lose the war, they lost the battle. The war is still being fought. NATO was created from the ashes of Nazism and Fascism. NATO's symbol-the compass is an open reference to its desire for world domination. It was the banks who financed Hitler, Mussolini, Franco, Horti, and so forth in order to suppress the working class. The same Finance capital we see behind the Color Revolutions in Eastern Europe today. Everywhere we

are seeing a decline in living standards. The Western governments are now calling to, not just cut benefits, but to eliminate all social programs; including social security. It is no coincidence that in those countries disillusioned by electoral politics, we are seeing NATO install Fascist puppet governments as in the Ukraine. We cannot be distracted by NATO and its bag of tricks like those before us naively did. NATO is not just a smokescreen for Fascism. It is Fascism. Socialism will never come about through elections, but only through struggle. We must all fight to create a better world. One based on human dignity and love of each other and the precious earth we live in. Fukushima, GMOs, ocean acidification, global warming, and nuclear armaments all threaten life on this planet. It is no longer a question of freedom or barbarism anymore, but of justice or the death of our planet. It is no longer a question of freedom or barbarism anymore, but of justice or the death of our planet.

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- 2 Rania Khalek --"Iraqi Birth Defects Worse than Hiroshima", March 20, 2013
- 3 Wikipedia-World War 1 Causalities
- 4 Pat Levy-The Home Front in World War II. Raintree, Chicago, IL, 2014, pg 4.
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- 6 Michael Parenti-Black Shirts and Reds : Rational Fascism and the Overthrow of Communism. City Lights Publishers. San Francisco, CA. (Jan. 1, 2001), pg. 32
- 7 Daniele Ganser-NATO's Secret Armies: Operation Gladio and Terrorism in Western Europe. Frank Cass. London, England. (2005), pg 99
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## PCUSA First Congress!

The first congress of the Party of Communists USA will be held the weekend of March 25-27, 2016 in the New York City area. The registration deadline is August 1, 2015!

We require a cash deposit and a membership application if you are attending as a delegate, or a cash deposit and personal registration information if you will be attending as a guest. We have to reserve rooms



and know how many meals to prepare. We also need to know whom to contact in case of emergency. We need many details well before the date so that we can plan accordingly. So please, comrades, contact Martin Marshall at your earliest convenience: 1 (478) 722-4661 so that he can assist you and provide you with all of the event information. Remember, we have a world to win!

# A Weakening U.S. Empire Lashes Out at Home and Abroad

by George Greene

## A Weakening U.S. Empire Lashes Out at Home and Abroad

In September of 2000, U.S. ruling class spokespersons in a group called “Project for a New American Century” wrote a paper called “Rebuilding America’s Defenses.” It called for an expanded U.S. military, with bases in all parts of the world. It stated that, in order to carry this out, there would have to be “some catastrophic and catalyzing event – like a new Pearl Harbor” ([www.informationclearinghouse.info/pdf/RebuildingAmericasDefenses.pdf](http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/pdf/RebuildingAmericasDefenses.pdf)). Obliging, a year later, on 9/11/2001, the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon took place. This led to the U.S. war of terror all over the world; overthrowing the governments of Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya; orchestrating the fascist coup in Ukraine, as well as threatening the governments of Syria, Iran and North Korea.

However, the US has not been totally successful. North Korea and Syria are continuing to defend their independence. US troops are still fighting in Afghanistan and Iraq. In east Ukraine many in the People’s Republics of Donetsk and Lugansk are raising the red flag of socialism.

### Attacks on Workers at Home

At the same time, Washington has been engaging in increasing economic attacks on the working class at home. While it bailed out the banks and other financial institutions to the tune of some \$7 trillion, the workers lost their jobs and saw their wages, food stamps, and social security cut. 8 years later while the official unemployment figures are cited as 5.5%, the real unemployment and underemployment is estimated at almost 18%. Throughout the US, there has been a foreclosure crisis. As factories relocate abroad, people can no longer afford to pay their mortgages or even water bills. Meanwhile in more U.S. cities, local budgets are being placed under the supervision of “emergency managers” who ensure that banks and other city creditors are paid off, while the cities sink deeper into debt. A perfect example of this is Detroit, where schools and libraries are closing, city workers are having their wages and pensions cut, while the banks are receiving full dollar value on their debt.

The government’s attack on working people includes privatizing the few remaining public services, for example, handing over the Post Office to corporations like Staples and Wal-Mart that pay well below a



living wage as well as privatizing public schools. This attack on public sector workers goes along with the attack on unions in the private sector. The U.S. ruling class is pushing for a minimum wage work force overall. For example, Obama’s bailout of auto giants General Motors and Chrysler in 2009 was conditional on the UAW’s agreement to accept a 50% lower starting salary for new hires. This is further exacerbated by the creation of a sub-minimum wage work force among our immigrant workers, where wage theft (below minimum wages, non-payment of overtime, stolen tips, etc.) is estimated at \$20 million per week in New York and \$29 million per week in California alone (see [rrealitycheck.org/article/2014/12/11](http://rrealitycheck.org/article/2014/12/11)).

There has been a fightback as low-wage workers and immigrant workers have demonstrated around the country calling for a minimum wage of \$15 and a union. The workers in these industries, of course, must take the lead in the fight. As wages continue to decline, the ruling class, in order to prevent fightback, have been instituting a wide array of laws criminalizing the working class and instituting repressive actions.

### Police Brutality, National Oppression and the New Mass Movement

While the ruling class has been putting the squeeze on all workers in the economic sphere, it has been exercising particular terror against people of the oppressed nationalities, especially Black and Latino youth. This is because as the economy worsens, they have fewer opportunities for employment and the government fears the revolutionary potential of these oppressed groups. Police terror resulting in the murders of Walter Scott in North Charleston, South Carolina, Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri, and Eric Garner in Staten Island, New York are only the best-

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known of the thousands killed by police throughout the country, Black, Latino and white. The fact that the cops got off with impunity in the "justice" system should show once again that it is not a question of a few "rotten apples," but of a rotten, capitalist system that uses race try to pit workers against each other so they will not unite to fight their real oppressors. As our Party has consistently pointed out in our leaflets, the cops are an arm of the capitalist state apparatus, whose job it is to suppress not just Blacks and Latinos, but all working people.

The protests in Ferguson immediately after the murder of Mike Brown lasted for weeks, and the protests after the back-to-back refusal to indict the killers of Brown and Garner spread throughout the country. To counteract these displays of protest and dissatisfaction, the U.S. ruling class has been increasing its military response. For example, not only did Missouri Democratic Governor Jay Nixon preemptively declare a state of emergency in Ferguson before the decision not to indict the killer cop, but he called in 2,200 National Guard troops. Moreover, police used armored cars, tanks, helicopters and machine guns to stare down and try to suppress

### **The Role of Deception within the Mass Movement**

*Besides repression, the government uses deception to keep people from understanding the role of the police in capitalist society. In Ferguson, Missouri State Highway Patrol Capt. Ronald Johnson called for respect for demonstrators while trying to convince them to disperse. In New York City, Rev. Al Sharpton, a close friend of liberal Mayor Bill De Blasio, has been promoting "improved police community relations." And the bureaucrats from 1199, one of the main unions that mobilized protesters against the murder of Eric Garner, combined this with calls to support the police.*

*This combination of repression with deception has been used by ruling classes historically to prevent workers from organizing. For example, in Russia, Tsar Nicolas presented himself as a caring, benevolent figure. During the revolution of 1905 in St. Petersburg, Father Gapon tried to steer workers away from the revolutionary movement towards a peaceful demonstration asking "Father Tsar" to help the workers. The tsar responded by ordering troops to shoot into the crowd, killing 40 workers.*

the Ruling Class and not to protect the community.

Further, we need to connect struggles against national oppression with the struggles of the multinational working class, for example with the struggle for \$15 an hour and a union. This is part of the task of building a united front against war, national oppression and attacks on workers as the form that a united front against fascism should take today. Finally, there is a need to rebuild a communist party in America which again as in the 1930's gives clarity to the nature of the capitalist state and the need for its replacement with a socialist state.

the protestors. In fact, the federal government has already been providing huge quantities of such heavy equipment to police forces throughout the country.

### **How We Must Fight Back?**

Creating a working class movement is possible today as seen by the thousands of people, particularly Black youths who took part in such protests for the first time. So far the movement has been mainly spontaneous with little organizational leadership. There is a need for clarity on the role of the police and the capitalist state in general: Their purpose is to repress the population when it challenges the exploitation of

## **To The Editor:**

As some people are aware, the FARC-EP is now engaged in peace talks in Havana, Cuba. The FARC-EP (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia-People's Army) has been active since 1964 and they started out as a military wing of the Colombian Communist Party to defend communities that were Communist in the north of the country during La Violencia and the Colombian government, along with right-wing paramilitaries has been waging a war on the FARC-EP ever since.

The FARC-EP wants peace to come to Colombia. However, peace is impossible because of U.S. imperi-

## **LETTER**

alist intervention in the internal affairs of Colombia. Most of South America has tilted to the left in countries like Venezuela, Brazil, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Bolivia, Guyana, Suriname and Ecuador. The U.S has pumped billions of dollars in military aid in Colombia since 2000 and this was the 'Plan Colombia' that former U.S. President Bill Clinton started with former Colombian President Andres Pastrana.

Since 2000, and even before 2000, the U.S. has pumped billions of dollars in military aid to Colombia's armed forces like Black hawk helicopters and armored personnel carriers and small arms. Colombia is

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the 'Israel' of Latin America because the U.S. has used Colombia as a base for U.S. imperialism throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. The U.S. uses Colombia as a staging ground to destabilize progressive governments in the neighboring countries of Ecuador, Venezuela and Bolivia. All this in the guise of the so-called 'War on Drugs' or as I would like to call it, the 'War on the People'. The U.S. has funded, and even took part, in aerial spray operations that fumigate and destroy drug crops like Coca, Marijuana and Opium Poppies. However, these aerial spray operations destroy useful crops like corn, beans, cocoa, papaya, passion fruit, sugar and pineapple and it renders the land unproductive and therefore farmers and other people who have worked the land have had to move to larger cities like Bogota and Medellin to find work because the land is no longer productive due to the aerial spraying for illicit crops.

The U.S. has funded, armed and trained right-wing paramilitary groups like the AUC (Autodefensas de Uraba Y Cordoba) since the 1980's. Former Colombian President Alvaro Uribe Velez was involved with and supported the AUC.

The FARC-EP is a people's army. The only group, other than the ELN (Army of National Liberation) that is fighting for the people of Colombia. The absurdity put out by the U.S. Department of State is that the FARC-EP is a terrorist organization and even has them on a designated list of foreign terrorist organizations. This is an absolute and blatant lie put out by the U.S. Government. The FARC-EP is not a terrorist organization and have never committed any act of terrorism within or outside of Colombia. The FARC-EP is a national liberation movement that is Marxist-Leninist, anti-Revisionist and Revolutionary Socialist. They are fighting against U.S. imperialism and fighting against oppression and repression of the Colombian people. Repression and oppression that is supported by U.S. imperialism.

The FARC-EP is not a narcotics trafficking organization nor are they involved in human trafficking of people and they are not involved in sexual abuse of women cadres and they are not involved in forced abortions of women cadres. The members of the FARC-EP has given up regular lives and comfort to make Colombia a better place for everyone. They are fighting against U.S. imperialist subjugation of Colombia and they are fighting for social justice for all Colombians. They would like to see money from multinational corporations invested in education,

healthcare, infrastructure and roads in Colombia. They are fighting for social equality for all Colombians.

The wealthy few of Colombia and the large multinational corporations in Colombia like Coca-Cola, Occidental Petroleum, British Petroleum, Drummond Corporation and others want to see Colombia under the boot of U.S. imperialism. They are more concerned for their profits instead of the Colombian people or Colombian national development. These corporations put their money in U.S. or other offshore banks and do not invest one penny in Colombian national investment. Also, these multinational corporations hire and arm right-wing paramilitaries to protect their interests and to even assassinate union leaders and trade unionists. Colombia is one of the most dangerous countries in the world to be a union member.

The people of Colombia and the FARC-EP have a right to resist U.S. imperialism and a right to resist their country being used as a base for U.S. imperialism in Latin America. It is U.S. intervention in Colombia's internal affairs and U.S. support for right-wing paramilitary groups that is causing the war in Colombia. It is not the FARC-EP. The FARC-EP supports working people of the United States and the FARC-EP is not the enemy of working people of the United States, or anywhere else in the world. The enemy is the capitalist ruling class who rule Colombia and the U.S. The FARC-EP has stood in solidarity with the brave and heroic people of Ferguson, Missouri and they have stood in solidarity with the Palestinian people.

The revolutionary people of the U.S. should stand in solidarity and show support for the FARC-EP and the Colombian people against further bloodshed in their country that is caused directly and indirectly by the United States. It is absurd that the U.S. tax payer is paying for war in Colombia.

Resistance to U.S. imperialism is not terrorism!

Long Live the FARC-EP!

Brandon Harris, Boonville, Indiana



# Stepan Bandera and the Rise of Ukrainian Fascism

by Gregory Rose

While the origins of Ukrainian fascism are to be found as much in rightwing White Army politics in the Russian civil war and even earlier in the Tsarist Black Hundreds pogroms against Jews and other ethnic minorities in the Ukraine, most observers locate the emergence of an active, anti-Soviet, fascist movement with the emergence of Stepan Bandera as the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (in Ukrainian, OUN) in 1933. Born in 1909 in then Austro-Hungarian Galicia to an ethnic Ukrainian family in what became part of Poland after World War I, Bandera was quickly attracted to Ukrainian nationalist politics both in Poland and the newly emerged Soviet Ukraine. Bandera rapidly rose in the OUN leadership before his arrest and imprisonment in 1934 for the attempted assassination of the Polish Interior Minister. Bandera was freed from prison by the arrival of German troops invading Poland in 1939 and made his base in the German-occupied Gouvernement General of Poland.

Already well-experienced in underground operations in the Soviet Ukraine, he had been heavily involved in encouraging Ukrainian peasants to rebel against collectivization of agriculture. He was involved in promoting the myth of the Holodomor — the claim later put forward by Nazi propaganda and Ukrainian nationalists that the Soviet government intentionally starved millions of Ukrainian peasants to death. The truth is far more complex. Beginning in 1930, an extensive drought was experienced in Ukraine and southern Russia. This came immediately on the heels of the heightened class struggle associated with collectivization of agriculture. Rightwing peasants, resisting the Soviet government, destroyed crops and livestock, while conditions akin to civil war obtained in areas of the Ukraine. The Soviet government prioritized distribution of seed grain to areas which participated in collectivization and provided grain for the urban working class. Certainly a humanitarian tragedy resulted, but the archives reveal no evidence of any Soviet government plot to starve the Ukraine.

With the German invasion of the Soviet Union in September 1941, the OUN seized power in Lviv and conducted a pogrom against Jews, Poles, and Russians

in the city. While there is little evidence that Bandera was personally anti-Semitic, he indulged freely the political anti-Semitism of the OUN rank-and-file. Extensive cooperation was given to the German Abwehr and SS units in the invasion of the USSR. Making a bid for Ukrainian independence, Bandera quickly ran afoul of the German occupation authorities who regarded Ukrainians as Slavic subhumans who were not to be encouraged to indulge their nationalism. Bandera and his would-be government soon found themselves interned in the special Zelenbau barracks for high-profile prisoners.



In April 1944 the Nazi leadership came to an agreement with Bandera and released him to conduct anti-Soviet operations on the eastern front with extensive German backing. Even before Bandera's release elements of the OUN had served as German aux-

iliaries, including in the Einsatzgruppen, which served as mobile murder units killing a million Soviet Jews and Communists. Bandera helped organize the 14th Waffen Grenadier Division, primarily from Ukrainian volunteers.

With the defeat of Germany in World War II, Bandera was quickly taken under the patronage of British intelligence and the CIA, continuing to launch a guerrilla campaign against Soviet authorities attempting to reconstruct the war-torn Ukraine. In 1959 Bandera was brought to justice by a KGB operation in which KGB officer Bogdan Stashynsky killed him on a Munich street. However, this was unfortunately not the end of Bandera's influence.

With the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 the rightwing emerged from the fringes of Ukrainian society. OUN activists organized the Social-National Party in 1995, which shortly thereafter became Svoboda, whose leaders were prominent in the Maidan provocations in Kiev in 2014 which led to rightwing government in Ukraine. A split between OUN activists occasioned the creation of the UNA out of which grew the neo-Nazi Praviy Sektor which was also prominent in the Maidan. Thus the poison of Stepan Bandera continues to fester in the heart of the Ukraine.



## Scientific Socialism- Empowering the Working Class

Workers of the world, Unite. This is the task of communist agitation and the promise of progressive social, political and economic development in the context of the extreme crisis produced by monopoly capitalism today. This crisis has sharpened the class struggle in the United States, producing the threat of a fascist dictatorship laying waste to the hard fought gains of working people. Steady erosion of working people's rights and sovereignty has produced a cloak and dagger State that consumes huge quantities of resources while it brutally represses and impoverishes populations, securing ever-increasing wealth for an industrial and financial elite.

For the Party of Communists USA Our Eight Points of Marxist-Leninist Unity describe Scientific Socialism as the historically proven method to empower working people in the class struggle for revolutionary change. In the battle for the hearts and minds of working people, the coming period holds fresh opportunities for struggle and learning.

As we celebrate the anniversary of socialism's victory over fascism in Europe (May 9, 1945), the scourge of a re-birth of fascism in Ukraine and the courageous fight of the Ukrainian partisans to defend a soviet identity is the clarion call to working people everywhere about the importance of class struggle. We call for a United and Popular Front, including those who may not be in full agreement with our 8 points of unity, to join in the fight against growing Fascism, imperialist wars, and political and economic attacks on working people

On the international front our Party is challenged mightily. At no time has it been more clear that an international center of working class discipline needs to be re-founded. Just as the USSR led workers to unify their demands on a global scale (with the Comintern) we must acknowledge the efforts of national revolutionary advances as part of a coordinated international agenda. The imperial lords of capital have their NATO, the working class must claim its International. Let this be a call worldwide to representatives of the masses; Unite, we have nothing to lose but our chains.

## Socialist Courage-Victory of the Cuban 5

An essential mention must be made about an example of class unity, solidarity and principle that quintessentially defines comradely etiquette. The return of the Cuban Five to their home country fills us all with pride and veneration. This proud people stand victorious as a stirring example to the world of socialist courage and resolve. We can have no better model of socialist unity than the one these Cuban comrades

have given us. These allies of international sister and brotherhood faced down the behemoth of capital bestiality, the State Department of the USA and delivered a moral lesson the likes of which has earned the acclaim of working people the world over. Enlisting the support and contribution of nearly every national representative of people on the globe (including a courageous American collective), the Cuban people instructed the bullies of Wall Street in the lesson of manners appropriate to their juvenile mentality. The result -- heroic representatives of Cuba, imprisoned unjustly in the dungeons of the Empire, have returned home unbowed and victorious to a cheering populous.

## Race, Gender, and the Class Struggle

In particular we recognize the importance of the contributions of both African-Americans and women in the struggle for socialism. The example of African American leadership in modern social progress continues through our present period. W.E.B. Dubois continues to be a source of inspiration 147 years after his birth (February 23, 1868), for the organic practice and development of Marxist scientific method in the United States of America. This original creative contribution among many others, could have no more auspicious and courageous roots; a people oppressed and exploited in the birth of global capitalism who continue to battle and win against impossible odds at every turn. From the tremendous earth-shaking events of the Haitian Revolution in the 19th century to the valiant inspiring struggle to emancipate working folk through the human rights advances of the 20th century, the African American contribution to progress is recognized universally for its potent example in class struggle.

Similarly communist women have made great contributions and strides in the struggle, such as Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Claudia Jones. Both were amazing labor organizers and active in the women's rights movement. Claudia, as an African American focused on fighting the triple oppression of African-American working women; as a worker, as a woman, and as person of color. As examples of courageous fighters, in the class struggle working women are second to none! Organizing not just for specific women's issues, but also for class issue as a whole. Organizationally our class owes a great deal to women. The success of our work (winning the class struggle) depends on our ability to maximize participation from our sisters; history teaches this lesson assiduously.

We could not imagine better circumstances to take up the march toward our first Congress for the Party of Communists USA (March 2016). Join with us if you long for justice, peace and socialism.

# Lessons Learned from the Revisionism in the CPUSA

By Joseph F. Hancock

To understand where modern day revisionism comes from in the CPUSA it is necessary to go back to the party's beginning in 1919. The CPUSA was formed out of the split with the Socialist Party and the Second International. But because comrades could not agree on a unified program, two separate parties were formed. It was only through decisions made by the Comintern that the Americans were forced to unite into one Communist Party of the United States of America.

Right opportunism always existed in the party. In the '20s there was the opportunism of Jay Lovestone. He was expelled when it was discovered that he was double dealing. In the 30's there was the split with the Trotskyites, who left the CPUSA to form the socialist Workers Party. J.D. Cannon, who led this split was one of Trotsky's main confidants. Then there was Earl Browder. In the beginning, he wrote many good party pamphlets and was ideologically very sound. He was a staunch supporter of the Soviet Union, but toward the end WW II, he adopted the theory of what came to be known as 'American exceptionalism.' This concept separated American workers from workers in other countries and eventually led to the liquidation of the CPUSA. The party was formally dissolved in 1944 and turned into the Communist Political Association. Truly, Browder believed, as did leaders of the CPUSA that came along later like Sam Webb, that capitalism and socialism could 'peacefully co-exist' in a competitive world.

## We Need A Comintern

For lack of a Communist International (Comintern) Communist Parties are free to develop dangerous ideological trends like Euro-communism and peaceful co-existence that limit the role of CP's worldwide. In the case of the CPUSA, this is exactly what has happened. Let's take a look at the present situation. The CPUSA properties are the party's main source of income. But instead of using the income for organizing purposes, the funds are used to maintain a small staff of technocrats that perform various non-political functions. As of this writing, it is possible to join the CPUSA online for only \$12! No ideological or political training are needed. A plastic membership is mailed out with a few party documents and the person that sent in the \$12 becomes a member. It doesn't matter if the person is an agent of the government or another "left" group

or not. Now think about for a moment what is necessary to join any other credible Communist Party around the world. The comrades would never allow this!

## From a Cadre Party to a Mass Party without the Masses

The CPUSA has changed from a cadre organization to a mass organization without any masses. They have abandoned the vanguard party concept, have removed discussion of Lenin's works from discussion beyond saying that he was one of the great communist minds. They envision building a bourgeois left electoral front to compete in elections that will include all of the other small parties like theirs. Finally, they never discuss socialism as a possibility for the United States.

This year, for all these reasons, some of us who were dropped from membership in the CPUSA formed a new party, the Party of Communists, USA. We are a cadre party that is built around 8 points of Marxist-Leninist unity. We immediately began to try to build ties with CP's associated with the KKE of Greece. We published their articles on our website, ideological-fightback.com and we sent a representative to the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY) festival in Ecuador in 2012. We also attempted to work with the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (IMCWP) without success. We did all this because the CPUSA was not representing the communist ideological view in the United States.

## The Origins of Modern Opportunism

We see the origins of modern opportunism and class collaboration in the CPUSA as it developed during the Gus Hall years, even in colloquial terms. The position of General Secretary of the party was changed to National Chair. The Central Committee was changed to the National Committee. Around the world communist meetings are called congresses. In the U.S. they are called "conventions." Anything to be exceptional; to be different from other workers! Although it cannot be known with absolute certainty, we believe that in Gus Hall's later years, the ideas that were published as being his were actually penned by someone else. These ideas, including many of Sam Webb's ideas and many that think the way he does, were substituted for Gus Hall's true thoughts. Personal contact with him, including phone calls were cut off.

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Here is an example. Gus formulated the concept of the "Communist Plus." What he used to say about our comrades involved in trade union work was that they were excellent trade unionists, but very poor comrades. They never brought up the subject of communism or the party with their co-workers. Later, a concept came out that comrade Gus called "Bill of Rights" socialism. How could a leading communist take a bourgeois document, the Bill of Rights of the U.S. Constitution and compare it to our vision of socialism? On the one hand, he criticized our trade union comrades for not bringing up communism on the job, while on the other, he suggests that American socialism will be based on the bourgeois Bill of Rights! How can communists implement the communist plus when it is based on the party's allegory to a bourgeois document? This was largely right opportunism, and many comrades were confused and many worked inside the Democratic Party instead of building the CPUSA.

### **All Centralism, No Democracy**

In the 1940's the Social-Democratic unions in the United States used to have a saying: "clear it with Sidney," referring to Sidney Hillman, the leader of the needle trades unions. He called the shots. And so it is in the CPUSA. There are no clubs/cells to speak of. Only individual members sending in dues. District meetings are few and far between. So decisions are made in a vacuum. The decisions of the CPUSA are made in New York and Chicago by a National Committee that no one knows. In other words, all of the capitalist stereotypes about communists and their organizations apply to the CPUSA. They lack humanity or concern for their comrades. They are manipulative, cunning, deceptive, and dishonest. Why would any worker want to join such an organization? The truth is that most do not. The problem is that the CPUSA gives all the rest of us honest communists that speak from the heart a bad name. Since 2010, four clubs have been told by the CPUSA leadership that "the Party is going in a different direction". First it was the Arts and Media club in New York, using the excuse that the club had too many close connections to the Canadian organization North Star Compass. Then it was the Houston Communist club because they refused to remove their internet website. Then it was the Los Angeles (California) Metro club because the club distributed information from the KKE (Communist Party of Greece) at a district meeting, and placed a banner with the likeness of Joseph Stalin and other Communist heroes in front of the Los Angeles Workers'

Center." Finally, it was the Austen Hogen (New York) transportation club because they were supporting the website mltoday.com. The decision to stop printing the party newspaper altogether was made by the CPUSA National Committee over strong protest from the comrades around the country that depended on the paper to engage workers in their communities. "All of these decisions were made for the self interest of bureaucrats protecting their jobs and had nothing to do with real communist politics. All of the Party clubs were doing good communist work, utilizing the Party press, just as comrade Gus Hall said: "the Communist Plus".

### **Before Gus Hall**

Before Gus Hall took over leadership of the CPUSA in 1963, there was flawed leadership after Earl Browder was expelled from the party. Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were executed on June 19, 1953. John Gates was a party leader in the 1950's and caused a lot of damage because of his opposition to the defense of socialist Hungary by the USSR in 1956. This was followed by the Khrushchev revelations, which turned out to be completely false. But the damage was done. There were also many political repressions in the 1950's that vanquished important party leadership. Gus Hall himself spent 8 years in federal prison on a charge of "conspiracy to teach" communism. The party did not fully recover from these political repressions. Henry Winston, for example, became blind because he was in prison and had a brain tumor. Prison officials refused to give him medical care. He never regained his sight. His saying was: "I lost my sight but not my vision." The great singer, actor, performer, lawyer, athlete Paul Robeson had his passport revoked and was not able to travel. All of these events had a huge impact of the functioning and effectiveness of the party. Then came the 60's and Dorothy Healy's defection from the party over Czechoslovakia in 1968. Then came Al Richmond's anti-communist book, *Long View From The Left*. All these events taken separately don't mean much, but taken together, a pattern can be established that shows the ideological weakness of the party, and a rejection of Democratic Centralism. Gus Hall was a product of the Khrushchev era. As such, he was anti-Stalin and accepted the anti-Stalin paradigm which influenced the CPUSA. During the Brezhnev period, the anti-Stalin slanders were never corrected. Later, Gorbachev continued with more vigor, the slanders of comrade Stalin that were started by Khrushchev.

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## Principles Before Personalities

In our movement, there have always been strong personalities. We have to guard against the tendency of working as individuals. Our collectivity is the strength of our Bolshevik outlook. Bad ideas and decisions come from us not working collectively. As I mentioned previously, Gus Hall was surrounded by comrades that did not permit him to interact with the broader party. This kept him insulated. This must never happen. When it does, disaster strikes. I was very impressed by the stark contrast of the CPUSA conventions and the fifth congress of the PCM. In Mexico there were no issues of transparency, no issues of democratic centralism. The comrades functioned from beginning to end as true communists. They are a shining example of how a Communist Party should be organized, whereas, the CPUSA was not. Microphones were turned off, resolutions that were passed on the floor were overturned by the comrades on the dais. Parliamentary manoeuvres were made to limit debate. The pre-convention period was shortened to one month and so on. All of this was done by non-communists to honest hard working party members. Why? Because in the CPUSA we were taught to listen to our leaders and read their publications. Unfortunately, our leaders were wrong and were not challenged until it was too late. What has happened to the CPUSA is a tragedy and a great setback for the world communist movement. We have not only the right but also the duty to speak up and to challenge our leaders when we feel they are making mistakes in judgment. This was not done for many reasons. As it turns out, those who did were dropped from membership in violation of the CPUSA constitution. The leaders of the CPUSA are people without communist principles.

## Work Among the Youth

One of the cardinal sins of the CPUSA was to allow their Young Communist League to fall apart. It has no political direction, no youth magazine or newspaper to distribute and no active communication. This must never happen in a communist organization. Our new party, the PCUSA has a youth organization called the League of Young Communists (LYC) with a newspaper titled *Our Time Is Now*, a webpage, a Tumbler page and has reached out to youth across the United States. We now have active LYC cells in Los Angeles, Texas, Indiana, Michigan, and Florida. We are growing all the time because we have a program and a respect of the important role the youth play in our society. We consider this to be the most important aspect of good communist work. We are also participating in

the People's School for Marxist-Leninist Studies (<http://www.psmila.org>). We believe that educating the youth of today to take our place in the revolutionary struggle is the most important.

## Communist Parties Must Retain Their Structure

During its formative years, the CPUSA had two different types of clubs or cells. There were shop clubs and community clubs. When a comrade was on the job, he/she was building the party there. There were shop papers distributed by members of the local community club. For many years, I distributed, along with many other comrades, the party paper at the plant gate at the local GM auto assembly plant. This was a kind of inside / outside strategy. Little by little, the party atrophied until almost no one was left. Many industrial plants were shut down in the 1980's. As this happened, the effective strategy disappeared along with it. Study groups disappeared. Bookstores disappeared. Soon the CPUSA was a shell of its former self. Those of us that demanded that we continue this club building strategy were called "has beens." That is to say that we lived in the past. Instead of a militant, fighting organization, the party became an appendage of the Democratic Party. Trade Union sections disappeared along with the shop clubs. The Neighborhood clubs that still existed did precinct work for the local Democratic candidates. Some CPUSA party leaders actually ran for office as Democrats. This must never be allowed to happen in a Communist organization. Comrade Lorenzo Torrez, the CPUSA District Organizer in the state of Arizona always ran for public office as a communist. He never expected to win. The point of his candidacy was to publicize the CPUSA platform and to recruit. He was a great example of Gus Hall's Communist Plus idea.

## Conclusions

In summing up the ideological problems laid at Sam Webb's doorstep beginning with his *Reflections On Socialism* and subsequent writings, the ideological problems existed in the party long before his watch. Under Webb's mis-leadership, they became glaringly apparent, but existed for many years. The ideological weakness in the CPUSA can be traced to the absence of a Comintern. The first step in making the Communist movement strong ideologically, is to build a new Communist International that is based on the direction from the KKE, the PCM, the PCPE, the Communist Party of Portugal, the Communist Party of Ireland, the Workers Party of Ireland, the Communist Party of Palestine, the Turkish Communist Party, the CP of El

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Salvador, the CP of Brazil, the CP of Sudan, the Workers Party of Hungary, the CP of Germany, and the Russian Communist Workers Party (RCWP), the Communist Party of Columbia and the FARC, the Communist Party of Bolivia, the PCUSA and other parties and formations that agree with the line of the Communist International. This would have to take place outside of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties (Solidnet). First and foremost, we must launch a polemic against Trotskyism, Maoism, Anarchism, and Social-Democracy as anti-communist ideologies. We must reject schemes that promote "market socialism" which requires the roles of exploiter and exploited to continue to exist. The role of the state needs to be clarified so that comrades understand, as in Mexico, that nationalization of industries like petrochemical does not change the relationship of the bourgeoisie to the state. The industry is "nationalized" but the bourgeoisie still controls it and reaps the profits from it and still exploits the proletariat. This is not socialism. For a long time we communists in the United States believed that nationalization of major industries like banking and telecommunications would be better than direct private ownership. But now, as Lenin correctly teaches us, with the collusion between the state and the bourgeoisie, this is no longer true. Nationalization would just further the in-

terests of the bourgeoisie and would give them even greater control that they have now with much more force. With an international communist policy, individual CP's would not be free to develop theories on their own. Had this been the case, after WW II, the situation in the CPUSA would have been very different. As it was, all we saw was a letter from Jacques Duclos of the French Communist Party admonishing Browder and American exceptionalism. While this was very helpful, it turned out not to be enough to stop the CPUSA's ideological slide. The ideological strength has to come from the Comintern as it does through the KKE's publication, *World Communist Review* (<http://iccr.gr>). It should be pointed out now here that the CPUSA now accepts Trotskyites and social-democrats into leading positions in the organization. Their purpose is to pry the party away from the working class and deliver it to the petty-bourgeoisie. So far, they have been successful. For this reason, we are starting over as a completely new organization with a new set of principles based on Marxism-Leninism and alliance with likeminded CP's

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