



1979

A Stumble and a Recovery

Remember the sad, slightly injured look of the President last spring as he informed America of an all too well known fact? There was a crisis of confidence in the country. Somehow, in Carter's words, the "little man had gotten alienated from the government." And now, at the end of 1979, recall the "blue gray, angry firmness" in the eyes of the President, as he basks in the light of "the new unity in America", the solid national chauvinism engineered by the Iranian crisis.

But more has changed over the course of 1979 than the look of President Carter and his portraits on the cover of TIME magazine. In the fall of last year, the "experts" debated whether a recession was on the horizon. Now at the end of 1979, the only question is "how deep and how long?" With hundreds of thousands already laid off and inflation skyrocketing at a rate not seen since 1946, this periodic crisis has put an end to the "recovery" from the 1973-'74 recession and all claims to the promised resurgence of the prosperous, trouble-free dreams of the 1950's and 1960's.

Nevertheless, things have not been all gloom for the capitalist class this year. In spite of the end of the economic recovery and a creeping stagnation of the economy over which they have little control, the capitalist class has effected a "recovery" to its political crisis during 1979 which is in many ways the more significant event of the year. In recovery from their "political crisis of confidence", the capitalists show the reserve strengths of their class in its struggle to retain power. This class of exploiters has proved that even under deteriorating economic conditions it is still powerful enough to patch the cracks in its popular credibility, still powerful enough to confuse the growing consciousness and revolutionary movement of the masses, still powerful enough to restore the people's delicate confidence in the system of capitalism.

In the Beginning of 1979,
There Was the Word

and the word was "political crisis" for the capitalist class

Taking up the capitalist sceptre from the disgraced criminal Richard Nixon and the stumbling Gerald Ford, Carter found himself caught between his easily tarnished image as the "human rights populist" and the more and more open appearance of the degeneracy of his capitalist class. Based on a decade of voter apathy, Carter's mandate began to falter soon after taking office. Last year's federal budget, with its increased taxes and decreased social services, stirred the masses, waking them to the economic offensive Carter designed to put the burden of the capitalists' economic crisis onto the working class. The emptiness of Carter's claim that his wage guidelines would stop inflation and the emptiness of his call for equal sacrifice was clear even before his Council on Wage Price Policy met for the first time, as real wages dipped and inflation skyrocketed. But just proving that the economic crisis is out of the hands of the current administration does not in itself constitute a political crisis for the capitalists because they simply substitute a new administration at election time, promoting the illusion that all will be well.

At the same time that Carter claimed that the economic crisis was out of his hands it was becoming all too clear that someone was benefitting. First came the monumental price gouging and profiteering by the oil companies coupled with the all too frequent revelations of Department of Energy collaboration in the plot against the gasoline buying public. The gasoline monopolists found it more difficult to blame their price gouging on the Arabs. The public was more resistant to this bunko than in 1973 or '74, because in 1979 a phenomenon occurred which had not been seen in years.

In the winter of 1978-79, there was considerable grassroots support in America for the anti-imperialist efforts of the Iranian masses to throw off the Shah. US imperialism's complicity in placing and maintaining that fascist dictator in power was not the American masses' focus of interest. But the facts of the case were



UNITE! graphic

so clear that the capitalists, in the main, did not even bother to deny them. While the role of US imperialism, so brazenly placed before the world, proved an embarrassment to the imperialists, it raised the consciousness of the US masses as it had not been raised for years. For instance, more Americans by survey than ever before were convinced of the "senselessness" of the Vietnam war. Confidence in American policy was on the wane.

But as if that weren't enough, with the temporary stabilization of events in Iran, a similar popular uprising took place in Nicaragua, another blatant case of the role of US imperialism propping up fascist regimes around the

world. This was indeed a political crisis for the capitalists. In addition to their inability to intervene to save their puppets, as they tried in Vietnam, the ruling class's degenerate world plans were constantly being dragged up to the light of day, building the consciousness of the US proletariat.

Rising as it does from the growing consciousness of the masses, this threatening proletarian consciousness began to take organizational forms. At the end of 1978, after 33 years without one, the working class found itself once again with a communist party, the CPUSA/ML, linked internationally with the worldwide communist movement. In 1979, there were once again revolu-

tionary trade union organizations (TUAL) and anti-imperialist organizations (Liberation League), so necessary to successfully battle against the imperialists. Though these organizations were very small, able to use the political crisis of the bourgeoisie only to build their influence in limited ways, the establishment of these organizations were threatening enough to attract attacks from the capitalist class. These attacks came from the state, from the reformist hacks, and from the fascist henchmen like the Klan and Nazis, not to mention the revisionists of every conceivable stripe.

Shock Waves from the Crisis

The political crisis of the capitalist class sent shock waves through their entire system of misleaders and executioners, priests and hangmen. While one group of trade union bureaucrats lined up behind Carter, risking their mass support by implementing his wage cut policy in every major contract negotiated this year, another group of reformist bureaucrats constituted themselves as the loyal "opposition." Loyal to the capitalist system always, this group, led by Fraser of the United Autoworkers, established a liberal opposition within Carter's party, threatened the formation of a third party, and finally lined up with liberal reformist Ted Kennedy. By the end of the year Fraser had won for himself a seat on the Chrysler Board of Executives for his exemplary service to capital.

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Boom and Bust in the Steel Industry

U.S. Steel Industry Barons Deliver an Ultimatum

1979 will probably go down as the third best year in history for the steel companies with approximately 100 million tons shipped. In March of this year the industry was running at an unusually high 96% capacity. But by mid-summer the deepening economic crisis and particularly the slump in auto

sales began to hit the steel industry. Steelworkers began to get short weeks and then layoffs, especially those working at sheet facilities which produce products for cars and appliances. Today capacity utilization is down to about 80% and as a result US Steel recently announced it will permanently eliminate 16 facilities and 13,000 jobs, raising questions about the future of the steel industry.

The current economic crisis is hitting hard in the steel industry because the mills in this country are old and are in a poor competitive position with the new mills in many other countries. The steel capitalists have laid out a series of demands, an ultimatum, which if not met, they say, will result in the layoffs of hundreds

of thousands of steelworkers, the increased dependency on foreign steel and the possible "liquidation" of the US steel industry. It is important to understand just what these demands are and what they mean for the working class.

Imports

The US steel industry is basically a domestic industry. Unlike the auto, electric, mining, oil and other industries, steel companies have not run away to numerous Asian, African and Latin American countries that are neo-colonies of US imperialism, where they could exploit low paid labor and the lack of government restrictions to produce superprofits. As a result, a number of these countries, particularly Korea,

(Continued on page 3)

Museum of Modern Art 50th Anniversary Exhibition "Art of the Twenties"

Viewing a Decade Through Its Art

The art of the 20's is a reflection of the social developments of the years leading up to this decade of artistic upsurge. They were the years of the rise of imperialism as a world system, the outbreak of the first imperialist world war and the victory of the first proletarian revolution.

For the artists of the 20's the question was how to understand, react to and interpret the modern world. It was a world torn forever from a past which appeared hazy, simple and idyllic when viewed from the acrid, blood-soaked battlefields of the first world war. see page 6

Year of Stalin

Defeat the Lies! Defend Comrade Stalin!

In the town of Gori in the state of Georgia in Russia, which lies at the foot of the Caucasus Mountains that divide Europe and Asia, on December 21, 1879 a great revolutionary was born. His father was a shoemaker who became a worker at the Adelkhanov Shoe Factory in Tiflis. His mother was the child of a peasant, born in the village of Gambareuli.

Born with the name of Joseph Vissarionovich Djugashvili, he became known to the world as J V Stalin - Stalin, which in Russian means steel. For over 50 years Stalin rightfully bore this name and his life and work have become synonymous with the strength, character and unwavering stand of a genuine Marxist Leninist. In remembering the life of Stalin, we remember the history of the international communist movement for over 50 years.

Stalin became a revolutionary

at the age of 15 and at 17 led workers' study circles. As the revolutionary movement of the Georgian workers grew and took shape, Stalin wrote leaflets, led strikes and organized demonstrations against Russian tsarism. He joined the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party led by Lenin in 1898 and among the workers of Tiflis received his first schooling in practical revolutionary work. "I recall the year 1898, when I was first put in charge of a study circle of workers from the railway shops. It was here, among these comrades, that I received my first revolutionary baptism; my first teachers were the workers of Tiflis."

He worked and studied - philosophy, political economy, natural science and literature - and became an educated Marxist as the workers' movement in Russia against the despotic rule of the



Lenin and Stalin, March 1919

Tsar grew into the revolution of 1905.

Uniting with Lenin, building the Bolshevik Party and rallying

the masses of toilers to its side, Stalin became a leader of the Russian Revolution which triumphed in 1917. Throughout the civil war, through the early years of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, he worked all out for the Party and the people to help lay the foundations of a new socialist society in the first proletarian state.

After Lenin's death in 1924, Stalin was elected to head the Bolshevik Party and led the Party in mobilizing the masses in the construction of socialism. Under the leadership of the Party, industry was built up, agriculture was collectivized, and in the superstructure socialist ideology, socialist organization and socialist consciousness won victory after victory.

This work was marked by fierce struggle against opportunism - particularly against Trotskyism which with each new year could not reconcile itself to the victories of the Soviet state. Each passing year Trotskyism launched new attacks against the Party and state, denying the rapid transformations which took place before the eyes of the whole world. Under Stalin, Trotskyism was defeated in Russia, but from their lairs abroad, Trotskyites continued to spread counter-revolutionary propaganda, attacking the Soviet state, the Party and its leaders.

During the 1930's, when a great economic and political crisis shook the entire capitalist world, when millions of workers were thrown into the streets to starve, the economic stability, political freedom, cultural development and spiritual uplifting of the Soviet people stood plain for all to see. Soviet Russia was a plague to the crisis-ridden capitalist world.

Enraged, the bourgeoisie slandered the first workers' state in an attempt to suppress the growing international revolutionary movement which had at its heart, love for and defense of the Soviet Union. Standing at the head of the Soviet people and the Bolshevik Party, Stalin drew the imperialists' greatest fire.

When fascism threatened freedom and democracy on a world scale, Stalin led in rallying the Russian people in World War II, defeating Hitler in brilliant military battles. After the war, Stalin rallied the Party and people in reconstructing the war-ravaged country, again showing the superiority of the socialist system. But as the war subsided, and US imperialism emerged as an unriv-

aled imperialist power, the struggle between the old world of capitalism and the new world of socialism sharpened. So did the vicious attacks of opportunism and revisionism.

Unflinching in his proletarian internationalist duty as before with his leadership of the Third Communist International, Stalin led in forging the Information Bureau which took up the unification of the international communist movement in struggle against imperialism and the revisionism of Tito, who emerged as a Trojan horse to undermine the unity of the socialist camp and spread the ideology of imperialism.

At the age of 74, Stalin died in 1953. Thus ended a life dedicated to the struggle of the international proletariat for a new socialist and communist world. Seizing the opportunity to strike, traitors in league with US imperialism flew into action from their hidden nests within the Soviet Party and state. Khrushchev and his clique elaborated a new "theory" to misguide the revolution, seized power and added their attacks to the barrage previously launched against Comrade Stalin by all imperialists and opportunists.

For Trotsky, Tito and Khrushchev, for all opportunists, no slander was too base, no lie too outrageous, for no effort could be spared in severing the communist movement from its history and roots, history and roots which were inseparable from the life of Stalin. In order to justify abandoning Marxism-Leninism, to cast doubt and suspicion about the Soviet system, what better method than to cast doubt and suspicion on one of its most outstanding leaders?

To this day, a quarter of a century later, the campaign has not abated. It has been fueled anew by Mao Tsetung's "criticisms" and attacks on Stalin's policies and stand. But this campaign has not fully achieved its desired results: either Stalin's spirit still lives, from his birthplace in Georgia where this year workers secretly carried pictures of Stalin printed in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of his birth, to all corners of the world where Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary fighters honor his memory in the Year of Stalin.

On this 100th anniversary of his birth we stand to defend Comrade Stalin and defeat the reactionary chorus that slanders this outstanding Marxist-Leninist revolutionary and leader. Everywhere, the stand toward Stalin is a dividing line between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism.

To defeat this chorus means that the world proletariat has come to understand this: to rage against the system of wage slavery, to despise capitalism, to fight for freedom and social liberation, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, to end the exploitation of man by man and build socialism, is to cherish and aspire to the greatness of Comrade Stalin.

On the 100th anniversary of his birth, the CPUSA/ML hails Stalin's contributions to the struggle for socialism and communism, against fascism and all reaction, cherishes his memory and struggles to proudly tread in his footsteps.

Editorials

U.S. Calls for New Missile

Disarmament in Words, Escalation in Deeds

Once again the hand of US imperialism is at work building up its military machine in Europe. In a mid-December meeting of NATO, US imperialism formally requested and was granted the deployment of 108 long-range Pershing missiles and 464 ground-launched Cruise missiles.

This new strategic missile deployment for NATO would not be restricted by the SALT II Agreement as the missiles would not be deployed in the US but will be added to the already existing nuclear forces of NATO, Britain and France. Though the missiles may be inscribed with the initials "NATO" rather than "USA", they represent the murderous intentions of US imperialism all the same.

The deployment of the Pershing missile, together with the neutron bomb, the MX missile system in the US and their counterparts in the Soviet Union, the SS-20 and Backfire bomber, represent a new escalation of nuclear aggression and blackmail. The new round of US and Soviet weapons deployment vividly exposes all the demagoguery and deception of the SALT II Agreement. This agreement provides a cover for the escalation of nuclear competition between the superpowers and their respective blocs, NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries, each fighting to maintain their existing spheres of influence and intensify their rivalry for world domination and plunder.

The Pershing missile scheme in Europe is another indication of the completely aggressive, warmongering character of US imperialism and its allies, whether China, Japan or the countries of Europe. The US defense outlays for fiscal 1980 will amount to over \$122 billion. In addition, both En-

gland and France are today considering the extension of their own nuclear arsenals to supplement the growing US nuclear strikeforce based in Europe. The Pershing missile will greatly extend the range of US imperialism's nuclear terrorism, reaching deep into Russia.

The deployment of the Pershing missile in Europe has met with some hesitation by some European powers given the popular resistance within their own countries, and because the deployment of such a missile on their own soil makes them a ready target for Soviet social imperialism. The plan however, was adopted by Germany, France, Britain and Italy. The Netherlands resisted. The acceptance of the nuclear missile plan follows the call by Henry Kissinger at the September NATO meeting, for the European powers to foot some of the nuclear bill. The actual deployment of the missiles is scheduled to begin in 1983.

The deployment of the Pershing missile presents a new and still greater threat to the peace and freedom of the peoples of the world, and in particular, the people of Europe. The European proletariat is being forced to struggle under the shadow of a growing nuclear arsenal. The imperialist powers hope to intimidate and blackmail the working and oppressed people into giving up the fight against US imperialism by hanging the threat of nuclear holocaust over their heads.

Whether in the US or Europe, in the USSR or Cuba, the proletariat of all countries absolutely opposes the deployment of all weapons of destruction by the imperialists and their allies. We will not be blackmailed by the superpowers. We fully recognize that while we oppose every step of imperialist war preparations, at the same time we must prepare in all ways for the advent of imperialist war. It must be turned into a revolutionary civil war led by the proletariat.

No Pershing Missiles! End Nuclear Blackmail by the Imperialist Powers!



UNITE! (ISSN 0194-0449) is the newspaper of the Communist Party USA/Marxist-Leninist. Published twice monthly, UNITE! is available by subscription at \$8.00 a year, \$5.00 for six months. Subscriptions, changes of address, letters and articles should be sent to UNITE! PO Box 6206 Chicago, Illinois 60680. The Central Committee of the Communist Party USA/Marxist-Leninist can be reached by writing CPUSA/ML PO Box 6205 Chicago, Illinois, 60680 (312) 648-0892. UNITE! can be reached by calling (312) 648-0919.

Volume 5, Number 21

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Every Factory Our Fortress

Steel Barons Ultimatum



(Continued from page 1)

Taiwan, Mexico and Brazil, have begun to develop their own national steel industries which have great cost advantages over US companies. Today the cost of production of a ton of steel in the US is \$140.00, in Japan it is \$120.00 while in Taiwan it is only \$30.00.

In view of this situation, the first demand in the steel industry's ultimatum is that foreign steel be kept out of the US so that American steel companies can artificially jack up prices. Under the cover of "protecting jobs", Big Steel fuels the inflation that eats at the economy.

This American isolationism of the steel industry comes into real conflict with the economic interests of the rest of the US bourgeoisie, especially those producers who buy steel and those government officials who fear the mass popular opposition to the inflation that such a policy would engender.

Attacks on Environmental and Health and Safety Regulations

Due to the mass struggle of workers in various industries, exemplified by both the continuing fight of Coke Oven workers for safe and healthy working conditions, and the fight of environmental groups for clean emissions, the government has been forced to pass various regulations, establish OSHA and the EPA. Steel is a particularly dirty and dangerous industry and the cost to the capitalist of cleaning it up is great. A number of the major mills have reached agreements with the government to lessen these costs by placing the burden of them on working people through taxes. Steel mills have been granted major tax credits for environmental improvements and in this past year the government has for the first time granted major loans and loan guarantees to steel mills to pay for improve-

ments amounting to several hundred million dollars.

US Steel has taken a hard line on these issues and has systematically refused to comply with OSHA and EPA regulations. With the announcement of the planned plant closings, US Steel has added the second of its demands to the ultimatum, demanding the outright end to these regulations and if not granted they threaten further plant closings.

Productivity Increases and Wage Cuts

Steel companies argue that the low productivity and high wages of US steelworkers are major reasons why the US steel industry is not profitable. Obviously if wages go down profits will go up. But the steel companies hide a number of important facts in the last 10 years the number of steel workers in this country has decreased by over 100,000 and yet the amount of steel produced has increased. In addition, the portion wages make up of the cost of steel has decreased. In 1967, for every \$100 worth of steel shipped, wages came to \$16.67. By 1976, for every \$100 worth of steel shipped, wages came to only \$12.75.

The steel companies are trying to increase productivity through speed up and cutting crew sizes. **But even the capitalists recognize that the major problems with the productivity of the US steel industry come not from the employees but from the failure to employ modern technology.**

Nevertheless, given the unwillingness and inability of Big Steel to invest in the cost cutting modernization which makes foreign steel so profitable, the steel monopolies once more turn to the workers to cut costs. Now the major attack on steelworkers' wages is focused on the Cost of Living Allowance (COLA) in the

Basic Steel Agreement Under the Experimental Negotiating Agreement, the steel companies are obliged to maintain the existing COLA in the 1980 contract. Because of this the companies have tried to intimidate the steelworkers' union into agreeing to cut a number of smaller plants from the basic steel agreement. This idea was supported by USWA President Lloyd McBride, but the 78 local presidents of these plants recently voted no on this suggestion. Now a number of the steel companies, led by US Steel, are considering ending the ENA in hopes of being able to launch a major attack on the COLA in the '83 contract bargaining. The third demand is the historical unholy chorus of all capitalists: the increased exploitation of the workers in order to prop up their failing system.

Tax Breaks for the Millionaires

The fourth demand of the steel companies is for tax relief. This is ironic coming from huge companies which paid not a single penny of federal income tax in 1977. Specifically, the industry is supporting the passage of House Bill 4646 and Senate Bill 1435, which would give industry an increased depreciation rate on investments in new equipment and facilities, making them non-taxable in a short period of time while they certainly remain usable.

When you add all these demands together they represent a systematic program for getting the working class in this country to bail out the steel industry. Workers are being asked to bear the burden of increased inflation, higher taxes, increased exploitation, speed up and lower wages, unhealthy and dangerous working conditions so that the steel companies will be

able to increase their profits.

Steel Capitalists Fight for Survival

The steel capitalists are a gang of extortionists making demands on the one hand of the US working class, and on the other hand of the rest of the bourgeoisie. What they hold hostage is a half a million jobs with which they threaten the working class. To the other capitalists and their government they raise the threat of social unrest caused by such massive layoffs and the threat of losing the military security of imperialism provided by a large domestic steel industry.

US Steel, the leader of this gang, with ownership of 35% of the domestic steelmaking capacity, makes its threats sound real when they report that 86% of their last year's profits came from non-steel divisions and threaten to liquidate their steelmaking facilities. The government is perfectly willing to aid the steel industry in the further exploitation of the workers, called upon to make sacrifice after sacrifice. But the working class cannot bow to these threats because we know that the ultimatums of the steel industry are actually the demands of all capitalists. No matter how often workers bite the capitalists' prescribed bullet, there will be layoffs and unemployment, whether in steel, or any other capitalist industry. A stand against such "sacrifices" must be taken.

Making the American steel industry more competitive, complying with its ultimatums, will not end the layoffs, which are more severe in steel, but are growing deeper throughout the US economy. The source of this economic crisis lies in the nature of the capitalist system itself. At the

heart of this system is the private ownership of the means of production, the factories and the use of the productive forces, the workers, with the sole aim of increasing the profits of those private capitalist owners. How else can we explain a system where millions of workers go begging for jobs, where the needs of society for housing, transportation, food, consumer goods, etc. increase and yet the means of fulfilling these needs are shut down and left idle because the capitalists cannot make an "acceptable" profit?

Steelworkers are being faced with a choice. The capitalists and their union officials are telling steelworkers to sacrifice to protect jobs. But once you start on the road of wage cuts and bearing the burden of the capitalist crisis there is no end in sight. Each new crisis brings new demands from the capitalists. The only real choice for steelworkers and the whole working class is to fight these attacks and stand firm on the demand for no layoffs, full compensation for those laid off and a freeze on price, rent and interest raises. The more the roughly workers resist bearing the burden of the economic crisis, the more thoroughly will the capitalists reveal their inability to continue to run a system of production based on their private ownership of the means of production. The more thoroughly the capitalists reveal this inability, the rottenness of their system, the exploitation which lies at its heart, the sooner the millions of American workers will take up the struggle for its replacement with a system that makes sense — a planned economy, a socialist economy based on full employment and social progress. ■

Question "Why Can't You All Just Work Together?"

Opportunists Show Their True Colors

The Carter campaign of national chauvinism and hostility toward the Iranian people is being taken up with great vigor by the reactionary trade union bureaucrats. A recent meeting of United Steelworkers of America Local 65, headed by "socialist" Alice Peurala, at US Steel South Works, is a sharp example of how opportunists rush to abandon all principle in the face of national chauvinism and war hysteria.

The special union meeting was called by the Local 65 Executive Board in order to squash support for a resolution proposed in an earlier union meeting defending the rights of Iranians living in the US and in opposition to Carter's stationing war ships off the Iranian coast. The aim was to organize support for Carter and to isolate and defeat what are seen as "trouble makers" — opportunists and genuine communists alike. In order to gather a large turnout, rumors were circulated in the mill that "the commies want to give \$10,000 to Iran along with an apology."

From the beginning, the meeting was organized to insure that two resolutions were passed. The first one called for 100% support for Carter's efforts to free the hostages. The second one demanded that the Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) deport any Iranians who break US laws

Rising on a wave of hysterical chauvinist supporters, the resolutions were overwhelmingly passed.

Like the traitor to the working class that he is, Eddie Sadlowski, late of the reformist opposition in the USWA, rose to the occasion and demanded that those who "opposed these resolutions supporting America" explain themselves. In the face of an angry crowd yelling "kill them", only the CPUSA/ML rose to explain that both Carter and Khomeini had engineered this "crisis" for their own political ambitions, that the immediate resolution of the crisis was to return the Shah and expel the hostages from Iran, but that the resolution of the source of the crisis was the struggle against imperialism.

The Communist Party/Marxist Leninist (CP/ML) apologized for their earlier resolution. The League for Revolutionary Struggle and other opportunists left the room during the voting. The revisionist CPUSA voted 100% support for Carter and then called to have the meeting adjourned before any discussion could be held. The Socialist Workers' Party humbly thanked the bureaucrats for the "open, democratic debate on the issues."

One might ask, what did the "socialist" Peurala do throughout the meetings? Peurala did not attend either meeting, knowing full

well that her Executive Board was organizing to promote national chauvinism and warmongering in defense of US imperialism.

Both the reformists and revisionists, Soviet and Chinese revisionists alike, bowed to the wave of national chauvinism.

Historically, the treachery displayed at these meetings has been a hallmark of reformists and revisionists, a sign of their social chauvinism. The stand of Sadlowski and the CPUSA in defense of Carter's warmongering and political intrigues is the same stand as the cowards of the Second International. Under the cover of the "defense of the fatherland", the social democrats of the early 1900's supported their bourgeoisie during the first imperialist world war.

Always at times of war hysteria the revisionists come to the support of such warmongering. Why? The answer is simple. They must choose either to side with the capitalist class or to oppose it and fight to lead the working class against imperialist war and the system which gives rise to it. The defenders of the bourgeoisie always choose to support their imperialist wars.

In opposition to such collaboration, the Marxist Leninist party of the working class will always stand on the side of proletarian internationalism, even when this stand is unpopular. ■

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On the Influence of Mao Tsetung Thought

The influence of Mao Tsetung Thought has not been limited to China alone. Within most countries of the world, Mao Tsetung Thought has had a profound revisionist influence, sowing confusion within the working class and revolutionary national movements. This influence has been injected both by US imperialism as well as the agents of Chinese revisionism within each country.

In the United States, the influence of Mao Tsetung Thought is widespread, due to the betrayal of the CPUSA which left the working class without vanguard leadership for over 30 years, crippling its ability to fight opportunism. This has been compounded by the conscious promotion of Chinese revisionism by US imperialism in the course of building the US China Alliance. As a result, Mao Tsetung Thought has made far greater inroads into the revolutionary movement in the US than in many other major capitalist countries.

Chinese Revisionism - The Handmaiden of US Imperialism

The most significant effect of Mao Tsetung Thought on the revolutionary struggle in the US has been on its stand toward US imperialism. Despite the overwhelming evidence that US imperialism remains on the offensive, remains aggressive and remains one of the two main exploiters and oppressors of the world's people, Chinese revisionism long ago began advocating that it was in decline, a toothless tiger. Gradually developing this reactionary theory, Mao Tsetung Thought promoted the view that US imperialism was a force to be aligned with in the struggle against the "greater danger", Soviet social imperialism. The love affair emerged openly close to 10 years ago, and ever since the Chinese revisionists have consciously worked to obscure the vicious imperialist nature of the US bourgeoisie. For its part, US imperialism has promoted the ambitions of Chinese revisionism.

Mao courted Henry Kissinger to pave the way for the establishment of the US China Alliance. China developed close and friendly relations with the most fascist puppet regimes of US imperialism and finally, Mao extended his hand to Richard Nixon at the height of the Vietnam War. But these steps were only a prelude to the full orchestration of the alliance which today brings forth the most discordant and reactionary tune heard for many decades.

The effect of the US China Alliance on the revolutionary struggle in the US had been profound. Here was China, a country with a revolutionary history, coming to the aid of US imperialism in the midst of the Vietnam War, when the revolu-

tionaries of the world opposed US imperialism. For the anti-imperialist movement in the US, this seemed inexplicable, sowing confusion and weakening the struggle.

Then when protest went up in the US about the role of the CIA, ITT and US imperialism as a whole in the fascist coup in Chile, China comforted the reactionary Pinochet. In the midst of the Watergate scandal and the exposure of Nixon, Mao wined and dined him in Peking.

This period in the history of US imperialism was one of deep economic, political and ideological crisis. But as US imperialism swayed under the blows of the crisis, salvation emerged. As Nixon himself said, he would be remembered not as the president who was forced from office, but the man who "opened the door to China", forging the US China Alliance.

The hue and cry raised by the Chinese revisionists about the demise of US imperialism directly bolstered the pronouncements of key spokesmen of US imperialism. "The US is losing ground to the Soviets." "The US must expand its military arsenal and pour more money and arms into NATO and its allied states." "The weak giant must stand up." Today, when the revolutionary movements have once again struck blows against US imperialism in Iran and Nicaragua, the effects of Chinese revisionism in the US are apparent. Across the country national chauvinism is fanned. The battle cry is "defend US interests." "The US won't be kicked around any more." These cries are echoed in Peking in a chorus begun long ago.

Chinese revisionism has taken its vengeance upon the world revolutionary struggle against US imperialism. At home and abroad, Mao Tsetung Thought has tried to diffuse the revolutionary struggle, disarming the working and oppressed people in the face of a most powerful adversary, US imperialism. This treacherous work was carried out under the cover of Marxism-Leninism and the history of the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people. This activity could not have been carried out by US imperialism any other way.

Who Takes the Lead?

Mao Tsetung Thought has long promoted the view that the main centers of revolution are today in the "third world." As for the proletarian socialist revolution, it is in a state of ebb. The proletariat must therefore join with the bourgeoisie in fighting against Soviet social-imperialism. Mao Tsetung Thought has reduced the task of proletarian internationalism to "cheerleading" for the national liberation struggles, disregarding the importance of establishing ties with the proletariat in other countries and building support for genuine socialist homelands. This is manifested by the outrageous and counter-revolutionary support of the Communist Party/Marxist-Leninist (CP/ML) for the Shah of



Iran in the past, and their support for Khomeini today. It is manifested each and every African Liberation Day in the stand of various opportunists who wave flags and shout slogans about the great advances of the national liberation movements regardless of whether they weaken imperialism or not. These opportunists never raise any consideration about the danger of opportunism and revisionism in those movements, or point out the necessity for Marxism-Leninism to guide the revolutionary struggles in those countries.

This grand world view sees the main force of the revolution within the US as the "third world" workers. The white proletariat, they say, is completely bought off and counter-revolutionary. Springing forth in support of this reactionary view are numerous organizations which claim Marxism-Leninism as their guiding light, but in reality have built their careers upon narrow nationalism. This includes such organizations as the August Twentieth Movement, Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization, and I Wor Kuen. Today the IWK and ATM have merged into the League for Revolutionary Struggle, drawn in forces like Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones) to complete their long sought after "Black, yellow and brown united front."

In a country, like the US, where the vast majority of the working class is white, to promote the view that only the national minority workers are the main force of the revolution denies the historic mission of the multi-national US working class as a whole, to wage the class struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie. Such a view makes proletarian revolution impossible. Revolution will simply not succeed without the active participation of the white proletariat. This narrow nationalism, long promoted by Chinese revisionism, sows only greater divisions within the working class, a class whose unity is already weakened by the influence of white supremacy. It leads to consistent belittlement of the necessity to actively educate and mobilize the white proletariat and to build multi-national unity. It leaves the Klan and other fascist forces with open access to carry out their vicious campaign among the white proletariat.

Promoting Revisionist Parties

According to Marxism-Leninism, the vanguard party of the proletariat is the leader and mobilizer of the revolutionary forces

on the Revolution in the U.S.

It is the duty of every Marxist-Leninist party to build internationalist ties and establish fraternal relations with the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties. Yet here in the US, revisionism has played a long and treacherous role in promoting outright Trotskyites, Khrushchevite revisionists and other agents of US imperialism. Long after the CPUSA became a thoroughly revisionist party, and there was no question that it was falsely reconstituted in 1944, Mao continued to promote William Z. Foster, who was then the head of the CPUSA. But Mao also had a history of promoting the revisionist Earl Browder as well. Such activity undermined the efforts of genuinely progressive and revolutionary forces to combat and expose the revisionist nature of the CPUSA.

Later abandoning the CPUSA, the CPC then turned its attention to promoting the Progressive Labor Party, a Trotskyite organization. This love affair was short-lived. Soon the CPC began courtship of the Revolutionary Union (predecessor to the Revolutionary Communist Party) at the same time it wooed the October League (predecessor to the CP/ML). Both were promoted in the Chinese press. Both took turns visiting Peking. Today, the CP/ML is the standard bearer for the current Chinese rulers, while the RCP is the great defender of Mao Tsetung. This arrangement is mutually advantageous for both the RCP and the CP/ML.

The RCP does the theoretical defense of Mao Tsetung Thought, which the CP/ML has never been capable of, while the CP/ML promotes the most open and reactionary policies of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and Hua Kuo-feng. With this arrangement, the CP/ML benefits because the RCP takes care of attacking the genuine Marxist-Leninists and the RCP benefits because it attracts forces who are willing to break with Mao Tsetung Thought but who are repulsed by the openly social chauvinist stand of the CP/ML.

The CPC's support for a variety of non-Marxist trends have never been based upon Marxist-Leninist principle, but rather upon an assessment of which organization was most willing and able to serve the interests of Chinese nationalism. This has sown confusion about the basis upon which fraternal ties among the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties are forged.

Strategy for Revolution

The RCP and CP/ML both advocate the united front tactic as the main strategy for revolution in the US. This was a theory developed by Mao Tsetung. From a Marxist-Leninist point of view, the united front is a most impor-

tant tactic for unifying the ranks of the working class and the popular front for mobilizing all possible allies of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. This tactic is an extremely important tool for putting the masses into motion and for defeating the influence of reformism in the course of struggle. This tactic is applied under particular conditions and particular circumstances which will change in the course of the struggle for state power.

To say that such fronts should be elevated to a strategy for revolution denies the leading role of the proletariat in the revolutionary struggle as a whole, by presenting all class forces within the front as equally important in a strategic sense. When such fronts are elevated to a strategy, the goal of defeating the influence of reformists over the masses becomes a secondary consideration to keeping the united front intact. This, in fact, was the practice within the united front in China, a front which was maintained by Mao and continues to this day.

In advocating this strategy in the US, the CP/ML has taken it to its logical conclusion. It promotes such forces as Skip Robinson of the United League as genuinely revolutionary forces. The CP/ML's front with Robinson has not been built for the purpose of defeating his reformist influence over the masses, for the CP/ML has not uttered a word of criticism of his policies. But going even further, the CP/ML's "united front" has become so broad that it accommodates the US bourgeoisie in its framework, just as the Chinese revisionist leaders do, in their world-wide front against Soviet social imperialism.

The profound effect of Mao Tsetung Thought on the revolutionary struggle in the US will not be easily defeated. It has grown up over a long period of time and now flowers in the warmth of the reactionary US China Alliance. The road to defeating Mao Tsetung Thought in the US is the road of promoting the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the nature of US imperialism, and the correct course of revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. Because of the damage it has done to the revolution, Mao Tsetung Thought must be seen as a major enemy of the working and oppressed people of the US. It must be seen as one of the most important props of US imperialism today.

Hand in hand, imperialism and opportunism fight against the working class and oppressed people, and hand in hand the struggle must be waged to defeat both. ■

More on the Struggle Against Mao Tsetung Thought

"A Reply to the RCP"

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International

From the Communist Party of Japan/Left:

"Consolidate the Unity of the International Proletariat"

Step Up the Fight Against Militarist Restoration and Build the Party Activity Based on the Central Organ

In this issue UNITE! reprints excerpts from the Resolution of the 4th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan/Left, in which the CPJ/L analyzes the international situation, the importance of uniting the international proletariat and building the unified strategy of the world proletariat in struggle against imperialism. The resolution elaborates the current state of Japanese imperialism, its links with US imperialism and the militarist restoration which is designed to step up exploitation at home and aggression abroad.

The International Situation

We must be conscious that the role of a vanguard party of the proletariat will all the more increase in proportion as the crisis of world capitalism worsens.

At this moment, it is of crucial importance to consolidate the unity of the international proletariat.

The world revolution is an entirety of revolutions, connected organically, in individual countries, that occur at various times and with differing natures. This does not mean an arithmetic sum of revolutions in various countries. The revolution in each country constitutes an indivisible part of the world revolution.

The proletarians are confronted with the imperialist bourgeoisie in their respective countries. But both capital and the working class are in international existence. The proletarians worldwide are linked with each other as brothers of one class, while the bourgeoisie is in unity, on a world scale, against the proletariat, irrespective of the increasing inter-imperialist conflicts.

The close unity and common struggle of the international proletariat against international capital is one of the primary condi-

tions for the emancipation of the proletariat. Therefore, the proletariat must without fail build the unified strategy of world revolution, and fight in combining it with the revolutionary strategy in individual countries. If the ranks of the proletariat were subdivided into separate nations, it would be impossible for the proletariat to triumph over international capital.

In realizing the close unity of the international proletariat, we must unite the proletarian socialist revolutionary movement and the national liberation revolutionary movement into a single front of proletarian socialist world revolution against imperialism. And on this united international strength, we must break the chain of imperialism where the links are weaker and thus win the socialist revolutions in capitalist and imperialist countries as well as the national democratic revolutions in colonial and dependent countries.

We must advance in unity with socialism, the international proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations, defining the place of the Japanese revolution as a link of the world revolution.

Armed with the revolutionary principles and ideas based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, we must fight against the imperialist bourgeoisie and against nationalism and chauvinism.

The Domestic Situation

In the transition process from the greatest postwar crisis at the end of 1973 to a stagnant and then boom period, Japanese capitalism has considerably intensified state intervention in the economy. But it is now facing a strained financial situation, slowdown of "economic growth" and first of all, the threat of another crisis. To tide over the overproduction crisis and create new markets, the Japanese imperialist bourgeoisie is domestically enforcing the so-called policy of "structural con-



Demonstrating Japanese workers and students carrying placards reading "Oppose militarist restoration!", "Oppose aggressive war preparations!", "Support the South Korean people's struggle!" and "Remove the U.S. Air Base in Iwakuni!" on October 21, International Anti War Day. CPJ/L photo

version of industry", a full range policy of exploitation and plunder which seriously affects the situation of workers and all strata of the working masses.

A fierce dispute is taking place between Japanese imperialism and US imperialism and other imperialist powers, above all, over economic interests. As can be seen in the "Sonoda diplomacy", the Japanese imperialists intend to adjust the contradictions among the imperialist powers and monopoly groups in the aggressive course of expanding Japan's imperialist international interests all over the world. They drive forward the inter-penetration of capital with the U.S., and under the U.S. "nuclear umbrella", mobilize Japan's economic potential and rapidly escalate neo-colonialist aggression overseas under a "peaceful" mask. In the process of China's emergence as a social-imperialist power, Japanese imperialism has tightened its links

with the reactionary forces of ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations), while promoting its concept of the "Pacific bloc of economic cooperation". Also, it has launched its expansion into the Middle East, Africa and Central and South America, let alone the Asian Pacific area, playing a supplementary role in the framework of U.S. global policy. Such aggressive and expansionist policies reveal the aggressiveness and fragility of Japanese imperialism, which is subordinate to U.S. imperialism. This, however, never fails to result in further deepening the contradictions among the imperialist states and monopoly groups.

In order to step up exploitation at home and aggression abroad, the imperialist bourgeoisie frantically puts spurs to the militarist restoration and preparation for aggressive war. Particularly, it is trying to build a more "modernized" and intensive ruling state

apparatus on the axis of violent repression.

On the basis of the bilateral "Security Treaty" with American imperialism, the Japanese imperialists are striving to build up the U.S. Japan South Korea military alliance and the U.S. Japan joint operation system, and are carrying out joint military exercises. They are also trying to strengthen the joint operation system in quality and quantity by setting up the "Japan-U.S. consultative council on security" according to the "guidelines for Japan-U.S. defense cooperation", and expand the range of this system to the whole Asian area, and even to the Middle East, as well. To this end they are attempting amendments in Japan's Constitution. Linked closely with the nuclear strategic forces of U.S. imperialism, Japan's Self Defense Forces are playing a reactionary role to a greater extent.

October 8, 1979

Anniversaries of the Founding of Five Marxist-Leninist Parties

The end of the year brings with it a time for great celebration for the working class of the world. It marks the occasion of the anniversaries of several Marxist-Leninist Parties. This November, the Communist Party of Japan/Left celebrated its 10th anniversary. The Communist Party of Spain/Marxist-Leninist on December 17th celebrated its 15th anniversary. December 27th marks the 4th anniversary of the Communist Party of Portugal/Reconstructed and the Communist Party of Germany/Marxist-Leninist celebrates its 11th anniversary on the

31st of December. December 23 marks the first anniversary of the Communist Party USA/Marxist-Leninist.

We celebrate these anniversaries precisely because the growth and strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist Parties brings ever closer the advent of the socialist revolution in their respective countries. The objective conditions of capitalism forces the masses of working and oppressed people to struggle for their betterment. But it is the Marxist-Leninist Party which makes this struggle of the masses a class-conscious struggle, a conscious struggle for socialism.

Each Party hastens the development of the socialist revolution by taking up its responsibility of educating, mobilizing and organizing the masses of people according to the science of Marxism-Leninism. Its faithful adherence to Marxism-Leninism strengthens the ability of the Party to oppose the attacks of the imperialists who use every means to crush the development of the Marxist-Leninist Party. Today, when the world has witnessed the rise of modern revisionism of all hues, the celebration of the anniversaries of the Marxist-Leninist Parties takes on even greater significance.

Revisionism has sown confusion, it has split and wrecked the

revolutionary movements, yet still the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties forge ahead true to the cause of the proletariat, fighting for the unity of the international communist movement and staunchly opposed to imperialism and all reaction.

The growth and maturity of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of the world is increasingly evident today. The Communist Party of Japan/Left and the Communist Party of Spain/Marxist-Leninist have already succeeded in winning the advanced militant class fighters to the side of the Party and are now moving to win the broad masses to the side of socialism under their leadership. This is cause for a celebration by the international proletariat because these advances bring with them the real possibility for the proletariat to take advantage of a revolutionary situation when it arises in these countries.

The CPUSA/ML celebrates the anniversaries of these Marxist-Leninist Parties. The assistance of older, more experienced Parties greatly aids both the development of younger Marxist-Leninist Parties and the strengthening of the unity of the international communist movement so necessary for defeating the world-wide system of imperialism.

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For Democracy and Socialism!

Viewing a Decade Through Its Art

Museum of Modern Art 50th Anniversary Exhibition "Art of the Twenties"

by Emily Keppler

Only weeks after the Wall Street Stock Market crashed in '29, which began a decade of economic crisis that would lead to another imperialist world war, the Museum of Modern Art in New York opened its doors with an exhibition of drawings and paintings by the European Expressionists Cezanne, Gauguin, Seurat and Van Gogh

Last month, to commemorate its 50th Anniversary, the Museum staged an exhibition entitled "Art of the Twenties"

Walking the corridors of the museum is to relive the economic, political, social and intellectual themes that dominated the 20's. The photographs of architecture and furniture design are surprising, for they are as sleek and modern as if created yesterday. The variety of the exhibition is surprisingly broad - the Lissitzky poster from the USSR, the Edward Hopper print of a New York apartment, the Mondrian squares on squares and the Edward Grosz caricatures of the Berlin bourgeoisie

But the greatest effect on the viewer is the indelible stamp of "modernism", for the 20's were the decade in which modernism was established as an international aesthetic philosophy

In the exhibition catalog William S. Lieberman states "Habits of daily life change slowly, but war accelerates the decay of moral values. New paths were desperately needed, and when they opened, they led to utopia or crisis. Such pluralistic direction, of course, was reflected in the visual arts. Revolution and evolution, the avant-garde and reaction coexisted"

That both revolution and reaction coexisted in the art of the 20's is a reflection of the social development of the years leading up to this decade of artistic upsurge. They were the years of the rise of imperialism as a world system, the outbreak of the first imperialist world war and the victory of the first proletarian revolution. The 20's were a decade which spearheaded a new era - the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The old world of decadent, decaying imperialism stood glowering at the defiant, new world of socialism

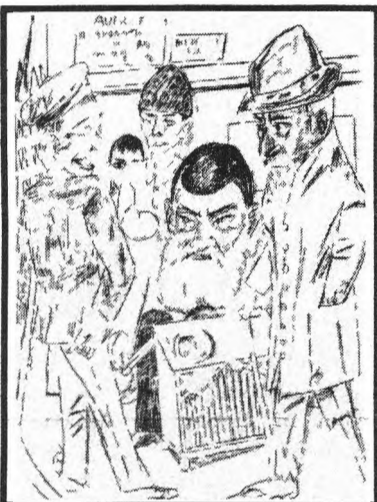
For the artists of the 20's the question was how to understand, react to and interpret this world. There were many visions.

The modern art of the 20's was the attempt to interpret a modern world. It was a world forever torn from a past which appeared hazy, simple and idyllic when viewed from the blood-soaked, acrid battlefields of the first world war

Three Themes Among Many Trends

The museum curators have divided their show into six categories and called them "The City", "The Machine", "The False Mirror", "The World Transformed", "The Circle and the Square" and "A Modern Style"

The drawings, paintings, photographs and prints included in the segments "The City" and "The Machine" are the works of artists who drew upon the urbanization and industrialization of the modern world for their subject matter. Some chose to simply reproduce the urban landscape and its mighty machines, others to contemplate their effects on 20th century man. Both the immense



"Beggars" by Beckman, 1922

potential for social development and the inevitable dehumanization under capitalism appear. Some pictures are devoid of people, others recreate bustling city streets, others depict man small and isolated.

The works included in "The False Mirror" and "The World Transformed" remind the viewer to look beyond the surface appearance of things at a time when the very concept of "reality" was suspect. While commonplace scenes are sketched - a room with a window looking out on the world, for example - they are created in shimmering strokes of light and color. What emerges is an essence rather than a realistic rendering. But this essence, by nature, is an internal, individual experience. In reaction to the social and political upheavals of the 20's it is often times a turning inward, focusing on the psychological development of man, and results in an idealist conception of the world.

"The Circle and the Square" and "A Modern Style" include works which achieve the most precise abstraction in an attempt to reduce the world to simple geometry. It is an attempt to minimize and order the social chaos of the modern world to circles, lines, squares and planes

Anti Fascist Art

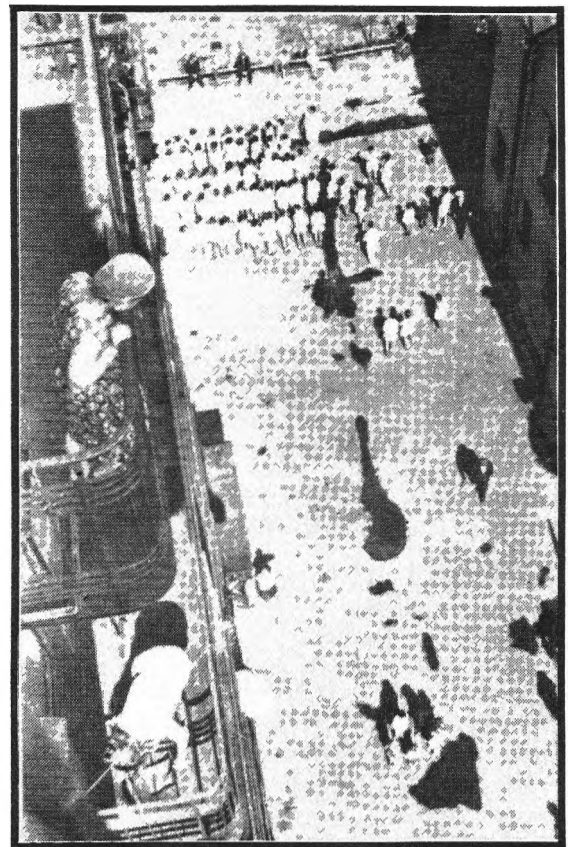
From a class point of view, perhaps the most interesting art comes from Germany. In the works of Grosz, Beckman and Dix, in drawings and paintings entitled "The Beggars", "The Bombing of Lens" and "The Syphilitic" among many others, the artists capture the horror of the first world war in limping, crippled beggars and in diseased and vacant eyes. But many of the paintings, particularly those by Edward Grosz which caricature the Berlin bourgeoisie and the decadent nightlife of the cabaret, are a sharp, anti fascist and anti imperialist statement. They are a critique which condemns fascism which rose triumphant in Germany in 1933.

Art of the Soviet Union

Entering the gallery, one of the first pieces is a four foot high poster by Lissitzky depicting the towering strength of the new Soviet Republic. Throughout the show one searches for other examples of art from the new proletarian state. What affects had the change in the economic base and class relations had upon the Soviet superstructure and its art?

In Soviet Russia in the 20's a creative upsurge was also underway. New ideas emerged in the struggle to create a proletarian art and culture. The road was not smooth and the Russian art of the decade reflects the struggle.

The Museum of Modern Art collection includes photography by Soviet artists, as well as a sketch of Tatlin's sculpture ded-



'Assembling for a Demonstration' by Rodchenko, 1928

which world famous Russian artists such as Rodchenko, Popova, Stepanova, Exter, Vesnin and Malevich showed their works. It was a time of experimentation and the Soviet artists, too, went through a period of abstraction and "modernism"

But simultaneous with these developments, Lenin and the Bolshevik Party were engaged in a struggle to point the way toward new, proletarian art.

During a Proletcult (Proletarian Culture) Congress in 1920, a struggle emerged between the communists and Lunacharsky over these questions. Lenin drafted a resolution for the Central Committee to advance to the Congress. It states, in part, "All educational work in the Soviet Republic of workers and peasants, in the field of political education in general and in the field of art in particular, should be imbued with the spirit of class struggle being waged by the proletariat for

plied arts. By 1922 Rodchenko abandoned his abstract paintings and constructions and with his wife Stepanova, turned to photography, typography, theatre art and applied design.

Drawing Upon the Treasures of Mankind

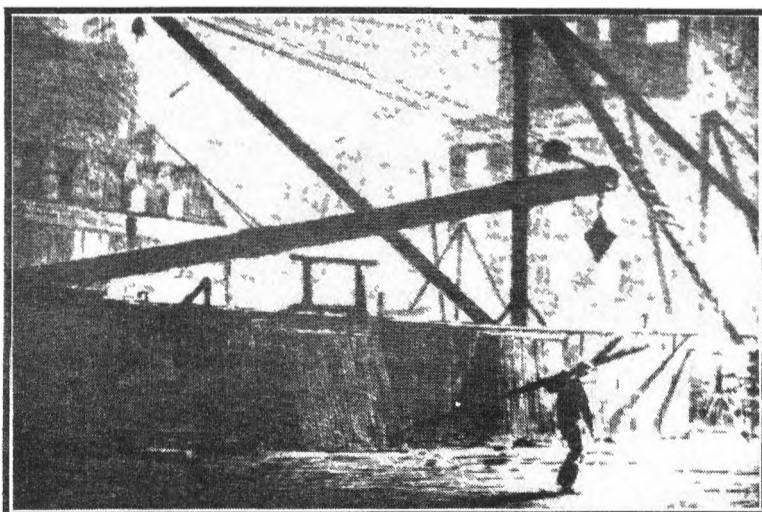
The struggle to advance Soviet art and culture included struggles against other incorrect ideas. Lenin pointed out time and again, as did Marx before him, that socialist art would solve the problem of creating new paths only if it kept in mind that a precise knowledge of the culture created by the entire development of mankind is used in order to create proletarian culture.

As Lenin taught, "You can become a communist only when you enrich your mind with a knowledge of all the treasures of mankind"

Lenin and the Russian communists looked at the question of creating proletarian culture dialectically. All the years of revolutionary struggle in Russia were proof that when successes were achieved, they were achieved because the proletariat had been won to the program of the party and worked all out to achieve it. On this new front of class struggle, in transforming Russian art, in creating a new socialist culture, the creativity and initiative of the Soviet workers and peasants was required as well.

But in order to educate and prepare the masses to fulfill their mission, the communists together with the Russian artists had to shoulder the task of bringing to the masses the treasurehouse of human knowledge - the progressive art and culture of every decade and lead in forging new paths.

Today our concern with art is not only for the art of Russia, and not only for the Russian art of Lenin's time. The role of art in educating and leading the people of the world toward a new life is only too plain, and points up the responsibilities of artists today. In all countries where the proletariat struggles for liberation, revolutionary artists and intellectuals today struggle to create an art which helps to transform the world, not merely reflect it, or distort it, or reduce it to comfortable abstractions. ■



"Derricks" by Lewis, 1927

icated to the Third Congress of the Communist International which was a monument 13 stories high and constructed of steel and glass, and a picture of a workers' center designed by Rodchenko. But the majority of the collection of Soviet art of the 20's is the abstract circle and square drawings and prints by Lissitzky and Rodchenko.

In its chronology, the catalog states that in 1921 "Lunacharsky begins to organize educational and art institutions according to Lenin's New Economic Policy". In Soviet Russia during the 20's schools and institutions were opened in numerous cities, and many exhibitions were held in

the successful achievement of the aims of its dictatorship, that is, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the abolition of classes and the elimination of the exploitation of man by man." Lenin went further to point out that "Each man must choose between joining our side or the other side. Any attempt to avoid taking sides in this issue must end in a fiasco."

The struggle was to convince the leading Russian artists of the time that in class society there is no art which stands above classes.

This struggle opened up new paths. A break was made with abstract expression. Artists including Rodchenko and Popova left institutes to work in industry and ap-

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For Democracy and Socialism!

Sharing the History of the Albanian Fight for Socialism

Interview with Victoria Hull, Chairwoman of the Chicago Chapter of the Committee to Form a U.S. - Albania Friendship Association

UNITE! Victoria, you've just completed a national tour showing the Albanian film "Poppies on the Wall" in celebration of the 35th anniversary of the liberation of Albania. Tell us about the celebrations and the response in each of the cities you visited.

Hull: Something very special and unique happened at each of the different meetings where together with industrial workers, students, foreign students, teachers and film buffs, youngsters and older supporters, we hailed socialist Albania and commemorated 35 years of socialist construction.

We opened the tour on November 10 in Oakland and the kickoff celebration was a chance to meet with the friends in the Bay Area who have worked very hard over the last 8 months to get the Committee started and build for the film showings in Oakland and San Jose. In Pittsburgh friends of Albania organized a meeting and in Boston new friends of the Committee in the Ray O Light Organizing Committee of New England co-sponsored a meeting.

In Oakland the meeting took place just at the point where tensions between the U.S. and Iranian government were flaring and attacks against Iranians living in the U.S. were beginning. At that meeting, Iranian students from Sacramento joined us in our support for Albania and spoke movingly about the revolutionary struggle in their homeland.

In Pittsburgh we met several families of Albanian ancestry who were pleased to learn about our Committee and its support for Albania for they have long been supporters of socialism in Albania. One man told us an interesting story. In talking to his friends about his homeland he tried to explain the life of an Albanian worker. He said, "I tell them that I am a worker in the U.S. and I make \$600 a month, but have never been to see the ocean. An Albanian worker makes \$65 a month, but every summer he and his family spend a month long vacation at a seaside resort established by the people's state for Albanian workers." Only \$65 you might say? Well, with no inflation, no taxes, with health care free and rents only about 3% of monthly income, with costs of

necessities kept low, people do not suffer poverty and want in Albania. And equally important, his point was that the life of man includes rewards other than economic security - such as travel, relaxation, family ties.

The meeting in Boston was an invitation only affair, but 50 people attended, mostly industrial workers, who very enthusiastically received the film and the presentation on socialism in Albania.

UNITE! What about your speech? What points did you stress?

Hull: We gave a sketch of Albania today, for many people in all the cities were new to Albania, and we summed up the lessons of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War. But we pointed out that while it is extremely inspiring to look back at the events leading up to November 29, 1944 this 35th anniversary takes on a much deeper meaning in light of the 35 years since liberation. Today, despite the betrayal of the revolution in Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and China, despite the attacks of imperialism and social imperialism, despite being completely encircled by hostile bourgeois states, Albania marches ahead on the revolutionary road, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, building socialism and in the process inspiring, educating and leading the workers and revolutionaries of the entire world.

The tour concluded on a cold, snowy night in Chicago. Again the film was well received, which we expected, because it is artistically and politically an exciting film. When Committee members first saw it last spring, the audience reaction was electric. One person was impressed because, as he put it, "How often do you see a film that tells a story honestly, realistically and courageously from our - the people's - point of view?"

UNITE! This tour seems to be a

significant step forward for the Albania friendship movement in the U.S. and worldwide. Do you agree?

Hull: Yes, we think it is a significant step forward. In fact, we think that with this tour the friendship movement in our country has taken its first steps out of infancy, toward the broad, popular mass movement it is destined to become.

This tour was an important part of our work which is directed toward building a national organization which carries out activities designed to educate and mobilize the American people to defend socialism in Albania. This work will be in process for many, many years. But both here in Chicago and in Oakland, we think the important point is that this work is underway on a sound footing.

This tour and other activities continue to confirm in our minds that the time is ripe to wage the struggle to bring the story of Albania to the people in the U.S.

UNITE! You characterize it as a struggle. Why? What are the difficulties?

Hull: There are many. First is the anti-Albanian stand of the U.S. government which has carried out a blockade of information about Albania for 35 years. At the same time, it actively promotes anti-communist views, slandering Albania, referring to the "regime", calling Enver Hoxha a "dictator", and Albania "backward" - on and on! We don't expect this will change anytime in the near future.

Secondly, is the fight against the notion that sometimes crops up in the work that Albania and the ideas she represents are not yet going to find an interested ear here in the U.S. You see, the two are related. The view that people "are not ready" for Albania comes from confusion over the



From "Poppies on the Wall", CFUSFA photo

very real fact that Albania is not well known in the U.S. due to the blockade. But this does not mean that the ideas Albania represents are of no interest to Americans, for they are the ideas of freedom, democracy, socialism and ending the exploitation of man by man.

Other problems are the slanders, not only by the U.S. government, but by organizations like the RCP (Revolutionary Communist Party), which has launched a full scale attack against the Party of Labor of Albania and Enver Hoxha in particular. Our Committee is actively promoting **Imperialism and the Revolution and Reflections on China** as one means of combatting these attacks.

And finally, to be frank, we face a situation where the movement in support of Albania is divided. Part of this stems from the fact that our organization is new and is today just beginning to gain the influence needed to win to our side many supporters of Albania who have gone it alone for many years. As well, there are groups and individuals who support Albania in words, but when it comes to deed will not unite on sound principles and work together.

UNITE! It is a complicated situation.

Hull: Yes, as is the situation in our country today as a whole. But none the less, despite these obstacles, we continue to work

and new people come forward. When our Committee does its work well, we find time and again friends who are interested, amazed and pleased by what they learn about socialism in Albania.

UNITE! What lies ahead in 1980 for the Committee to Form a U.S. - Albania Friendship Association?

Hull: Many opportunities exist to expand the work. The chapters are in the process of discussing them and formulating a year plan. Some of the tasks up for consideration are building new chapters, expanding the newsletter and our literature, developing slide shows, publishing a book and waging a membership campaign.

All this takes time, effort and money. Across the country all friends of Albania can join our Committee as associate members and we urge your readers to write us for more information about membership. This year, the Jubilee Year of the 35th anniversary of the liberation of Albania, we have called on friends to join us. We call on your readers and all friends of UNITE! to join us! The time is ripe. The lessons Albania offers are a treasurehouse, a treasurehouse we aim to share with the working class and oppressed people of our country. ■

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1979...

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The reformist civil rights leaders, using the firing of Andrew Young as an excuse, decided to save themselves from Carter's sinking ship by becoming the unofficial ambassadors to the "third world", the Middle East and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

And the Klan and Nazis, taking advantage of Carter's political crisis, crawled out of their holes to demonstrate, organize, and finally, in complete confidence of the cooperation of the state, to openly and in coldblood, murder anti-Klan organizers in North Carolina.

And On the Seventh Day the Capitalists Rested

But though it continued through the year on a mostly sporadic and spontaneous level, the people's rising consciousness, which grows from and at the same time deepens the capitalists' political crisis, was cut short at the end of the year. The "crisis" of

Iran squeezed the murders in Greensboro, the soaring inflation and the resurrection of imperialism in Nicaragua off the pages of the newspapers. Replacing the crisis of thousands being laid off, and public hostility to the oil monopolists, was the "crisis" of the hostages. Having failed at engineering a Middle East peace through a treaty that was little more than fluff, having failed to build his image in the Cuban troop "crisis", Carter took the first place ribbon for his engineering of the Iranian crisis. His sad, apologetic eyes turned steely gray and his ratings caught up with Kennedy's.

The recovery was a capitalist's dream. Never mind that it set in motion events which can well result in world war. Never mind that it changed the noble "internationalist" sentiments of many Americans, a real concern for human rights, into the muscle flexing, obscene national pride of imperialism. Never mind that it has laid the basis, oiled the machinery, stirred reaction, in such a way that with the next crisis, or per-

haps the one after that, it will be easier to whip up sentiment in support of the inevitable imperialist war. Never mind, never mind. The main thing for Carter and his class is that, for now, their political crisis has been resolved. Once again the imperialist class is not being assessed through the growing proletarian and internationalist consciousness of Americans. "Confidence" in the capitalists is once again viewed as a matter of blind patriotic duty. Once again the degenerate activities of the capitalist class, which began to distinguish themselves at the beginning of 1979, have melted into the all-encompassing cover of the "nation", indivisible, right or wrong. For now the capitalists have resolved their political crisis.

And On the Eighth Day?

But not for long. For after the Iranian crisis is concluded to the satisfaction of the political ambitions of Carter and Khomeini, each of these reactionary rulers will have the internal crisis of their country to face once again. The spotlight will return to the

degenerating economic condition of the workers in the U.S., and Carter's role of pressing our class further into debt, impoverishment, unemployment and ruin. Once more the degenerate wheeling and dealing of Carter, Kennedy, and the capitalists will come to light. Once more people around the world will rise against U.S. imperialism and its fascist puppets in such justifiable efforts that U.S. imperialism will find it difficult to repress these struggles in the old way. Once again internationalism will flow in the veins of the American people. And the capitalists of our country will be faced with a new political crisis, one which will be harder to resolve - one in which our Party, the Party of the working class, will work to our class's advantage, building the consciousness and organization of the proletariat until one day the capitalists' political and economic crises will be a revolutionary crisis. A crisis in which the exploited millions will rise up and put the final end to the capitalist crises, their problems and their recoveries. ■

Enver Hoxha's

Reflections on China

Volume II - 1973-1977
Extracts from the Political Diary of Enver Hoxha

Send \$6.50 to UNITE! Box 6206 Chicago IL 60680 plus \$1 handling fee per shipment. Illinois residents add 5% sales tax.

The Yuletide Message

Holiday Cheer to Brighten, for a Moment, a Winter of Discontent

Many, many years ago a freshly cut evergreen tree was dragged into the house to brighten up the long, cold months of winter. To day tinsel, flashing lights and colorful decorations adorn Christmas trees to brighten, for a few fleeting moments, the long, cold years of the capitalist era.

Just as the capitalists take the apple and throw us the core, a tinsel and glitter Christmas is the trimming in the desperate drudgery of daily life. Taking immense profits from the labor of working people, the capitalists throw back a "living" wage. Profiting from a system whose pressures rip families apart, the capitalists throw us a Christmas holiday, a celebration of the "family spirit".

In place of the potential for real spiritual, educational and social growth, a potential which stirs the soul, our children are offered fairy tales about Santa Claus

and the Baby Jesus, gimmicky games that are more repetition than education, and shiny toys which only momentarily divert them from the boredom and fear that stalks their young lives.

A Time for Family?

For some at Christmas time, family and close friends gather to open special gifts and share a meal. For others, like the thousands of soldiers in imperialism's standing armies, those driven from their homelands to find work on the assembly lines or in the fields, for the elderly and the poor, the loneliness of the holiday brings a special kind of hell.

For the husband and wife, searching for "that special gift", the gift giver is run through a special mill, and torn between spending limited funds on a practical present that is needed or one that satisfies the craving for fanciful relief from the drab existence

of everyday life.

Behind the warmth of the holidays are the pressures of capitalism — the arguments over mounting bills, over children, over support for parents and relatives — which combine to make smaller problems much more difficult to solve. Alone, husbands and wives become each others target for pent up frustrations and anxiety. Christmas is the one day to forget in the glow of the yule logs and crackling fire, the incredible forces of capitalism which tear marriages apart.

And what of the children? Their expectations mount as the days are counted off on the Christmas calendars. Lists are drawn up, as young imaginations are primed by crass TV ads flashing the newest in electronic toys.

Parents are determined to go all out for their children at Christmas and great sacrifices are made.

When the wrapping paper is ripped open, little eyes shine and it seems almost perfect. For a moment the loans from the credit union and credit card bills are forgotten.

A few days later, the toys lie broken or unused. Games played once or twice are no longer interesting, and it all begins to appear a twisted substitute for the genuine love between parent and child. The diversions cannot long hold off the boredom and lack of fulfillment in school, the antagonisms and divisive social relationships of capitalism. All the toys, games and trinkets are parents' desperate expressions of a genuine desire to provide their children with a rewarding and meaningful life. But Christmas cheer cannot ward off the haunting knowledge that capitalism brings children a life of danger and despair. The degeneracy of society, drug abuse, unwanted teenage pregnancies and illiteracy are always possible as next year's "presents of capitalism".

people for a better world — for a rich cultural, political and spiritual life where human potential is fulfilled — are tossed aside and we are thrown pie in the sky dreams of eternal salvation where the meek inherit the kingdom of God. Together with the tales of Santa Claus and Frosty the Snowman add the Three Wise Men and the Immaculate Conception, and thus the dreams and aspirations of young and old are twisted and confused.

Each day that we awake without the promised salvation — be it Christmas morning or any other day of the year — is to find a lump of coal in the toe of the Christmas stocking.

This lump of coal will never satisfy the just longings of the people for liberation, for unity, equality, and "peace on earth". One day of gifts and yuletide cheer do not give the people what they need and deserve. One day of love and harmony does not make up for the 364 days that capitalism sets people at each others' throats. A full Christmas stocking does not prevent our children from seeing and knowing the bleak future that awaits them as wage slaves, following in the exploited and desperate footsteps of their elders.

The dreams and aspirations of the people will only be satisfied by another kind of celebration, a celebration of activity aimed at destroying the old capitalist order and creating the new socialist system based on real prospects for brotherhood and goodwill toward men, based on the scientific principle of "from each according to their ability, to each according to their work". The celebration of the prospect of socialism is the holiday which has gripped the hearts and minds of the laboring masses for over 100 years. It is a celebration which brings us together in common struggle for a common goal — an end to the long winter of capitalism and the birth of a new spring — of socialism. ■

Socialism and Religion

by V. I. Lenin

Present day society is wholly based on the exploitation of the vast masses of the working class by a tiny minority of the population, the class of land owners and that of the capitalists. It is a slave society, since the "free" workers, who all their life work for the capitalists, are "entitled" only to such means of subsistence as are essential for the maintenance of slaves who produce profit, for the safeguarding and perpetuation of capitalist slavery.

The economic oppression of the workers inevitably calls forth and engenders every kind of political oppression and social humiliation, the coarsening and darkening of the spiritual and moral life of the masses. The workers may secure a greater or lesser degree of political liberty to fight for their economic emancipation, but no amount of liberty will rid them of poverty, unemployment, and oppression until the power of capital is overthrown. Religion is one of the forms of spiritual oppression which everywhere weighs down heavily upon the masses of the people, overburdened by their perpetual work for others, by want and isolation. Impotence of the exploited classes in their struggle against the exploiters just as inevitably gives rise to the belief in a better life after death as impotence of the savage in his battle with nature gives rise to belief in gods, de-

vils, miracles, and the like. Those who toil and live in want all their lives are taught by religion to be submissive and patient while here on earth, and to take comfort in the hope of a heavenly reward. But those who live by the labor of others are taught by religion to practice charity while on earth, thus offering them a very cheap way of justifying their entire existence as exploiters and selling them at a moderate price tickets to well being in heaven. Religion is opium for the people. Religion is a sort of spiritual booze, in which the slaves of capital drown their human image, their demand for a life more or less worthy of man.

But a slave who has become conscious of his slavery and has risen to struggle for his emancipation has already half ceased to be a slave. The modern class conscious worker, reared by large scale factory industry and enlightened by urban life, contemptuously casts aside religious prejudices, leaves heaven to the priests and bourgeois bigots and tries to win a better life for himself here on earth. The proletariat of today takes the side of socialism, which enlists science in the battle against the fog of religion, and frees the workers from their belief in life after death by welding them together to fight in the present for a better life on earth.

First published in *Proletary*, No 35
September 11 1908



GOODBYE CHRIST

by Langston Hughes

Listen, Christ,
You did alright in your day, I reckon —
But that day's gone now
They ghosted you up a swell story, too,
Called it Bible —
But it's dead now

The popes and the preachers've
Made too much money from it
They've sold you to too many

Kings, generals, robbers, and killers —
Even to the Tzar and the Cossacks,
Even to Rockefeller's Church,
Even to the Saturday Evening Post
You ain't no good no more
They've pawned you
Till you've done worn out

Goodbye,
Christ Jesus Lord God Jehova,
Beat it on away from here now
Make way for a new guy with no religion at all —
A real guy named
Marx Communist Lenin Peasant Stalin Worker ME —

I said, ME —

Go ahead on now,
You're getting in the way of things, Lord
And please take Saint Gandhu with you when you go,
And Saint Pope Pus,
And Saint Aimee McPherson,
And big black Saint Becton
Of the Consecrated Dime
Move!

Don't be so slow about movin'
The world is mine from now on —
And nobody's gonna sell ME
To a king, or a general,
Or a millionaire