

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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End the Criminal Rule
of the U.S. Monopoly Capitalist Class,
Fight for Socialism!

The Proletariat and Oppressed People
and Nations of the World, Unite!

Eternal Glory to Chairman Mao, Greatest Marxist of the Contemporary Era

Turn Grief Into Strength!

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great leader of the international proletariat, oppressed people and nations of the world, has departed from us. With deepest grief, we mourn his death.

In his life-time, he brought inspiration not only to the Chinese people, but the proletariat and oppressed people all over the world!

Chairman Mao, through his revolutionary practice and teaching, has greatly accelerated the history of the contemporary era, greatly lessened the suffering of the oppressed people the world over and moreover has brought the bright future of the emancipation of the proletariat so much closer!

Chairman Mao was the greatest Marxist of the contemporary era. Though he has left us now, his contributions to Marxism in various spheres -- in the philosophical, political, economic, military, ideological and cultural -- will be like the Northern Star in the sky, shining forever. His teachings will burn bright in the hearts of revolutionaries all around the world.

The best way to commemorate him is to try to sum-up some of his teachings and resolve to continue to study his teachings and resolve to continue to study his teachings and to apply them to the proletarian revolution in the U.S.!

Chairman Mao was born in Shaoshan in 1893. He was first the product of the revolutionary patriotic movement against imperialism and feudalism in China, which at that time was semi-feudal, semi-colonial. The May 4th Movement was the movement of the revolutionary intelligentsia, workers, peasants, petty-bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie, who all suffered from national oppression and humiliation. Chairman Mao, at that time, left home and resolved to turn down-trodden China into a modern state and to make it equal among the nations of the world. Then, influenced by the great October Revolution in Russia and the motion of the hundreds of millions of workers and peasants in China, Chairman Mao in his youth drew the conclusion that only Marxism-Lenin-



ism could save China and the people of the world.

As he himself said in "The People's Democratic Dictatorship":

"The salvos of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism. The October Revolution helped progressives in China, as throughout the world, to adopt the

proletarian world outlook as the instrument for studying a nation's destiny and considering anew their problems. Follow the path of the Russians -- that was their conclusion."

Taking up the stand, viewpoint, and method of the international proletariat, supported by the aspirations and great motion of hundreds of

millions searching for national liberation and class emancipation in the concrete historical circumstances of China, Chairman Mao developed into a mature Marxist early in his life, in the course of leading the rising storm in the colonial East.

After the October Revolution in Russia in 1917, the movement of the proletariat in Europe suffered a temporary setback due to the collapse of the revisionist Second International. Lenin at that time placed his immediate hope for the revolutionary movement on what he called the "new source of great world storms" -- in the East.

And surely, as the cherished song of the Chinese people goes: "The East is Red, the sun rises, China has brought forth a Mao Tse-tung...", the revolutionary fervor, energy and great motion of history of the hundreds of millions of toilers gave rise to a Mao Tse-tung. Through his firm stand with the proletariat and all the oppressed nations and classes, his revolutionary potential was developed through historical necessity and he developed into the greatest Marxist of the contemporary era.

Personally, Chairman Mao sacrificed selflessly for the revolution. Many members of his family, including one of his wives, one of his sisters, and at least one of his sons were executed by the reactionary Kuomintang and U.S. imperialists. Steeled in struggle in the Northern Expedition (1924-1927) against the Chinese Nationalist KMT, who were at first patriotic but then as one divided into two, turned reactionary; against Japan-

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MINERS' STRUGGLE

OCTOBER LEAGUE WAGS TAIL

The four week long wildcat strike of the miners is a continuation of the heroic tradition of the miners in their relentless struggle against the monopoly capitalist class and government, the instrument of the monopolists. It is a political strike that is of great inspiration to the entire U.S. working class. It shows that in this period of dying imperialism, the bourgeoisie is increasingly unable to maintain its rule.

In this period of capitalist crisis the monopoly capitalists are increasingly forced to step up their attacks on the working class with court injunctions and binding arbitration, to take away a potent weapon of the working class, the right to strike, as in the case of the miners. But the miners' struggle clearly showed that by so doing, the bourgeoisie is only further exposing its impotency in the face of the rising consciousness and militancy of the working class.

What can the bourgeoisie do when not only the 213 workers of the Local 1759 of the United Mine Workers (UMW) walked out in defiance of the bourgeois courts, but when tens of thousands of miners joined their brothers in the uproar? In summing up one struggle by the Russian workers in 1901, the great teacher described the same pitiful situation that the Russian bourgeoisie found themselves in:

"On the one hand, laws are passed designating new crimes (e.g. wilful refusal to work or participation in a mob that damages property or resists armed force), penalties for striking are increased, etc., while on the other, the physical and political possibility of applying these laws and imposing corresponding penalties is disappearing. It is physically impossible to prosecute thousands and tens of thousands of men for refusing to work, for striking, or for 'mobs.'" (Lenin, "Another Massacre," LCW, Vol.5)

This is how in the end, the bourgeois court was forced to drop all charges against the miners, including the original fines against Local 1759.

As the bourgeoisie is putting up a last ditch effort to maintain their rule, they are bound to become more politically reactionary in trying to suppress the spontaneous resistance of the working class. In our fight to deal a final blow to the criminal system of monopoly capitalism and to prepare for the dictatorship of the proletariat, communists must win the advanced workers to communism. Strikes are only one of the ways in which the working class struggles for its emancipation but not the only way.

"Strikes can only be successful where workers are sufficiently class conscious, where they are able to select an opportune moment for striking, where they know how to put forward their demands, and where they have connections with socialists and are able to procure leaflets and pamphlets through them." (Lenin, "On Strikes, On Trade Unions," p.66)

The struggles of the miners in the last decade have clearly brought home this lesson. While the miners have persisted in the struggle for better working conditions, the right to strike and spearheading the struggle directly against the state, the strikes were consistently sabotaged by the trade union misleaders who are the agents of the bourgeoisie within the working class. Only under the vanguard leadership of a genuine communist party, that is made up of the best sons and daughters of the working class, can we march to the final victory and overthrow the bourgeoisie.

This struggle against the monopoly capitalists is inseparable from the struggle against the trade union mis-

leaders and all shades of opportunism within the working class. Because of the superprofits it reaps from the superexploitation of the third world countries, the U.S. bourgeoisie has been able to bribe a minority of the upper strata of the working class. These traitors of the working class such as Miller spread bourgeois ideology within the ranks of the working class and sabotage the struggle of the working class from within. These misleaders must be thoroughly exposed and driven out of our ranks or the proletariat cannot know who it will march with into the decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie." (Lenin, "Theses on the Fundamental Tasks," LCW, Vol.31, p.190)

The attitude and tactics towards these misleaders is a basic line of demarcation between genuine and sham communists. And this is how the miners' struggle shows how RCP and OL thoroughly exposed themselves as right opportunists. These sham communists must be similarly driven out of the working class because the working class is bound to head towards defeat under their misleadership.



OL'S LEFT FEINT IS OLD WINE IN A NEW BOTTLE

In the past, OL saw that the "progressive sections of the union leaders" like Miller, Chavez, are "direct reserves" of the proletariat, calling on communists to "unite with the progressive section of the labor leadership against the reactionaries" to "push the unions to the left". This was the reformist theoretical basis for OL's complete unity with Arnold Miller when he ran against the reactionary Boyle leadership of the UMW in 1972. OL's bankrupt line then was that Boyle represents the fascist wing of the trade union misleaders and Miller the "reformist" leadership that communists should ally with. OL did no exposure of Miller at all because he is the better guy. (see WVO Journal, May 1975) This is a lesser-of-two-evils line that was only mentioned recently in the August Call, 1976. In the Call article, OL has to admit that the "line of 'pushing the unions to the left' mistakenly underestimated the great danger of the liberal reformists (who appeared to be part of the "left") in the trade unions. This erroneous line called for a 'united front against the fascist union leaders'. It abandoned a scientific understanding of reformism and revisionism as the main ideological props of the imperialists inside the workers movement. It mistakenly saw the contradiction in the trade unions as being between the 'fascists' and the 'anti-fascists' today the trade union leadership as a whole, including Meany as well as Sadlowski are reformists."

Yet in their "self-criticism," OL lays the source for their deviation on a re-

action "in combating the 'leftist' line of skipping over work in the trade unions"! While the OL was forced to admit in the face of cold facts that their line on trade union misleaders was completely bankrupt, they still have the guts to maintain that their trade union work overall has made "great advances." They would not sum up their incorrect line to an ideological plane and admit that it stems from a deeply entrenched illusion in bourgeois democracy, and basically incorrect lines on the counter-revolutionary reform and repression tactics of the bourgeoisie. WVO has consistently held that reform is still the principal form of rule of the bourgeoisie and that militant misleaders within the working class especially those from the ranks of the workers are often more dangerous enemies of the working class than open fascists. WVO has also held consistently that bourgeois democracy is increasingly used by the bourgeoisie to usher in fascism.

Yet OL would not admit that such illusion in bourgeois democracy is not only the basis their class collaborationist

"BUT IN 1976, who needs the OL to tell the miners that Miller is a sell-out when even the backward workers have come to such understanding through their own experience and when the bourgeoisie has realized that the use of Miller is over."

What the OL told the miners about Miller in '72, '73, '74 and '75 is what the OL is telling the miners now about Hays Holstein.

Trade Union Line, but is also at the root of their line on Busing, the ERA and the death penalty. This is shown clearly in OL's polemics against WVO on busing when OL stated that the "main weapon (of the bourgeoisie) has been violent suppression, guns in hand, through the state machinery (police, courts, etc.) and through fascist organization which they support indirectly or directly as the case may be" (Class Struggle, #2, p.84)

Short of a thorough repudiation of these incorrect lines and summing them to the ideological plane, the OL is bound to repeat the same error they made on Miller in 1972. This is why their recent "left" feint is only old wine in new bottles. This is exposed all too clearly in their recent propaganda around the miners' wildcat strike.

HOW OL PUSHES A CLASS COLLABORATIONIST LINE ON THE TRADE UNION MISLEADERS

In their propaganda, OL concentrated their fire on Miller and said that the "liberal leadership headed up by Miller has followed Boyle's same footsteps, joining the coal companies in launching an attack against the miners' right to strike." (The Call, Aug. 2)

This is well and true. However, OL exposes itself as maintaining basically the same lesser-of-two-evils line by giving total and uncritical support to Hays Holstein, the president of Local 1759 that initiated the wildcat. The OL even tried to build up Holstein as the genuine leader of the miners by quoting him to show how he is determined to fight the international leadership of the UMW (The Call, Aug. 2)

SURGES FORWARD FOR NEW MISLEADERS

Who is Hays Holstein? And what should communists tactics be toward him? A staunch anti-communist, Holstein has consistently tried to limit the strike to only oppose court injunctions throughout the struggle. He would not even agree that the main aspect of the struggle was over the right to strike. Under his misleadership, the striking local raised four demands in the strike: (1) equal justice from the federal courts; (2) all fines and injunctions imposed by the courts be opened and re-examined; (3) no reprisals against miners who participated in the strike and (4) investigation of federal judges who have issued massive fines and penalties against miners. These demands clearly reveal the danger of Holstein as a misleader that preaches bourgeois democratic illusions from within the ranks of the miners.

As communists we know that courts are part of the state apparatus of the bourgeoisie to oppress the working class, that as long as we are under capitalism, the working class can never expect "fair treatment" from bourgeois courts. Secondly, the attacks on the workers right to strike, the court injunctions are not the result of the corruption of individual federal judges, but part of the attack that the monopoly capitalists are launching on the working class. To ask for the investigation of judges is to cover up the inherent contradictions between the workers and the monopoly capitalists and preaches that the oppression we suffer are the faults of individual judges and bureaucrats. Finally, it is Holstein, with his cohort of local presidents, that broke the strike and capitulated to the threats of the International to take over the locals into trusteeship without putting up a fight.

Yet OL did not find it their duty as communists to expose the true nature of Holstein and his like. Instead, OL tailed after the masses of miners by keeping their attack on "exposing Miller." But in 1976, who needs OL to tell the miners that Miller is a sell out when even the backward workers have come to such understanding through their own experiences and when the bourgeoisie has realized that the use of Miller is over since he is too exposed to put a cap on the militancy of the rank and file? Where was OL in 1972 when the workers sorely needed communists to expose to them the true collaborationist nature of the "liberal reformist" Miller with the microscope and telescope of Marxism Leninism Mao tse tung Thought? Today the misleaders are mutating to a higher form. As we pointed out in WV newspaper #5 "in these times when all the old opportunist forces are getting more and more exposed, it is the fresh militant misleaders who are most dangerous... These new faces still have a grip in the masses." (WV #5, p.5-6) This is precisely the nature of Hays Holstein. Communists must warn workers beforehand. It is rumored that Holstein might run for the next UMW International presidency riding on his new militant image. It is the duty of communists to explain to workers beforehand how by his worship of trade unionism, his ardent push of the illusion in bourgeois democracy and his ability to capture the rising militancy of the miners that Holstein is even more dangerous a misleader than Miller. By foresaking this duty, the OL is practising the same class collaborationist line they had on Boyle and Miller four years ago.

In this period of capitalist crisis the bourgeoisie is increasingly unable to rule with crumbs and have to resort more to repression although reform is still the principal form of rule. Increasingly, trade union misleaders that used to maintain their rule by the crumbs they get from their capitalist masters found that they are more and more unable to do so since the rising consciousness of the workers see through their sell out schemes. Such misleaders



FIRM UNITY OF THE MULTINATIONAL WORKING CLASS is forged in the course of class struggle against the monopoly capitalist class and national chauvinism. The OL files suit for superseniority to split the working class

are now being exposed at a faster rate than ever before in different unions throughout the country. But under bourgeois democracy, the bourgeoisie needs these layers of misleaders as their social prop "to preach defeatism and opposition to struggle, and where the outbreak of working class struggle becomes inevitable, directly disrupting it from within." (Palme Dutt, Fascism and Social Revolution) This means that the bourgeoisie will be forced to continue to build up more misleaders. These misleaders, like Holstein and Turner of 1199 and Butler of DC 37 ride on the fall of the old leaders to further the deception of the working class.

The communist tactics towards these misleaders is that we will support them like a rope supports a hanged man. As long as they still command a mass base, we would unite with them tactically but at all times maintain our independence and initiative to expose them before, during and after the struggle. We must expose their true nature as preachers of trade unionism and bourgeois democracy to the masses that are misled by them and win over the workers to communist leadership through a tit for tat struggle.

RCP

The RCP also pushes an objectively class collaborationist line in the miners' struggle by liquidating their role as communists to bring the science of MLMTTT to the working class. Instead, they tailed most miserably the misleaders such as Holstein and persisted in their thoroughly bankrupt economist line. In their blind worship of the mass movement, they even stoop to the level of anti-communism and militant trade unionism.

In RCP's propaganda on the miners' struggle, nowhere was communism or the dictatorship of the proletariat mentioned. Nor was there any exposure of the nature of monopoly capitalism that is the root of the oppression and attacks faced by the workers. Nowhere did RCP raise the role of communists and the party of the proletariat in leading the day to day struggle of the working class and leading the working class to the overthrow of the criminal system of monopoly capitalism. In their organizing work among the miners, the RCP cadres first feebly raised the demand "right to strike," but when they found that this was met with displeasure from some workers, they quickly dropped it and ended up tailing the backward and some

middle workers' demand against the court injunction. Their sum up of the strike in the Revolution totally liquidated the role of communists and wanted us to believe that something more than trade union consciousness of the workers will grow spontaneously and naturally from the strike.

Throughout the struggle, RCP tailed miserably behind Holstein, trying to court his favor so that RCP could sneak into a position to organizationally lead the strike. At one RCP organized rally, the RCP cadre referred to statements by Holstein that the strike was about court injunctions and nothing more. Instead of exposing the class collaborationist nature of Holstein, RCP said that Holstein was correct! A rank and file group called "District 17 and 39 Miners to Stop the Injunction" under the influence of RCP said that they really wanted to help build the strike "because brother Holstein has been carrying the whole load on his shoulders." When workers said that Miller is a "bad apple" that must be thrown out, RCP agreed, instead of putting forth a scientific analysis of Miller as part of the labor aristocracy that must be totally smashed in our struggle to overthrow monopoly capitalism. This is the same bankrupt "throw the bum out" line that only serves to whitewash the class nature of the bourgeoisie and their agents within the working class.

The RCP cadres boasted for being the respected leaders of the rank and file workers tried to build themselves up in the miners by hiding their politics instead of providing correct communist political and ideological leadership. In one rally, when an RCP cadre was accused of being a communist, he tried to stop any political discussion by saying that he wasn't a communist. Not one RCP cadre or their contacts stood up to defend communism! Objectively, this is collaborating with the red baiting and anti-communist scheme of the bourgeoisie. Within the two contending trends of war and revolution, either world war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent world war. The RCP and the OL side with and promote the bourgeoisie's trend toward world war.

CONCLUSION

The miners' struggle once again shows the intensification of the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in this era of dying impe-

African Masses Are Determined to Kick Out 2 Superpowers and Smash Apartheid!

The struggle of the Azanian (South African) people for national liberation and independence is surging ahead at an unprecedented pace and nothing in the world can stop it! Along with the heroic struggles of the Zimbabwean and Namibian peoples and the revolutionary movements in the rest of the Third World, the Azanian people are rising up wave upon wave and forcing a quick end to the Vorster regime's racist scheme of apartheid, as well as demanding genuine political and economic equality and a return of the land that was stolen from them. (See "Long Live the Azanian People's National Liberation Struggle!", Workers Viewpoint newspaper, Vol. I, No. 4, July 1976, p. 1)

The spontaneous protest that started in the African township of Soweto in June over the mandatory use of the Afrikaans language in the schools has spread like wildfire throughout the rest of this settler state, and the target of the resistance has quickly broadened to the reactionary white supremacist regime of John Vorster. Thinking they could defuse the spark that set off the June upsurge, Vorster and his clique agreed on July 6 to end the compulsory use in African schools of Afrikaans, the language of Azania's racist white minority rulers; they also agreed to expand home-buying rights for Africans.

But the Azanian people clearly see through these scraps thrown their way. On July 21, when the government attempted to reopen schools in Soweto and Johannesburg that had been closed for over a month, students defied this order and organized a massive classroom walk-out and boycott that is continuing to this day! Hundreds of schools throughout the country have been set on fire to protest the system of separate and inferior education for Africans. By mid-August, the upsurge had spread to major industries, like auto, in Capetown and Port Elizabeth, as Azanians demanded the removal of racist job specifications which have kept the country's 6 million African workers in unskilled jobs at below subsistence wages.

The militancy of Azanian workers and students is shaking the very foundations of the crumbling Vorster regime and making them tremble in their boots! On August 5, more than 5,000 Soweto demonstrators organized a march out of the township and into Johannesburg, 9 miles away, in order to demand the release of hundreds of student leaders who have been arrested and held without trial since June under the government's fascist Terrorism Act. As the workers and students approached the border of Soweto Township, desperate South African riot squads fired over their heads, and then directly into the crowds, murdering scores of Azanians. So far, hundreds of Azanians have given up their lives to end the criminal rule of apartheid. Such cold-blooded massacres have only aroused the long-simmering hatred among broad strata of Azanians for the racist apartheid regime, and are stirring them into action!

ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT IS BROADENING AND DEEPENING

The South African bourgeoisie try to discredit the newest wave of resistance by attributing it to nothing but a bunch of rowdy kids getting a little hot under the collar. They think they can call a halt to the demonstrations by arrests of some of the more militant leaders or through outright repression: time and again, the panic-stricken South African police have attacked with tear gas and opened fire on unarmed demonstrators, but



EXUBERANT ZIMBABWEANS CELEBRATE news that African presidents rejected sham imperialist settlements for 'transition to majority rule.'

such repressive tactics cannot stem the raging African struggle for independence. The atrocities only expose the weakness of the Vorster regime. History teaches us that when a cause is deeply rooted among the masses and they embrace it as their own, no force, however powerful, can turn it back!

Much to the bourgeoisie's fear, the anti-apartheid movement has broadened and deepened into a mass movement and includes strata like the Africans of mixed ancestry ("coloreds"), industrial leaders, progressive white settlers, the "homelands" tribal chiefs, and especially the working class.

The week of Aug. 2, the overwhelming majority (80%) of the 220,000 Azanian workers who are forced to live in Soweto (the largest African township in Azania) and shuttle back and forth everyday to work in Johannesburg joined forces and demonstrated their solidarity with the school boycott and protests by staying off their jobs for 3 days and helping organize blockades at railroad and bus stations around the township. Johannesburg's industries and economy, which are dependent on cheap African labor, were decisively crippled.

Again, on Aug. 23-25 and Sept. 13, Azanian workers in Johannesburg called general strikes and demanded the release of the 2,000 Azanians who had been arrested and detained since the Soweto upsurge in June. Such work boycotts have spread throughout the country to other major cities such as Capetown (Sept. 15) and into white settler districts.

UPHOLD THE GREAT UNITY OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE AGAINST RACISM AND HEGEMONISM

During and since the Aug. 23-25 work boycott in Johannesburg, the reactionary South African government, fearing the ever-growing unity among Africans of different tribes and between Blacks and "coloreds," has tried to exploit the contradictions and create splits among the tribes and pit Afri-

cans against Africans. There are differences, based mainly on culture and language, among Azania's 9 major tribal groupings. But they have been broken down recently by their unity in struggle against apartheid. Passing out marijuana freely, the South African police have incited the more backward elements of the Zulu workers (largest tribe, with 4.8 million) who broke the strike to form vigilante groups and attack and murder other African anti-government strikers and demonstrators.

Among the different forces in the united front struggle against apartheid, we will support all who struggle against apartheid and objectively weaken the main enemy, imperialism. But where there exists a clear vanguard force, a Marxist-Leninist organization, we have a special responsibility to resolutely support the correct line and leadership of such an organization which, armed with the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, will carry the violent struggle for national liberation through to the end.

But a clear line must be drawn on the vacillating nature of those two-faced conciliators, like some of the tribal chiefs and "homeland" leaders and petty bourgeoisie, who, once loyal lackeys of the racist leaders, have been forced by the tremendous upsurge of the Azanian masses to adopt a more militant posture in order to maintain some credibility with the masses.

They cling to the "philosophy of non-violence as a viable formula for change" and bow to the Vorster regime's fake scheme of "independence" for the homelands, a traitorous scheme that would give Azanians the right of citizenship only within their underdeveloped "homeland" territories, which comprise only 13% of the entire area of Azania; and outside those areas, in the other 87% of the land, Azanians would live but have no rights. What is this if it isn't the continuation in another form of the despicable apartheid system! Or else these misleaders try to divert the struggle

against the Bantu system of apartheid and for full genuine economic and political equality into one for meaningless reforms.

The Azanian masses see through these bourgeois maneuvers of promoting and exploiting tribal differences, of offering an "open ear" by meeting with the so-called "leaders" of the African people. These attempts to derail the struggle for independence must be exposed and defeated!

SUPERPOWER CONTENTION FOR WORLD HEGEMONY AND SOUTHERN AFRICA

In the current international situation, the storms of revolution are surging ahead around the world; countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution.

At the same time, the danger of world war is growing with the sharpening contention between the two superpowers -- the Soviet Union and the United States -- for hegemony over the world, with the Soviet Union as the main source of war.

As communists, we stand opposed to imperialist war and will make every effort to prevent world war by making revolution. But we are not afraid of it. If world war comes before revolution, we will turn a bad thing into a good thing -- turn world war into insurrection against our own bourgeoisie. That is why our Chinese comrades say that either world war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent world war. Either way, the situation is excellent for the vast majority of the world's people!

One of the "hotspots" for this inter-imperialist conflict is southern Africa, where the U.S. imperialists are working desperately to check Soviet influence. Both superpowers are stepping up their activity in Azania and all of southern Africa in an attempt to carve out spheres of influence and to get a foothold there before all Africa wins its independence and boots out the 2 superpowers once and for all.

U.S. IMPERIALISTS FORCED TO COME OUT AGAINST APARTHEID

The U.S. imperialists were jolted by the success of the Soviet social-imperialists (SSI) in Angola and are not about to see this repeated elsewhere in southern Africa. To preserve their hegemony and to counter penetration by the SSI, who "support" the national liberation movement, the U.S. imperialists (USI) are being forced to change their image. In light of the strength of the national liberation movements in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania, they can no longer justify their outright collaboration with reactionary apartheid regimes. They realize that majority rule is a mass demand of the African people, that it will inevitably come to southern Africa and that they can do nothing to stop it. So they are adapting themselves to the sentiment of the African masses for an end to apartheid. They now come out pretending to support national liberation struggles and majority rule in all 3 southern African countries while trying to channel just revolutionary sentiments down reformist alleys. As Kissinger said to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last May, "We have a stake... in not having the whole continent become radical and move in a direction that is incompatible with Western interests. That is the issue."

So we once again find Kissinger trying to put out the flames of national liberation struggles and playing imperialist power broker -- this time between the white racist regimes of Vorster and Smith and the front-line African Presidents -- Nyerere of Tanzania, Kaunda of Zambia, Khama of Botswana, Machel of Mozambique, and Neto of Angola. He is appealing to them and trying to win their acceptance for his newest bag of tricks -- negotiated majority rule for Zimbabwe which Smith declared independent from Great Britain in 1965. At each stop on his 11-day imperialist shuttle, Kissinger was greeted by large crowds of demonstrators protesting U.S. interference in the internal affairs of the African people.

Although Kissinger has said that majority rule must come to Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania, the U.S. ruling class has not yet challenged South African Justice Minister Kruger's statement that the position of the white man "is not negotiable" and are continuing to prop up minority rule in this country where they have the largest amount of investments. Instead, the USI are concentrating on Zimbabwe and Namibia because the national liberation movements there are stronger and at a more critical stage and represent more of an immediate threat to U.S. interests. Also, a peaceful settlement in Zimbabwe could set the pattern for a solution for Azania as well. During his latest round of "shuttle diplomacy", Kissinger stomped around Africa making deals with Smith of Rhodesia who has just come out and agreed to accept a "transition to majority rule" in 2 years' time, in return for guaranteed protection of rights and \$2 billion of "compensation" to the 270,000 white settlers in Zimbabwe for lands that will be rightfully reclaimed by the Zimbabweans. Not one word was said about compensation to the 6 million Africans for the years of exploitation and violation of their rights and theft of their land.

EXPOSE THE SELL-OUT RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT!

The Zimbabweans and African people as a whole stand to gain nothing from this agreement! Kissinger and Smith are offering up a temporary biracial government that guarantees the white racists continuing economic and political power. This solution tries to appease the African nationalists and is bound to break down -- the deep and irreconcilable contradictions between the Africans and white racists cannot be resolved through this type of "democratic" process, but only through a thoroughgoing people's revolution.

This is precisely what the USI fear most. With the irreversible national liberation struggles of the peoples of Indochina, Palestine and other African countries fresh in their minds, the USI must try to stamp out all just revolutionary mass movements. Kissinger said after the settlement: "There is now a greater chance to avert violence, recrimination and outside intervention in southern Africa" and assured Smith that guerilla raids will end: "Since the weekend meetings, we have reiterated to Dr. Kissinger and those who are working with him our concern over their ability to fulfill their undertaking to halt terrorism, and we stressed the responsibility which they carry in this regard. They have reaffirmed to us their conviction that they will be able to insure the implementation of this condition." (Smith) And just to ensure repression

of the guerillas, "For the period of the interim government, the ministers of defense and of law and order would be white." (Smith)

It's crystal clear that there were never really any huge gaps holding back a settlement between Kissinger and Smith, although the USI tried to give the appearance that they, and not the heroic Zimbabwean fighters for national liberation, "pressured" Smith to give in and brought him to this knees.

Kissinger, Vorster and Smith had solid unity all along on disintegrating the African peoples' armed revolutionary movements for national liberation by installing moderate Black nationalist governments both friendly to Western (U.S. & British) imperialist interests and to help neutralize the liberation forces, in place of the already-exposed white minority regimes. So on the face of things, they could preserve their credibility and give the appearance of carrying out their avowed goals of majority rule. So now the USI (and Vorster to some extent) emerge as champions of the African people and anti-apartheid. The white racists are even talking about awarding this year's Nobel prize for Peace to Vorster.

This is nothing but the despicable counter-revolutionary dual tactics of the bourgeoisie: violent suppression and fascist attacks on the Azanian people, on the one hand, and empty talk of recognizing black people's "equal rights" with whites, on the other. But we know that any deals made between the U.S. imperialists and the arch racists Smith and Vorster can only be sham and not real, lasting equality, for it is not in the nature of the racists to so easily give up their rule to the Africans.

AFRICAN PRESIDENTS REJECT SETTLEMENT

And the other front-line Presidents, Nyerere, Kaunda, who have taken consistent anti-imperialist, anti-apartheid stands, and given wholehearted support, material and otherwise, to the national liberation movements in Africa, have firmly rejected the key aspects of the Kissinger-Smith-Vorster settlement. WVO firmly supports this stand. It is clear that the settlement represents nothing but legalizing the colonialist and racist structures of power in Rhodesia. The Presidents are demanding majority rule immediately during the interim government. Also, Smith is sneaking conservative tribal chiefs into the Cabinet, saying that they represent the African people, but this tactic just

CONTINUED ON PAGE 21



AZANIAN STUDENTS, who spearheaded the anti-apartheid upsurge which has spread far and wide among the masses, defiantly burn South African truck.

Build ALSC into a Mass Fighting Organization

Fight for Proletarian Internationalism Support Struggle Against the Superpowers and Apartheid in southern Africa

WHAT ROAD FOR THE ALSC? "LEFT" OPPORTUNISTS DEFEATED, THE RIGHT SURGES BACK!

From 1972-75, the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC), as an outgrowth of the Pan Africanist movement of the late 60's and early 70's, organized demonstrations of tens of thousands in support of the national liberation struggles in southern Africa, against Portuguese colonialism, the racist regimes in Azania and Zimbabwe, and U.S. imperialism's complicity in the oppression and exploitation of the African peoples. The U.S. multinational proletariat, and the Afro-American people in particular, have a great and glorious history of supporting the struggles of the African peoples. In recent years we have seen the boycott of Zimbabwean chrome by dockworkers, the boycott of Azanian coal, demonstrations of polaroid workers against Polaroid's connection in making pass books for the Vorster regime in Azania. These were all examples of the kernel of proletarian internationalism that were manifested in these movements.

ALSC from 1972-75 not only played an important role in supporting the national liberation struggles in southern Africa, but also contributed greatly in advancing the two-line struggle in the Black liberation and communist movements. Although the Black Workers Congress (BWC) had the most advanced line in the BLM at that time, ALSC had the most mass influence and many advanced elements.

The rich history of ALSC as a vehicle that mobilized thousands in the support of the national liberation struggles in southern Africa, and pushed forward the two-line struggle in the communist and Black liberation movements, has serious implications for the present situation and our tasks!

"The attitude taken towards the revolutionary struggles of the peoples in the Asian, African and Latin American countries is an important criterion for differentiating those who want revolution from those who do not want revolution." ALSC not only can support liberation struggles in Africa, but also can play an important role in preparing the American people against the danger of world war, especially against the superpower contention and collusion in southern Africa.

In the communist and workers movement, the right is the main danger. In the communist movement, the OL/RCP are the chief representatives of right opportunism. Recently, we have seen revisionists, trotskyites, bourgeois nationalists, reformists, etc., all coming together around the situation in southern Africa, creating the illusion that detente means peace and not war preparations, and supporting the Soviet social-imperialists. Until recently, the main line, the main danger holding back the ALSC work was the left-liquidationist line of the RWL. Last summer the RWL proposed the liquidation of ALSC from the right, because it was too difficult to handle, party building was the central task, and all work should be focused on rooting ourselves in the working class. This pitted the task confronting the U.S. proletariat, the overthrow of our "own" bourgeoisie, against the support for the national liberation struggles, and was objectively chauvinist, deviating from the general line of the international communist movement. This line was defeated inside the RWL, and repudiated at the last ALSC national meeting in January of this year.

Then the RWL leadership developed a "left" line in opposition to the correct line of the WVO, and started their mad dash to the marsh from the left. Party building became the central and only task, their party building line was pushed as a principle of unity for ALSC. This led to purges of ALSC members from various chapters of ALSC that did not agree with their line, and eventually a period in which the RWL disappeared because of internal struggle and inability to defend its line in the communist movement. This line seriously disrupted the work of ALSC as it attempted to li-

quidate ALSC from the left, and was the main danger to ALSC, leading up to the recent ALSC national conference -- Sept 11-12.

About 40-50 people attended the last ALSC national meeting. MLOC, RWC, RCL, some independent ML collectives and the WVO were represented at this meeting. Given the wrecking of ALSC by the "left" opportunist RWL, the task was to rebuild the ALSC under communist leadership. Following is the position of the WVO, put forward at the recent national ALSC meeting, stating our views on this question.

WVO Position Paper submitted to ALSC National Conference 8/76

In the current international situation, the dialectics between world war and revolution are rapidly developing. The trend of revolution storms forward; as our Chinese comrades say, "Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution." Yet the trend of world war is also on the rise with the contention between the two superpowers -- the Soviet Social Imperialists and the U.S. imperialists. They are battling for world hegemony in a death struggle, with the Soviet Union as the main source of war today. The people of the world must get prepared. In any case, whether war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent world war, the situation is excellent for the vast majority of the world's peoples.

The recent rebellions in Azania (South Africa) and the victories of protracted people's war in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) clearly point to the fact that the situation is excellent. On the one hand, the African workers and students rose up (and are rising up and will continue to rise up) and dealt a grave blow to the reactionary, racist Vorster regime of South Africa. On the other hand, the global strategic drive of the two superpowers is clearly shown as the U.S. imperialists attempt to change their tactics in Azania and as the Soviet Social Imperialists greedily eye all of southern Africa, in the midst of mass upsurges, alignments and re-alignments, in hopes of using this opportunity to establish their own "spheres of influence." With its rich mineral resources, cheap labor supply and important location for trade and defense, Azania, where the situation is excellent, also sits directly in the two superpowers' schemes for world domination.

Here in the U.S. we see the rising fascist danger. The monopoly capitalists have stepped up their all-round attacks on the job, in communities and in schools. With their bi-centennial circus and presidential elections, they're trying to whip up American patriotism against the oppressed nations of the world. The monopoly capitalists have been expanding their Boston busing plan to other cities. The experience in Boston shows and again confirms the imperialist's use of the dual tactics, repression along with "liberal" subterfuges, to divide the working class, whip up racism and chauvinism to increase national oppression and usher in fascism.

In the context of world capitalist crisis and the rising danger of world war, all these attacks on us have a new light. In this context, they each represent a step towards fascism.

The U.S. workers' movement has been coming up wave after wave. Through the spring and summer of 1975, workers in N.Y. and other cities came out against the budget cuts, unemployment and other attacks. Workers staged a series of massive demonstrations against the government and the banks, in Washington, D.C. and New York.

Miners wildcatted in the tens of thousands from last fall through this spring. They continued their fight for union democracy and the right to strike. They further exposed the United Mine Workers misleaders, not only the reactionary Tony Boyle clique, but also the "militant" Arnold Miller.

And this year is contract year for major industries around the country, auto, electrical, trucking, garment and rubber workers in their 100 day plus strike. We also see District 1199 hospital workers and the general strike in San Francisco boldly using their weapon of the strike.

Struggles of oppressed nationalities have marched on, too. Afro-American and other oppressed nationality communities have fought against police repression, like demonstrations protesting the shooting of Clifford Glover in New York. In New York Chinatown, 15,000 people militantly demonstrated against police repression. And the fight against deportations of foreign born workers goes on in Chicano, West Indian, and Puerto Rican communities.

Our working class struggle is still uneven, still just rising. It flows in one industry or region, then settles there. But it comes up again somewhere else. And with each wave it flows broader and deeper, more massive and militant!

The situation in Africa since 1972 has undergone tremendous changes. Portuguese colonialism, the last of the European colonial powers, has been defeated by African people. The peoples of Mozambique and Guinea Bissau have won independence. The heroic peoples of Angola who fought Portuguese colonialism for 500 years and defeated it have still not won independence due to the interference of Soviet Social Imperialism in splitting the militancy of the three liberation organizations.

The internal affairs of the people of Angola is still being subjected to ruthless interference by the Soviet Social Imperialists. The Angolan people have not won independence as yet.

"Holding aloft the banner of opposing imperialism, old and new colonialism, big-power hegemonism, white racism and Zionism, the countries and people of Africa, having won independence, continued their heroic and tenacious struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty. More and more African countries and people have come to realize that superpower rivalry is the root cause of intranquility in the African continent. The aggression and expansion of that superpower which claims to be the natural ally of the African continent and people, have become the primary threat to the independence and security of the African countries." (Peking Review, Vol. 29, 1976, p. 24)

WHO ARE THE MAIN ENEMIES OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE?

Heads of state of more than 40 independent African countries met in Kampala, Uganda, for the 12th summit Conference of the OAU in July 1975 and tried to answer this question.

The African people are fighting many enemies: imperialism, colonialism, racism, and Zionism. But all these struggles must be linked with and viewed in the context of the struggle against superpower hegemonism. "But the more ferocious ones in today's Africa are the superpower hegemonists who are a real threat to the continent." (Peking Review, 1975, #35, p. 6)

The inter-imperialist conflicts lead to many hotspots around the world that flare up: the Middle East, Cyprus, Portugal, and recently in Angola, and also in southern Africa, where the situation is excellent.

Azania is abundantly rich in mineral resources. It is the world's largest producer of diamonds, it possesses the world's largest reserve of gold, and is also one of the world's largest producers of chrome and uranium.

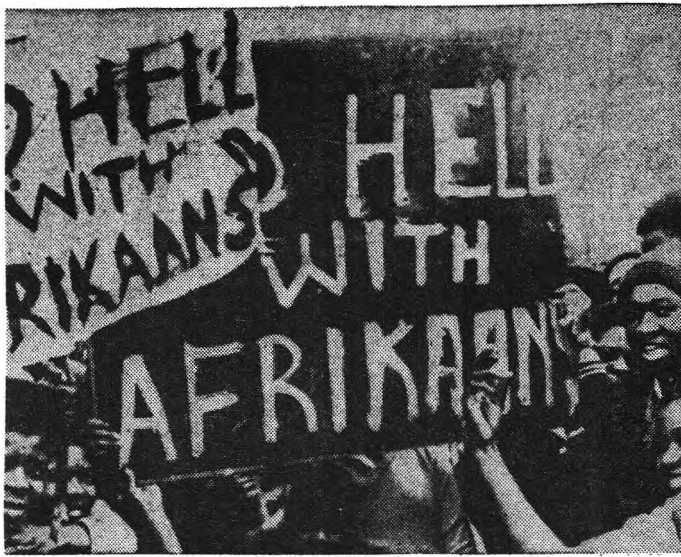
The 2 superpowers are also attracted to Azania because it is a source of cheap labor. Investments in Azania guarantee one of the highest returns in the world. These are the factors that account for the large number of runaway shops to Azania.

Southern Africa is a strategic gateway to the Indian Ocean: 75% of the oil supply to Western Europe from the Persian Gulf must travel from the Indian Ocean around the Cape of Good Hope. Large volumes of trade between Europe and the Middle East, the Far East, Australia, and eastern Africa must also round the Cape from the Indian Ocean. 26,000 ships annually travel around the Cape; 50% of these stop in Azania to pick up supplies.

Militarily, Azania is a very important outpost. The U.S. imperialists have 2 tracking stations -- one in Smittown and the other on the Island of Mahe, plus naval air bases on the Island of Diego Garcia and Kagnev in Ethiopia. Its NATO allies have bases on the Comors Islands, the Island of Gan, Diego Suarez, Mauritius, and La Reunion. The racist Vorster regime has constructed one of the best equipped air and naval complexes in southern Africa. From its bases in Azania, the U.S. can monitor all air-marine communications from the South Pole to northern Africa, from South America to Bangladesh.

The Indian Ocean is the place where the superpower submarines play their games. It's the only spot in the world from which Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe can be hit with nuclear weapons. The Bay of Bengal, Arabian Sea, and Persian Gulf offer the U.S. imperialists' and Soviet Social Imperialists' submarines a wide field of operations.

Since 1968 the Soviet social-imperialists have been stepping up their submarine activity in the Indian Ocean and sent in more naval fleets. They have established a base and facility in Berbera (Somali Republic).



REVOLUTIONARY STUDENTS DURING A RECENT DEMONSTRATION IN SOWETO

Throughout the world, the U.S. imperialists are on the defensive. Chased out of one country after another, they are thoroughly exposed in the eyes of the people of the world. The 3 Indo-Chinese peoples have scored stunning victories over the U.S. imperialists and forced them to retreat with their tail between their legs.

And the African people, too, through years of long experience, are clear on the danger of U.S. imperialism -- the assassination of Lumumba and the Nkrumah coup; U.S. backing of Portugal in the struggle to maintain its colonies (it backed the Portuguese invasion of Guinea in 1972). The U.S. imperialists are long-time supporters of the feudal regime in Ethiopia which has suppressed the masses for decades, and now the new military regime which is carrying out a war of annihilation against the Eritrean people. For years the U.S. has collaborated with the racist apartheid regimes of Smith (Zimbabwe) and Vorster (Azania), and has never carried out the U.N. sanction on chrome against the Smith regime. Every U.S. corporation like IBM, Polaroid, General Motors, has branches in Azania, and U.S. investments in the area are well over \$2 billion. U.S. multinational corporations participate directly in the exploitation of African people in the area. So the African people are vigilant on the U.S. aggressors.

SIGNIFICANCE OF KISSINGER'S TRIP TO AFRICA

Kissinger's trip to Africa in April took place against the background of growing armed resistance of the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania, as well as increased Soviet infiltration in Africa and especially the large amount of armaments and Soviet and Cuban personnel in Angola, where the Soviet social-imperialists have set up both naval and air bases.

To contend with the Soviet Union, the U.S. imperialists are compelled to pretend to support national liberation struggles and come out for majority rule. No longer able to justify their collaboration with apartheid regimes and in light of the strength of the national liberation movements in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania, they are being forced to change their image. For example, Kissinger said the U.S. was now willing to honor the U.N. boycott of

Zimbabwean chrome. So in the Lusaka, Zambia, statement, Kissinger laid out the long-range policy of the U.S. imperialists: support of majority rule in Zimbabwe, self-determination of the Namibian people, and urged Azania to end institutionalized apartheid. He also promised aid to Mozambique for revenue lost in their sanction against the racist Smith regime.

Kissinger made a distinction between Azania and Zimbabwe, calling for majority rule only in Zimbabwe. This is clearly because the national liberation movement in Zimbabwe is the strongest and the U.S. imperialists must attempt to disintegrate it. The U.S. imperialists are putting the heat on Vorster of South Africa to cut off landlocked Zimbabwe's last link to the outside (the other countries surrounding Zimbabwe like Mozambique and Zambia having already sanctioned Zimbabwe).

The U.S. is able to wield this control over Azania because S. African capital is tightly tied to it: the U.S. has over \$2 billion of investments, and NATO bases. They know that if the Zimbabwean national liberation movement succeeds and a revolutionary government is set up, it will be hostile to U.S. interests. The U.S. imperialists would much rather see majority rule attained by "evolution", by "negotiated settlement", by making peace with the white racist regime. They are hoping they can pacify Zimbabweans with majority rule "from the top". Then they could still get a foothold in southern Africa to counter the growing danger of Soviet social-imperialism. They are serving notice to the Soviet Union of their intention to stay and expand their influence in Africa. The African people must continue to ruthlessly expose these tricky counter-revolutionary dual tactics of the racist Vorster regime in collaboration with the U.S. imperialists -- using political deception and negotiation with outright repression -- and oppose them with revolutionary dual tactics.

The Soviet social-imperialists, in their quest for world hegemony, are increasing their activity in Africa as the liberation movements surge ahead. While the U.S. imperialists were bogged down in Vietnam, the Soviet social-imperialists were able to build up their military forces. For many years they have opposed the national liberation struggles, saying that they would lead to nuclear war. Now they are preaching "internationalism" and all-out "support" for oppressed peoples. This is just a cover for their imperialist designs to replace the old-line colonialists with the new-brand neo-colonialists and colonize Africa under a socialist banner. They pretend to support national liberation struggles but actually sell them out. For example, they viewed the Algerian war of independence as an "internal affair of France", sold out the Palestinian peoples' right of self-determination, and refused to recognize the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and colluded with the Lon Nol clique instead. And they call for disarmament precisely when the armed struggle is on the rise.

The Soviet social-imperialists are doubly dangerous, because they are "socialist" in words and imperialist in deeds, and many people are confused by this. They have tread on the names of the great Stalin and the great Lenin.



PATRIOTIC AZANIAN MASSES FIGHTING THE SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID REGIME WITH BARE HANDS AND ROCKS AND DARE TO STRUGGLE, DARE TO WIN

ALSC.....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

"The Soviet party has degenerated since the death of Stalin. Capitalist bureaucrats took over the leadership of the party and changed the relations of production so that workers are once again exploited by a small class of capitalist bureaucrats at the top. Using the name and past prestige of the great Leninist party, these revisionists covered up the shameful restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union. Their imperialist foreign policy is nothing but a reflection, a concentrated expression of their domestic capitalistic economy. Its policy on "peace" and war, under the deceitful slogan of "irreversible detente", is nothing except the logical extension of their imperialist economy at home." (Workers Viewpoint newspaper, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 23)

The recent events in Angola show how the Soviet social-imperialists obstruct and sabotage the militant unities of the African people and split the OAU by calling one liberation group revolutionary and the other reactionary, in an attempt to fish in troubled waters. The new czars split the liberation movements in Angola in order to gain a foothold in the African continent.

Another tactic they use is to peddle "cooperation in production" under the cover of "international division of labor". Their scheme is for African countries to produce goods with local labor and natural resources, relying on Soviet capital, equipment, and technology, so that it's nothing but Soviet factories on African soil.

The African peoples are daily seeing through these schemes of the 2-faced Soviet social-imperialists and their brazen interference in the internal affairs of the African peoples. They are advancing wave upon wave in a mighty storm that, with the victories of all other oppressed peoples in the world, will sweep the 2 superpowers down the gutter once and for all!

THE MARXIST-LENINIST VIEW ON THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

"In this era, any revolution in a colony or semi-colony that is directed against imperialism, i.e. against the international bourgeoisie or capitalism, no longer comes within the old category of bourgeois-democratic or capitalist world revolution, but part of the new world revolution, the proletarian socialist revolution. Such revolutionary colonies, semi-colonies can no longer be regarded as allies of the counter-revolutionary fronts of world capitalism, they have become allies of the revolutionary front of world socialism." ("On New Democracy," Mao, Selected Works, Vol. 3)

"There can be no doubt that the ultimate perspective of the Chinese revolution is not capitalism but socialism and communism, since China's bourgeois democratic revolution at the present stage is not of the old type but is a democratic revolution of a special type - a new democratic revolution - and since it is taking place in the international environment of the 1930's and 40's characterized by the rise of socialism and the decline of capitalism in a period of the 2nd world war and the era of revolution." (Ibid)

"Such revolution attacks imperialism at its very roots, and is therefore not tolerated but opposed by imperialism. However, it is favored by socialism and supported by the land of socialism and the socialist international proletariat." (Ibid)

"Except for the Chinese Communist Party, no political party (bourgeois or petty-bourgeois) is equal to the task of leading China's two great revolutions, the bourgeois, and socialist revolutions, to complete fulfillment." ("Chinese Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party." Vol. 3)

We take these series of quotes from the works of Chairman Mao in order to discuss some erroneous views held in the past on the character and content of the liberation struggles in Africa, i.e. neo-colonialism as the main danger in Africa (and not the two superpowers), which liberation groups should get funds, etc. and the Marxist-Leninist view on these questions. In the past many held the view that the African revolutionary struggles were socialist in character, the principal contradiction was between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, etc. This is a trotskyite position which negates the new democratic revolution, which in colonies and semi-colonies is a preparatory stage to the socialist revolution. This negates the struggle of the African peoples against imperialism, the two superpowers who are in fact the main obstacle to the independence of the African peoples. In the anti-imperialist and anti-feudalist struggle, the proletariat can unite with the petty bourgeoisie and certain sectors of the bourgeoisie that are opposed to imperialism. These can be allies of the proletariat, but the line that neo-colonialism is the main danger (and not the two superpowers) liquidates all allies of the proletariat in the national struggle, for this view holds that all petty-bourgeois and bourgeois elements are reactionary and tied to the imperialists and does not see the dual character of the national bourgeoisie.

As Chairman Mao pointed out in "On New Democracy, "no matter what classes, parties or individuals in an oppressed nation join the revolution, and no matter whether they themselves are conscious of the point or understand it, so long as they oppose imperialism, the revolution becomes part of the proletarian socialist world revolution and they become its allies." The perspective of communists is not to stop at the first stage but to move on to socialism and communism, based primarily on worker-peasant alliances and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The character and content of the African peoples revolution is still new democratic. The struggles of the 60's and 70's were struggles for national independence.

The Third World has become main force against imperialism, colonialism, etc. and our attitude toward them should be as Stalin pointed out:

"The revolutionary character of a national movement under the conditions of imperialist oppression does not necessarily presuppose the existence of proletarian elements in the movement, the existence of a revolutionary or a republican programme of the movement, the existence of a democratic basis of the movement. The struggle that the Emir of Afghanistan is waging for independence of Afghanistan is objectively a revolutionary struggle, despite the monarchist views of the

Emir and his associates, for it weakens, disintegrates and undermines imperialism; whereas the struggle waged by such 'desperate democrats' and 'Socialists,' 'revolutionaries' and republicans as, for example, Kerensky and Tsereteli, Renaudel and Schneidemann, Chernov and Dan, Henderson and Clynes, during the imperialist war was a reactionary struggle, for its result was the embellishment, the strengthening, the victory of imperialism. For the same reasons, the struggle that the Egyptian merchants and bourgeois intellectuals are waging for the independence of Egypt is objectively a revolutionary struggle, despite the bourgeois origin and bourgeois title of the leaders of the Egyptian national movement, despite the fact that they are opposed to socialism; whereas the struggle that the British 'Labour' Government is waging to preserve Egypt's dependent position is for the same reasons a reactionary struggle, despite the proletarian title of the members of that government, despite the fact that they are 'for' socialism." (Foundations of Leninism)

But as Marxist-Leninists we must be clear, that there are only two roads, and in the long term, the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties will either become bourgeois rulers themselves or will compromise with one or the other imperialisms, as long as there is no New Democratic revolution led by Marxist-Leninists. Only a party of the proletariat guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought can lead the democratic revolution, consolidate it and move on to the socialist revolution.

On the struggle around which groups should ALSC and Marxist-Leninists support in the liberation movements, we think that Marxist-Leninists should support any struggle that objectively weakens imperialism, but on particular groups, our responsibility is to support the Marxist-Leninists in the liberation movements, where it exists, and support all national liberation groups when no genuine Marxist-Leninist party exists.

Only a genuine ML party can lead the national struggle through new democracy and socialism. If no genuine ML party exists, we support the people's struggle but no one group. And we are confident of the fact that sooner or later, genuine Marxist-Leninists will emerge and lead the people's struggle for complete liberation and socialism. This has been the lesson of national liberation struggles since World War II. This has been the lesson of struggle in the Third World. This lesson must be propagated to the masses. What is this lesson?

"A most important lesson from the experience of the international communist movement is that the development and victory of revolution depend on the existence of a revolutionary proletarian party.

There must be a revolutionary party.

There must be a revolutionary party built according to the revolutionary theory and revolutionary style of Marxism-Leninism.

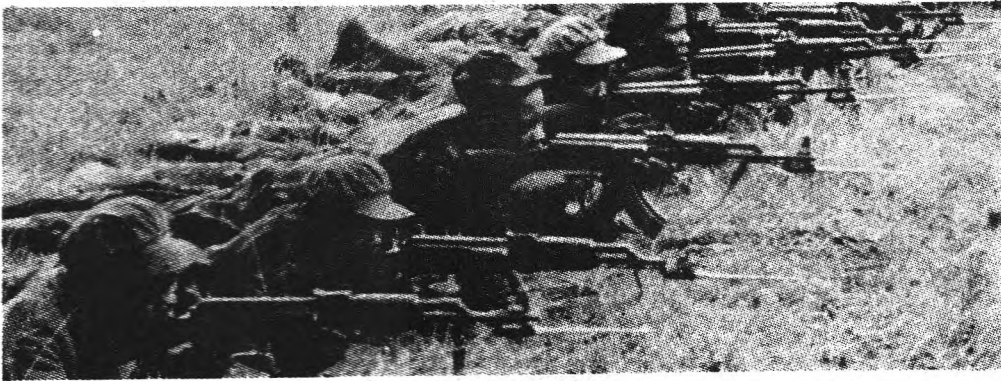
There must be a revolutionary party able to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in its own country.

There must be a revolutionary party able to link the leadership closely with the broad masses of the people.

There must be a revolutionary party that perseveres in the truth, corrects its errors and shows how to conduct criticism and self-criticism.

Only such a revolutionary party can lead the proletariat and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its lackeys, winning a thorough victory in the national democratic revolution and winning the socialist revolution...

This is a question all Marxist-Leninists, all class conscious workers and all progressive people everywhere need to ponder deeply." (Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement, p. 54)



ZIMBABWEAN GUERRILLA FIGHTERS MAIN ARMED READINESS, READY TO PUNISH THE SMITH REGIME'S RACIST TROOPS

PARTY BUILDING AND THE ALSC

The framework in which the U.S. proletariat and oppressed people should view all our tasks lies in our grasp of "What the Immediate and Universal Preparation for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Should Consist In."

"The present stage in the development of the international communist movement is marked by the fact that in the vast majority of capitalist countries, the proletariat's preparations to effect its dictatorship have not been completed, and, in many cases, have not even been systematically begun. From this it does not, however, follow that the proletarian revolution is impossible in the immediate future; it is perfectly possible, since the entire economic and political situation is most inflammable and abounds in causes of a sudden flare-up; the other condition for revolution, apart from the proletariat's preparedness, viz., a general state of crisis in all the ruling and in all bourgeois parties, also exists. However, it does not follow that the Communist Parties' current task consists not in accelerating the revolution, but in intensifying the preparation of the proletariat..."

"Hence, from the point of view of the international proletarian movement, it is the Communist parties' principal task at the present moment to unite the scattered Communist forces, to form a single Communist Party in every country (or to reinforce, or renovate the already existing Party) in order to increase tenfold the work of preparing the proletariat for the conquest of political power..."

"Hence, preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat calls, not only for an intensification of the struggle against reformist and 'Centrist' tendencies, but also for a change in the character of that struggle. The struggle cannot be restricted to explaining the erroneousness of these tendencies; it must unswervingly and ruthlessly expose any leader of the working class movement who reveals such tendencies, for otherwise the proletariat cannot know who it will march with into the decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie..."

(Lenin Collected Works, "Thesis on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International," Vol. 31)

These above quotes from comrade Lenin illustrate that our tasks must be viewed within the context of the immediate and universal preparations for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Party building is our principal task, but not our only one in the preparatory period. The carrying out of our principal task will push all the other work forward, while other work and tasks must in this period serve our principal task. This is dialectics.

The WVO has stated in the past that we see four components to party building:

- the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought and its application to concrete conditions and topical issues.
- consolidation of advanced elements, particularly the advanced workers, around Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought.
- engaging in polemics within the communist movement for the correct programme.
- and linking up our organization with other communist organizations based on agreement around programme, strategy, tactics and organizational principles.

In this period, the period of winning over the vanguard, propaganda is our chief form of activity, though inseparable from agitation. ALSC can serve our tasks of party building, helping to carry out our responsibility to support national liberation work:

- (1) ALSC as an organization of advanced and intermediate, can help to identify and win over advanced workers and elements,

- (2) can support national liberation struggles and carry out ideological preparation against the danger of world war, in particular superpower contention in southern Africa, through propaganda.
- (3) can help consolidate and train advanced workers already under the guidance of communists.
- (4) can help develop through struggle political line, particularly on the international situation.
- (5) can provide a form to struggle for unity and joint work with other communists, as well as to aid in demarcating the genuine from the sham.
- (6) can help accumulate revolutionary forces under the leadership of communists, while forging the party.

By raising the level of unity of ALSC to that of party building, the "left" opportunists objectively hold that the advanced are already communists and taking part in the polemic. This line would isolate ALSC by turning it into a pre-party formation and thus liquidating one of the channels through which communists can identify and win over advanced workers and elements to communism. Our view is that the advanced are not taking part in the polemic as we find them, but must be trained to do so by communists. The principal form for the consolidation of advanced workers and other elements is the study-training circle.

ALSC HAS A RICH TRADITION OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND STRUGGLE IN SUPPORTING THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM, IMPERIALISM AND SUPERPOWER HEGEMONISM IN AFRICA.



There are two deviations on how ALSC, as a mass organization, can aid party building. The right deviation separates the two line struggle in the communist movement from the advanced. OL is a typical example, because they think polemics will alienate the advanced from the mass organization. At their fightback conference last year, they didn't raise socialism once, their own cadre said they were not there to talk about "isms," including trotskyism. This line actually caters to the middle and backward element, and does nothing to help train the advanced to take part in the polemics in the communist movement and raise their level. The "left" on the other hand raises party building in an abstract way isolated from concrete political line, as the only thing to be discussed in ALSC. The "left" otzovist clique RWL/PRRWO want to impose their line on party building as the basis of unity for ALSC. As a result, the "left" opportunists disrupt mass work. WVO thinks that party building and other struggles in the communist movement should be raised to the advanced, that Marxist-Leninists should engage in struggle in mass organizations and win the advanced to a definite trend, a definite line on party building, through persuasion, polemics, and the influence and authority gained in the course of active work to build African liberation support work, but that the party building lines should not become the principles of unity.

The "left" opportunists separate propaganda from agitation, while the right opportunists only carry out agitational work.

OUR BASIC PROGRAMME

"The revolutionary movement in the advanced countries would actually be a fraud if, in their struggle"

against capital, the workers of Europe and America were not closely and completely united with the hundreds upon hundreds of millions of 'colonial' slaves who are oppressed by capital."

- 1. ALSC should do consistent propaganda and agitation on the international situation, particularly as it relates to southern Africa, giving active support and leadership to the spontaneous movement supporting the struggle of the African peoples, drawing out the proletarian kernel and turning this genuine sentiment into conscious opposition to imperialist war preparations, interference in the affairs of other countries, and the menace of fascism.

- 2. ALSC should participate in and aid the struggle of the U.S. working class and oppressed nationalities and national minorities in defense of their democratic rights against monopoly capitalism.

PRINCIPLES OF UNITY

- 1. Resolutely support the national liberation movements in Africa against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, zionism, racism, and against all reaction.

- 2. Oppose the two superpowers and the detente line of the superpowers. Expose the Soviet Social Imperialists as the main danger to the independence of the Third World peoples and the peoples of the world, and as the main source of war in the world today.
- 3. Forge militant solidarity with the struggles of the working class and oppressed nationalities of the U.S. with the oppressed nations, countries, and peoples of the entire world.
- 4. Support the democratic rights of all oppressed national minorities in the U.S.
- 5. Uphold the right of self-determination of Afro-Americans in the black belt south.
- 6. ALSC should be a multi-national organization, focused in the working class and oppressed nationality and minority communities and workplaces.

Brief Sum-up of the 2-Line Struggle at National Conference

The main points of struggle at the recent national ALSC meeting concerned the international situation, the chief form of work for ALSC (propaganda or agitation), and the principles of unity. The voting and various positions put forward on these issues clearly reveal that in the current effort to rebuild ALSC under communist leadership, the right will be the main danger to accomplishing this task.

Everyone attending the conference was prepared to carry out the main struggle against the "left" liquidationist line

DC 37 - NYC HOSPITAL WORKERS



WORKERS AND COMMUNITY UNITED FIGHT AGAINST THE EFCB, THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS WHO CAUSED THE CITY'S FINANCIAL CRISIS AND PROFIT FROM IT.

Lessons of Strike sell-out

"The government emerged victorious, but such victories will bring nearer its ultimate defeat. Every clash with the people will increase the number of indignant workers who are ready to fight, and will bring into the foreground more experienced, better armed and bolder leaders." (Lenin, "Another Massacre," Collected Works, Vol. 5)

These words of the great Lenin are a clear sum-up of the four-day strike of the municipal hospital workers in New York City (Local 420 of the District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees - AFSCME).

The settlement was a sell-out by the trade union misleaders. The massive layoffs that workers struck against were only to be delayed until January. Meanwhile, workers will have cost of living adjustments taken away for up to two years. There will be more speed ups, as the union misleaders agreed to set up "productivity committees" to devise more "cost saving plans" for the capitalist class. Workers were fined three to eight days pay for striking under the reactionary New York Taylor law which forbids public workers to strike. The ink on this sell-out agreement was hardly dry when the bourgeoisie announced more budget cuts. They could not wait until next year for more layoffs.

1000 to 1500 may be laid off because the Emergency Financial Control Board (the bankers, corporation presidents, and other representatives of monopoly capitalism who directly control New York City's budget) refuses to fund the North Central Bronx, a new municipal hospital. The EFCB is working hand in hand with the state government, which refuses to issue the license unless three other private and voluntary hospitals are closed in the Bronx. In addition, the EFCB threatens to close three other city hospitals in other boroughs of the city: Metropolitan, Queens, and Sydenham.

Such blatant attacks on the working class shows the depth of capitalist crisis. New York hospital workers, who are mainly oppressed nationalities and oppressed minorities, have taken a leading role in the struggles of hospital workers for the right to unionize for better wages and living standard. Drawing support from oppressed people in the communities, the workers not only won significant gains for themselves but also gains in health care for other workers and oppressed people in the city.

But as the economic and political crisis of monopoly capitalism deepens, the ruling class is increasingly unable to grant any more concessions. The economic crises, inevitable under monopoly capitalism, have become more frequent since World War II, each one plunging into greater depths. (While crises previously occurred at the average frequency of one every ten years, since World War II, the cycle has been shortened to less than five years.) One crisis is hardly over when another cycle of crisis develops and throws the whole system of monopoly capitalism into chaos again. Such is the state of monopoly capitalism!

As Engels taught us, "crisis is one of the most powerful levers of political change." ("To E. Bernstein," Jan. 25, 1882). The object lessons of the crisis and the ruthless attacks of the bourgeoisie on the working class will only serve to rouse the greater revolutionary fervor of the workers in our determination to overthrow the criminal system of U.S. monopoly capitalism. Such was the case when workers of Local 420 broke through the bounds of bourgeois legality and called the first strike and exposed the half-steppin' nature of the trade union misleaders Gotbaum, Roberts and Butler.

The rising consciousness of the rank and file pushed aside the "divide and sell-out" tactics of the union misleaders, when local after local voted to go directly on strike themselves rather than be limited to "support" of Local 420. Panicked, Gotbaum used every stalling tactic to prevent them from joining the picket lines and pulled a fast sell-out.

The crisis also provides the best condition for communists to bring the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought to the working class. As Lenin pointed out,

"the crisis shows that the workers should not confine themselves to the struggle for individual concessions from capitalists. While industry is in upswing, such concessions may be won, the capitalists not only withdraw the concessions, but take advantage of the helpless position of the workers to force wages down still lower. And so things will inevitably continue until the army of the socialist proletariat overthrows the domination of capital and private property." (Lenin, "The Lesson of Crisis," Vol. 5)

As communists, we must bring the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought to the working class, applying it to the object lessons of the day and developing the kernel of revolutionary consciousness of the workers under the leadership of a genuine communist party. This is part of our task for the immediate preparation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Public service workers often represent the majority of the proletariat in major cities and financial centers of U.S. monopoly capitalism. As in New York City, they are often struggling directly against the naked oppression of the state and monopoly capitalists. Although most public workers lack the revolutionary tradition of our class brothers in heavy industries, public workers gained tremendous revolutionary experience and have also gained experience in bitter struggles against no-strike laws, sell-out misleaders, and the state's attempt to sabotage their unionization efforts. Public workers, many of whom are mainly of oppressed nationalities and oppressed national minorities, have also taken up the fight against national oppression. This all shows that while communist leadership in the industrial proletariat is key for paralyzing the economy and seizing the productive forces to make

way for socialist revolution, work within the service proletariat is also strategic for the preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat. To prepare for the revolution, we must work in the service proletariat, win over the advanced, build factory nuclei and prepare to paralyze and seize control of areas such as communication, health, transportation in the financial centers. We must kick out the misleaders such as Gotbaum, Butler and Roberts, and take over the public service unions and turn them into revolutionary organizations to consolidate the leadership of the party in this crucial front of our struggle.

KICK OUT THE SELL-OUT MISLEADERS

The sell-out by Gotbaum, Roberts, and Butler, who told us to depend on the courts to pressure the now-defunct Delafield Hospital; who tried to disorganize and dilute our strike by pushing for a "rolling strike" (in which hospitals would go out one at a time); who blamed us for the scabs after they failed to properly organize the strike; who focused our anger against mismanagement and away from the Emergency Financial Control Board, which represents the direct control of the monopoly capitalist class; and who blatantly "surrendered" wage adjustments and our jobs after January 1, 1977. -- these misleaders have a long history of selling-out the working class!

The big lie being pushed right now by the union misleaders, especially among public government workers, is that the way out of the economic crisis is the election of Carter and support of the Democratic Party. Desperately, they are trying to hide the fact that we live under the dictatorship of the monopoly capitalists, that our basic interests as workers are in contradiction with the monopoly capitalists, which both the Democratic and Republican Parties faithfully serve. Union misleaders try to divert our energy into dead-end election campaigns, rather than organizing ourselves as workers. In face of massive attacks on government workers around the nation, Jerry Wurf, international president of AFSCME, said that voter registration and election of Carter are the union's number one priority. While over 8,000 workers and five hospitals were closed, Gotbaum, Roberts, and Butler were busy running for seats in the Democratic Party's Convention, spending tens of thousands of our union dues and staff hours to support Democratic Party candidates, including Mayor Beame and Gov. Carey, who have administered cut after cut.

Their role is to keep the working class from organizing against monopoly capitalism; that's why they did not and cannot organize an effective strike. Gotbaum and the others had to sell-out the strike because they openly support the EFCB and its entire three year plan of cuts. He even said our interests are the same as the EFCB, the same as bloodsuckers like Rockefeller! Gotbaum, Roberts, and Butler cannot really fight against layoffs, hospital closings and

other attacks on our living standards because they support the EFCB's billion dollar cuts. Furthermore, by supporting the EFCB, which has reopened contracts, imposed a wage freeze, cuts in benefits, speed-ups, they are helping the ruling class to bust the unions, from within.

In our August 1976 article we focused on exposing Victor Gotbaum, but we must also clearly expose Lillian Roberts and James Butler, who because they are Afro-American and are popular, more deceptive to many DC 37 members, are all the more dangerous. These misleaders, who rode the tidal wave of the Civil Rights and Black Liberation Movements to power, sell us out just as bad as Gotbaum, because they are all part of a bribed

revolution or revolution preventing world war. Therefore, our fight with the EFCB and layoffs and cutbacks is part of the U.S. proletarian offensive against the danger of world war and the fascist rule it will bring and for socialist revolution.

On the other hand, the OL in the same leaflet fails to show the class nature of the extra exploitation of the Afro-American people and how racist ideology enables the capitalist class to suppress the struggle of the Afro-American people for self-determination and equal rights and to divide the multinational working class. By saying "Stop the racist attacks and layoffs" and "the system is racist to the core," the OL leaves us

capitalist system. Only under the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat where we run the state apparatus, will our economic and political needs be assured. In the next months we must prepare to fight:

- 1) the new cuts in health care especially the scheme to give the New North Central Bronx to the Montefiore Hospital and to close three city hospitals;
- 2) prepare a campaign to reject the "no-cost" citywide DC 37 contract and stop the trade union misleaders' collaboration with management for higher productivity and speedup;

Build Revolutionary Struggle

stratum of our class or the labor aristocracy, who get "easy jobs and posts with fewer headaches but greater rewards..."

"By backing the bourgeoisie, the aristocracy of the working class turned into a fifth column, spreading bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the working class and the trade union movement. Without their assistance the bourgeoisie would not have been able to keep the working class under its domination." (Kota, Two Opposing Lines in the World Trade Union Movement, p.68.)

Why do Butler and Roberts talk only about racism and steer clear of the subject of national oppression? They do it so that we will not see that the Afro-American people's oppression as a nation, historically founded in the Black Belt South by U. S. imperialism.

All along the capitalist class and now its lackeys have tried to use the "race analysis" of our oppression to turn our revolutionary energies against white workers. They push this bourgeois ideology to split the working class along racial lines. Workers of all nationalities and countries must fight for equality and the right of self-determination of nations and equal rights for oppressed national minorities. To put an end to national oppression and racist ideology we must unite to defeat the reactionary rule of monopoly capitalism by establishing socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. For it is only under socialism that the basis of national oppression (i.e., capitalism) is destroyed and the capitalist class is not allowed to push racism.

Roberts, Butler or any capitalist servant who would focus our struggle on racism without pointing out the class nature of national oppression objectively lead us into the swamp. The revisionists of the "Communist" party USA and the trotskyite Progressive Labor Party have also swallowed the racist line of their bourgeois masters hook, line and sinker and are diving further into the marsh.

Likewise, the October League (OL), who are building a sham communist party, deprive us of a communist analysis of our conditions and tell us what we already know. On the one hand, with the trade unionist demand in their leaflet of "Not one more layoff" the OL tries to keep the scope of our struggle narrowly focused on DC 37's struggle with the EFCB and the monopoly capitalists.

The thirst to build a revolutionary communist party, which has the strategy and tactics to lead the struggle for our demands which surpass reforms and press forward toward socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, becomes greater as we see how Gotbaum and his cronies sold out our strike by trying to fool us with the bourgeois line that racism is the root of DC 37's struggle with the EFCB and the monopoly capitalist class. But our struggle against the EFCB has broader implications. We understand the fierce contention between the warmongering Soviet Union and the U.S., and the heated revolutionary struggles of oppressed classes, nations and peoples throughout the world today create the conditions for world war giving rise to

open to bourgeois analysis and solutions.

The OL's most dangerous right opportunism, which belittles the workers' consciousness and tails the bourgeois analysis of racism, blinds them to other bourgeois traps. The OL, just like the bourgeoisie, wants us to think that "the workers won a victory in forcing the city's Hospital Corporation to cancel the layoffs of 1,350 workers" (The Call, Aug. 16, 1976) by giving up \$10 million of our COLA to finance our own jobs which are only definite until January. But we know that our victory in forcing the trade union misleaders to call the strike marks only the beginning of the struggle we must wage under communist leadership to kick out Gotbaum, Roberts and Butler and to gain clear victory against the ruling class' cutbacks and political rule.

All of these opportunists who try to keep the blinders on the class nature of our strike and push a bourgeois analysis of racism must be thoroughly exposed and replaced by genuine communist leadership.

The rank and file are the strength of the union. The trade union misleaders use bourgeois maneuvering by confusing motions being voted on and not counting the votes to get their way. They use parliamentary procedure created by the bourgeoisie to create the appearance of democracy to stifle questions and struggle in our meetings. Union democracy and control of the unions by the rank and file are vital if we are to prepare first for fighting all prior layoffs and the layoffs bound to hit after the sell-out agreement is ended in January and second, for the long term struggle we as a class must wage with opportunism in our ranks and with the bourgeoisie.

The WVO helped initiate and give communist leadership to the DC37 Rank and File. The principles for DC 37 Rank and File are democratically decided upon and struggle goes on over questions like the danger of world war and fascism, and the danger of Soviet Social-Imperialism and Puerto Rican independence within the Committee. The principles of unity are:

- 1) Fight for union democracy;
- 2) Fight for a decent standard of living;
- 3) Defend the right to strike;
- 4) Disband the EFCB and the 3 year plan in particular and in general any form of organization which doesn't serve the interests of the working class;
- 5) Support the struggles of oppressed national minorities and women, and
- 6) Fight for the support and backing of the workers throughout the world.

Through unity and struggle, WVO is confident that we will win many advanced and middle workers to our line and organization. As the WVO fuses with the working class movement, the communist analysis will be deepened and the political level of the whole working class will heighten.

AIMS AND TASKS OF COMMUNISTS AND THE WORKING CLASS

Our final aim is to dismantle the EFCB and overthrow the whole monopoly

- 3) Stop the EFCB's new plans for 1,000-1,500 new layoffs;
- 4) Begin a campaign to kick out Gotbaum and all sellout misleaders and fight for union democracy especially the movement for a revote on the strike settlement in Local 1549.

Through these struggles we must accumulate more experience and revolutionary forces. Yet we can only scientifically sum up our lessons and direct our forces under the leadership of a revolutionary communist party guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism Mao-Tsetung Thought. In preparation for our final aim we must build a democratic union and also understand the prolonged nature of our struggle and organize factory nuclei of the most class conscious and best trained elements of the working class. Factory nuclei from hospitals, factories and fields, the basic units of the communist party, will lead our day to day battles against the ruling class by giving us ideological, political and organizational direction, through every twist and turn.

WVO is pushing forward the building of the Party. We are putting out communist propaganda to win over advanced workers and to raise the level of the whole working class to organize and fight for socialism. This time the misleaders were able to disorganize our strike and sell us out, but as advanced workers and the working class fuse with the communist movement we will not only take charge of and win strikes but also overthrow the bourgeoisie. ■



LOCAL 420 WORKERS AT LINCOLN HOSPITAL spontaneously flooded the sinks in an effort to shut down the hospital.

OCTOBER LEAGUE'S ORGANIZING COMMITTEE FORUMS:

'UNITY TREND' HANGS ITSELF!

OL's 2-MINUTE "IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE"

The recent October League Organizing Committee Forums in New York on August 29th & around the country further convinced the masses that the OL is the top philistine of the communist movement, not only in the poverty of their lines but also in their bankrupt methodology. The O. L. O. C. is a nest for careerists & opportunists.

First, Eileen Klehr, OL's vice-chairman gave a kindergarten-level lecture with general platitudes against exploitation and vague denunciations of the revisionist "CP"USA ("Communist Party" of the USA) and Guardian. A former BWC-RWC (Black & Revolutionary Workers Congress) member who is now in the Organizing Committee in Buffalo tried to answer some of our criticisms laid out in the Workers Viewpoint Supplement (August, Vol. 1, No. 5). But all he could spout out was slander, still shamelessly lumping the correct line of WVO, which spearheaded the clear defeat of the "left" opportunist line of the RWL/PRRWO clique, with the "left" otzovist clique.

Under a cover of "proletarian discipline" but actually showing their morbid fear of Marxist-Leninist criticism of their bankrupt line, OL put a two-minute limit on comments & questions. From the beginning they claimed the purpose of the forum was to achieve "ideological clarity," but in fact their two-minute limit was an attempt to avoid principled polemics and clarity at all costs! Throughout the country OL's forums demonstrated to the communist movement and advanced workers their skill in wriggling and evasion.

Knowing OL's petty bourgeois character, WVO anticipated their slipping and sliding and prepared comments on the OLOC and 4 questions (see reprint on page). We passed these out before the forum to allow the OL to prepare answers. But just as in WVO forums when we repeatedly call for the OL to defend their line without time limits, no matter how much time the OL has, they cannot defend their undeniably opportunist positions on these questions. This once again proves WVO's correct and consistent policy of exposing misleaders and sham Marxists before, during and after each event.

From the start we have total initiative in exposing these opportunists because of our correct positions. In NYC we rallied all honest forces in the audience around our demand that OL answer the 4 questions. Chants of "let them speak" or "philistines" drowned out their attempts at demogogy. After the WVO speaker was cut off in the middle of our comments & questions after 2 minutes, practically every speaker denounced OL's 2-minute ideological clarification" rule and defended our right to deepen the polemics.

In NYC the OL's anti-communist, union goon methodology was exposed through and through to the entire audience including their own contacts. Again showing their opportunism, they were forced to say "you respect our right to speak, we respect yours", meaning our right to speak in WVO forums and not in theirs.

All during this time, the "left" opportunist PRRWO/RWL clique stood cringing in the corner until OL tried to use them to divert from answering some sharp questions on the busing issue. This "hearty band of Bolsheviks" united with the right opportunist OL in attacking WVO. They squeaked and pointed their fingers at the WVO speaker, "they're dangerous because they provoke violence" and cried that the principled line difference raised by WVO was "dying screams."

The audience immediately roared with laughter at their ravings. Who really "provoked violence" recently in the communist movement is still fresh in the peoples' memories.

It was particularly funny that the "left" opportunists used "dying screams" to refer to our principled polemics, after the article "Dying Screams of the RWL / PRRWO Clique and Responding Echoes from Assorted Opportunists" in the August Workers Viewpoint. Apparently the term is deeply engraved in their memory and the clique can't rid themselves of their own image of dying screams in the last few months. Then the "hearty band of Bolsheviks" "exited" in midst of roaring laughter and ridicule.

The OL, failing to crush genuine polemics, tried to get over their marsh line by slithering all over the place and playing on words.

OLOC: QUICKEST ROAD TO REVISIONIST PARTY

The first point raised in our leaflet and in the forum was the OL's Organizing Committee, itself. The OL claims the OC is the basis for the party, therefore the OC principles of unity are the principles of unity for their party building. In fact, they say that the OC is the body to develop and write the party program.

This cannot be the case, because the party must be built through struggle and therefore the lines of demarcation are drawn in the course of waging class struggle against the bourgeoisie and corresponding polemics waged on line differences and resolutions reached such as on busing, the Equal Rights Amendment, and character of the United Front whether it's a tactic or strategy and different lines flowing from that question.

The OL or OLOC forfeits these lines of demarcation, by-passes these questions and actually drops most of their strategic lines such as "moving the trade unions to the left" and uniting with militant misleaders, treating them as "the direct reserve of the proletariat". The OL talks about lines of demarcation, but in actuality they don't draw them so they can lull marsh forces, opportunists and careerists of all sorts into their party.

The OL claims that the OC is not their front. This shows their spinelessness again. The OC should be openly their commission to organize the party around a definite trend.

For them to deny that means two things. One, the OL has a "get rich quick" scheme they try to deny.

Lenin said, in struggle against the Mensheviks, "...the real work of creating the organized unity for the party was done entirely by the Iskra organization" while the "organizing committee was mainly a commission set up to convene the Congress." (One Step, Two Steps, LCW Vol. 7, P. 274) In other words the party must be built by and from the leading line and circle developed in the struggle. In Russia the leading circle was the Iskra and the OC was the commission deliberately composed of representatives of different shades, to struggle out the line based on the recognition of the Iskra organization as the leading circle.

But OL claims their OC is not based on a definite leading line or leading circle. They even say, every circle regardless of their line has one vote to decide on policy. Even the program will be written by the OC based on the one group-one vote policy and not on the leading circle with a definite point of view as the Iskra. The OL frowns on using the terms "leading line and circle" and purposely refuse to use it in fear of turning other Mensheviks and assorted careerists away from this "joint stock" venture.

Lenin wrote straight forwardly with bold proletarian stand, viewpoint and method, that "Iskra become the Party and the Party became Iskra..." (To Alexandra Kalmykova, Sept. 1903, LCW Vol 34) The Klonskyite revisionists dare not tell the forces he wants to lull into their revisionist party that the "October League is the Party and the Party is the October League." Instead, these opportunists wriggle around with all sorts of tricks like 8 general points of unity as the line of demarcation. By ignoring the lines drawn in the course of communist polemics in the last few years, OL exposed that it is actually OL's bloody liberal line that is the basis of their Menshevik party. The OL is not open and above board as Chairman Mao said all Marxist-Leninists must be. The OL's OC and their denial that they are the party is in practice building the party with "intrigue and conspiracy" which characterized all revisionists, Trotskyites, and police agents in the communist movement.

WRIGGLING AROUND POLEMICS, OL MUTATES THEIR LINES!

THE SECOND EXPOSURE we raised which was picked up by other comrades in the audience was the question of the united front, whether its a tactic or strategy. This is the hundredth time we have asked the OL which has wriggled around this fundamental question for years. While still insisting that the united front is a strategy in this forum, Eileen Klehr mutated again and claimed the "united front is an element of strategy." Sure the united front is an "element of strategy," all tactics are elements of strategy but OL refuses to call it a tactic. So now the OL says on one hand that the u. f. is a strategy and on the other that the u. f. is an element of strategy. This typical opportunism of the OL is still an improvement over the united front as a "vehicle" line which they pushed in their proposal for a party.

On the question of busing, and especially OL's calling in of Federal troops, they try to cover over their own deep-seated illusions on bourgeois democracy by their reply that they support ANY reform, whether it's called by the bourgeoisie or the misleaders. Then they not only tried to distort history by saying that the demand for Federal troops was a demand of the Civil Rights Movement, but they also support the bourgeoisie's use of Federal troops to "protect" the Afro-American community. The question is not whether calling in Federal troops is a reform or not, but that it shows OL's revising of Marx's teachings on the nature of the state. Again the OL is a better defender of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie themselves!

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Through their latest forums the OL's wriggling, evasion of principled line struggle, indefiniteness, their practice of not being open and above board was again demonstrated in living color. Comrades, the OL is the real splitter and wrecker of the communist movement. Genuine communists today in the US look upon the OL with contempt and disdain.

Throughout the forum in face of OL's goon tactics, WVO and friends exerted true proletarian discipline. We exposed OL's philistinism and opportunism by letting them talk and hang themselves. From beginning to end their own forum served as a rope tightening bit by bit around their necks, exposing themselves to the advanced workers brought to the forum by WVO. OL's forums provide excellent opportunities to learn about opportunism.

In NYC, like OC forums all over the country this was just one in a series of performances by this gang of cowardly careerists. Without the least bit of Marxism-Leninism they call the party only to liquidate the party, they call for a party program only to liquidate the program. The whole tour originally intended to lure out forces has backfired into exposure; it will be remembered as the public debut of this totally bankrupt revisionist party. It also shows OL's morbid fear of the WVO line which shines like a torch compared to the assorted marsh forces in their OC.

WVO has historically fought against the right opportunist lines of the RU and OL and the "left" opportunist lines of CL, PRRWO/RWL clique in the course of our unswerving struggle against the US bourgeoisie. Comrades, WVO has been and will continue to be tempered in the strongest heat and deepest freeze of class struggle against all opportunism and the bourgeoisie. This is necessary to build the party of the proletariat and to immediately make preparations for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Comrades, forward to the Party! ■

ADVANCE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 31

leaders, led by vice president Mike Trobovich removing the "card-carrying Communist" reporters from the convention hall.

From their historical experience, the bourgeoisie has learned that if they come down openly in wave upon wave of attacks prematurely without first creating public opinion for it, it can easily be turned against them by the communists and working class. This is why now, the bourgeoisie is resorting to goon tactics on communists rather than breaking in with uniforms and badges. But we will again turn this around against the bourgeoisie!

As the monopoly capitalists learned to their dismay in Vietnam, the masses are the decisive factor though they advanced sophisticated warfare on the Vietnamese people. Genuine communists can never be uprooted from the masses for "we communists are like seeds and the people are like the soil. Wherever we go, we must unite with the people, take root and blossom among them." (Mao, "On the Chungking Negotiations", 1945. SW Vol. 4 p. 58)

We use this opportunity to follow the teachings of Lenin to really become professional revolutionaries, mastering all forms of struggle, legal and illegal. To strengthen our ability to win over the advanced to communism and bolshevize the organization, we will prepare and build WVO ideologically and organizationally. Casting aside all illusions in bourgeois democracy, we must uphold the right of self defense for all communists and working and oppressed people against vicious attacks by the state. We must however, oppose adventurism of the SLA and Weather Underground type. We also have to combat pacifism, laying limp and singing hymns of "We Shall Overcome".

Inevitably, especially with the further fusion of the working class and the communist movement, and the founding of the genuine Communist Party ever so near, the bourgeoisie will not let up but will step up its attacks and harassments. That's because we are achieving a great

Reprint of WVO Leaflet for OLOC Forum

Tonight's Forum

The OL has always shown a philistine attitude towards polemics. They use slander, character assassination, and can only slip and slide when confronted. They allow at most ten minutes for polemics and questions from each organization, and when challenged, they say "this is our forum." We challenge the OL to defend your opportunist line and struggle, tit for tat, in front of the whole communist and workers' movement tonight! Stop wriggling like a spineless snake as you have done historically.

We don't think that the OL will allow open polemics; they will again try to cover their opportunist tracks. OL's opportunist and wriggling approach in polemics is identical to their "party principle."

Party Building

OL, the only party you will build will be a revisionist party! The OL claims today to have been "consistent and clear" in upholding party building as the principal task of the communist movement, but their entire history is full of opportunist about-faces and slipping and sliding.

From 1973 to 1975, they practiced building the party through the mass struggle and united front; they upheld the R.U.'s pragmatic practice-freak line of belittling the importance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought and denounced those that uphold the correct line as ultra-leftists, and held left opportunism as the main danger in the communist movement instead of right opportunism. Today they are forced to try to cover over and hide their rotten, right opportunist history.

The Organizing Committee (OC) for a ML Party, initiated by the OL, is the epitome of their "get rich quick", bottom up, lowest common denominator approach to party building. The OL says that the OC will "publish the first draft of the Party Program" (July 5, 1976, Call). But Lenin said, "that the organizing committee was mainly a commission set up to convene the Congress, a commission deliberately composed of representatives of different shades, including even the Bundists; while the real work of creating the organized unity of the party was done entirely by the Iskra organization." (Vol. 7, "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," p. 279.)

The OL is not open and above-board, does not dare to openly uphold their own line, as the line of demarcation, and they do not push themselves as the leading line and leading circle. The OL, instead of developing a program out of line struggle based on the highest level of ideological and political unity, bases the OC on 8 general "principles of unity" which do not draw lines with any opportunist trends in the communist movement. Their promise that every group in the OC will have 1 vote in the OC amounts to deciding line by "pure democratic" methods, and is a bourgeois democratic trick to lure people in. This is all intended to hide their line, and unite with people not based on the line struggle and demarcation drawn in 8 years of struggle in the U.S. communist movement!

WE CHALLENGE the OL and OC to expose themselves on the following positions:
 ----whether United Front is a tactic or a strategy
 ----their position on Shah of Iran and recent massacre in Tell Zatar
 ----their liberal-bourgeois line on Busing Plan.

We call on all comrades to struggle against and expose this most dangerous and opportunist revisionist trend in the communist movement.

BUILD THE PARTY ON THE IDEOLOGICAL PLANE,

GRASP THE KEY LINK OF POLITICAL LINE!

WORKERS VIEWPOINT ORGANIZATION
 August 29, 1976.

deal in our work! We must consolidate ideologically, politically and organizationally.

We know the victory of the proletariat is also inevitable! Our attitude is to fearlessly move forward, step up our agitation/propaganda, further expose their agents in the working class, kick out their reformist misleaders, go forward to found the Bolshevik Communist Party and bolshevize sphere after sphere, end this criminal rule of the monopoly capitalist class, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and fight for socialism! History is on our side! We learn from historical tradition that a revolution is not a dinner party. In the course of struggle, countless people will lay down their lives for the revolution, be tortured and killed! But when we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the majority at heart, and when we die for the people, we die a worthy death. All the same, we do our best to avoid unnecessary sacrifices. Through difficulties and setbacks, victory is inevitable!

Comrades, the cowardly bourgeoisie is trembling in front of the might of the working class and is morbidly afraid of

the growing fusion between the working class and and communists, especially the WVO.

But communism is on the rise. It is independent of the will of the bourgeoisie. There is nothing they can do to prevent it. ■

WV Journal

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 Expose PRRWO's Hustlerism!

Build the Party on the Proletarian Ideological Plane, and Grasp the Key Link of Political Line!

■ O.L.'s Opportunist Call for the Party

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P R I C E S

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Long Live Invincible Marxism

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

ese imperialists; and throughout the course of struggle for national liberation against the compradore bourgeoisie, traitors, and "left" and right internal enemies before and after the New Democratic Revolution, he summed-up the historical experience of Soviet and Yugoslavian capitalist restorations, and under the conditions and new experiences of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, tremendously enriched the theoretical treasury of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought.

plain why freedom is not only the appreciation of necessity but also the actual transformation of necessity. Hence his famous statement that human history is a constant change from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom.

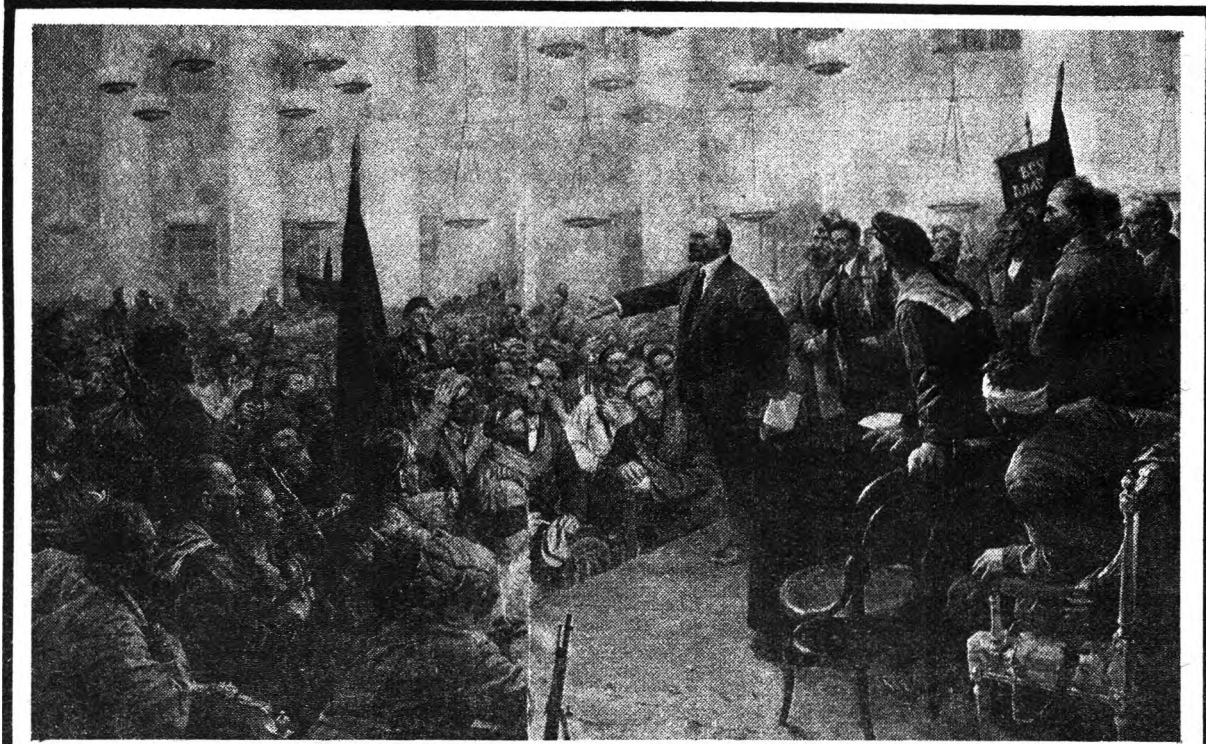
In addition to these new contributions to the philosophical sphere, he further elaborated and enriched Marxist understanding of dialectical materialism; for example, the question of appearance and essence, form and content, cause and effect, basis and conditions, what's acci-

base." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People")

He viewed the line that says socialism, productive forces and productive relations are in harmony is a view which denies the universality of contradiction. He said that it is still the internal contradiction generally, not contradiction between the socialist and imperialist countries, that's the basis for change and therefore the motive force pushing forward socialist society under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

He pointed out as early as 1949, in his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) that in fact, the basic contradiction under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the New Democratic stage, is still the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. At that time the Chinese revolution was still under the New Democratic stage, where socialist ownership had not yet in the main been completed. Then he laid out this basic line on the economic sphere:

"China's private capitalist industry, which occupies second place in her modern industry, is a force which must not be ignored... In this period, all capitalist elements in the cities and countryside which are not harmful but beneficial to the national economy should be allowed to exist and expand. This is not only unavoidable but also economically necessary. But the existence and expansion of capitalism in China will not be unrestricted and uncurbed as in the capitalist countries. It will be restricted from several directions -- in the scope of its operation and by tax policy, market prices and labour conditions... The policy of restricting private capitalism is bound to meet with resistance in varying degrees and forms from the bourgeoisie, especially from the big owners of private enterprises, that is, from the big capitalists. Restriction versus opposition to restriction will be the main form of class struggle in the new-democratic state. It is entirely wrong to think that at present we need not restrict capitalism and can discard the slogan of "regulation of capital"; that is a Right opportunist view. But the opposite view, which advocates too much or too rigid restriction of private capital or holds that we can simply eliminate private capital very quickly, is also entirely wrong; this is a "Left" opportunist or adventurist view."



THE SALVOES OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION BROUGHT US MARXISM-LENINISM. THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION HELPED PROGRESSIVES IN CHINA, AS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, TO ADOPT THE PROLETARIAN WORLD OUTLOOK AS THE INSTRUMENT FOR STUDYING A NATION'S DESTINY AND CONSIDERING ANEW THEIR OWN PROBLEMS. FOLLOW THE PATH OF THE RUSSIANS - THAT WAS THEIR CONCLUSION.- MAO TSE TUNG

PHILOSOPHY

In the philosophical sphere, Chairman Mao unequivocally pointed out for the first time in Marxist history that the law of the struggle and transformation of opposites is the only basic law of dialectical materialism, instead of the commonly believed three -- the unity of opposites, the negation of a negation, and transformation of quantity to quality. He showed why the negation of a negation and transformation of quantity to quality are nothing but special cases of the basic law of the unity of opposites or the law of the struggle and transformation of opposites, or one divides into two, as he often referred to it.

Beside this understanding of the most basic law of dialectical materialism, he also pointed out for the first time in Marxist history the concept of the principal contradiction and the principal aspect of a contradiction, why many men of action and bourgeois academicians, because they don't understand this concept of dialectical materialism can only go around in circles without getting anywhere.

Furthermore, he pointed out for the first time in Marxist epistemology that rational understanding can only be achieved through the repeated process of perceptual understandings. In the course of struggle against rationalists and dogmatists, he had shown why and how, through many repeated perceptual understandings, there would be a qualitative leap into rational understanding. He pointed out how revolutionary practice is essential to understanding revolution, just as one must bite into a pear and taste it to know the taste of a pear.

On the question of freedom and necessity, Marx and Engels first stated that freedom is the appreciation of necessity. Chairman Mao was the first Marxist to ex-

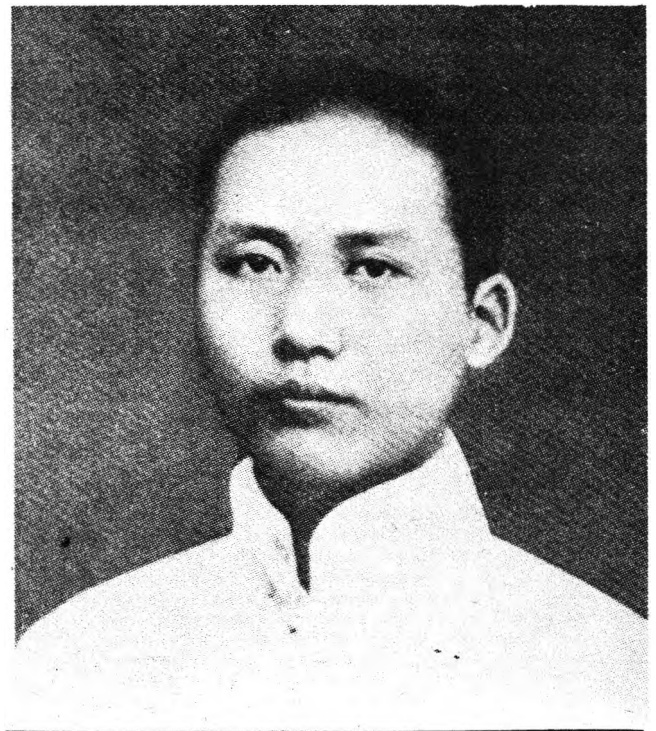
plained and its relation to what's inevitable, the concept of the key link and the chain, the wave-like motion of mass movements and the dialectical relation between tension, relaxation and its application to military and other forms of political struggles.

Chairman Mao not only defended, elaborated and developed Marxist philosophy, he was also the first one in history to demystify philosophy, liberating it from the exclusive domain of the ivory tower into a basic weapon of the workers, peasants and broad masses in China. Chairman Mao believed that through their practical experience in the three great struggles (class struggle, struggle for production and struggle for scientific experiment) workers and the toiling masses must know deepest the philosophy of dialectical materialism, which is the world outlook of the proletariat, and the theory of knowledge of the proletariat. This popularization and raising the standards of dialectical materialism in China has since been turned into an irresistible material force in all three struggles, in particular the key link of class struggle.

POLITICAL ECONOMY

In the sphere of political economy, Chairman Mao, in the course of struggle against the line that productive forces and productive relations are in harmony under socialism, pointed out:

"Socialist relations of production have been established and are in harmony with the growth of the productive forces, but they are still far from perfect, and this imperfection stands in contradiction to the growth of the productive forces. Apart from harmony as well as contradiction between the relations of production and the developing productive forces, there is harmony as well as contradiction between the superstructure and the economic



CHAIRMAN MAO IN 1919, THE YEAR OF THE HISTORIC MAY 4TH MOVEMENT. AN ENTIRE GENERATION OF REVOLUTIONARY INTELLEGENSIA ADOPT MARXISM-LENINISM AND ARE CONVINCED THAT ONLY MARXISM-LENINISM CAN SAVE CHINA.

Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought!

(Mao, Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.)

This line on political economy is the basic line on economics under New Democracy. Since New Democracy is the only correct minimum program for revolution for semi-colonial, semi-feudal countries as well as the program for all non-capitalist states, this line is of universal significance to Marxist-Leninists in the entire Third World.

For socialist countries where socialist ownership has in the main been completed, Chairman Mao pointed out that the principal contradiction is still between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Summing up from the historical experience of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, he placed special emphasis on the role of reaction of the superstructure and productive relations on the economic base and productive forces. Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is still a difference between the countryside and the city, between manual and mental labor, workers and peasants, and the two aspects of the relations of production -- the relations among the people and the form of distribution (the 8-grade wage system), he pointed out that the superstructure can be decisive and therefore, the proletariat must exercise dictatorship over all spheres, including all aspects of the superstructure. Recently, for example, he pointed out:

"Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system."

(Chang Chun-chiao, "On Exercising All-round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie").

Politics is the concentrated expression of economics. There, however, he was talking about the process of the reaction upon the system of ownership exerted by leadership, ideological and political line, which are part of the superstructure. He showed not only that the correctness or incorrectness of ideological and political line decides everything, but that as a special case of it, which class holds the leadership under the dictatorship of the proletariat (d of p), also decides which class owns those factories in actuality.

The question of leadership and line is the question -- whether representatives of the proletariat or the bourgeoisie shall prevail. The existence of bourgeois right (for example, as Chairman Mao pointed out, like the 8 grade wage system, which is a form of unequal distribution under socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a transitional period to communism where it still goes according to the slogan: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work," rather than under communism, where it goes: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need") is a material basis for the development of the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao pointed out that the representatives of the bourgeoisie come from not only the bourgeoisie, the landlord classes and petty bourgeois democrats, but also from the ranks of the working class and the communist party who can become bourgeoisified and degenerate.

For these reasons, Chairman Mao paid special attention to the question of productive relations, not only unequal distribution but also the relations among the people. For example, in a socialist society, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, there must be organization. But organization also creates conditions for bureaucracy. This situation arises out of necessity.

also can be turned into its opposite in giving rise to bureaucratic-monopoly capitalism under the leadership of a bourgeois line. So Chairman Mao succinctly pointed out that "Management itself is a matter of socialist education. If the managerial staff do not join the workers on the shop floor, eat, live, and work with them and modestly learn one or more skills from them, then they will find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class all their lives and in the end are bound to be overthrown as the bourgeoisie by the ruling class." (Peking Review, 1976, No. 35, p. 7)

This teaching closely links different aspects of productive relations to the ownership of the productive forces under socialism. Besides his contribution to Marxism on the question of bourgeois right, which was first outlined by Marx and Engels under the limited historical conditions and experience of their time (when there were still no dictatorships of the proletariat), Chairman Mao also worked out a whole set of lines and policies to deal with other aspects of the productive relations, the relations among the people, such as between workers and peasants, physical labor and mental labor, etc. He also linked that to the problems of uneven economic development in China, inherited from the past. For example, he encouraged millions of educated youth to go down and settle in the country side. He encouraged the working class to aid the peasants in communes during harvest and planting seasons (not only to narrow the gap, but also to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance, a particular form of the dictatorship of the proletariat) and at the same time encouraged the peasants to develop light industry. His bold vision as the greatest Marxist of the contemporary era on this question also prompted him to guarantee workers the right to strike under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a move clearly done to check the bourgeoisie in the party and potential contradictions among the workers and management staff.

CHAIRMAN MAO ENRICHED AND DEVELOPED MARXISM-LENINISM IN THE CONTEMPORARY ERA

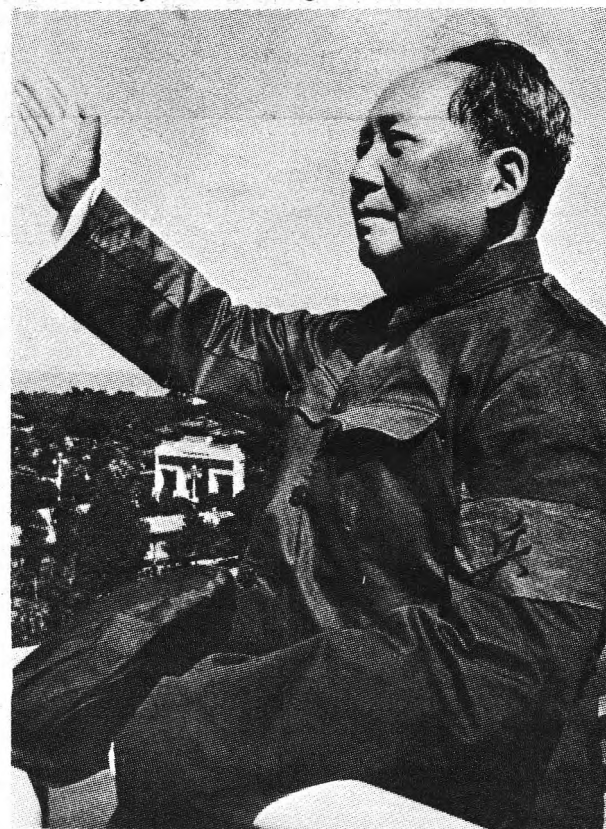
Marx and Engels developed the basic laws of dialectical and historical materialism. The first sphere they developed was the philosophical sphere coming from the rich tradition of German philosophy. Marx critically analyzed, synthesized Hegelian dialectics and Feuerbach's materialism and developed dialectical materialism, the philosophy and world outlook as well as the theory of knowledge of the proletariat. During the first working class uprising in the Paris Commune, Marx and Engels developed Marxist tactics, class analysis in the sphere of politics. Due to historical limitations, however, they did not comprehensively and fully develop the question of the Party as well as the strategy and tactics for the seizure of state power. Lenin, under the conditions of imperialism in Russia where, due to historical circumstances, the fundamental world contradictions were concentrated, was able to continue the development of this aspect of Marxism in the last, parasitic, decaying, and moribund stage of capitalism, imperialism. Marx and Engels, after the Paris Commune; in the period of the relative "peaceful" development of capitalism, devoted most of their time in developing political economy, the economic aspect of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought.

Lenin developed Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought in the political sphere, and correctly analyzed the nature of imperialism as well as the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat under socialism. But again, due to historical limitations, under the conditions of the imperialist onslaught, and with the Soviet Union being the only socialist country in the world, Lenin and later Stalin did not have the opportunity to thoroughly and systema-

tically sum-up these aspects. Chairman Mao not only developed Marxism in the political sphere, concerning the strategy and tactics of revolution in colonial and neo-colonial Third World countries, but also had the opportunity to sum up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union as well as in many People's Democracies in Eastern Europe.

POLITICS - PARTICULARLY CONTINUING REVOLUTION UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

In the political sphere, on the question of the superstructure and the social base, Chairman Mao pointed out that not only does the bourgeoisie exist under socialism, but in fact, since the role of superstructure is crucial, the bourgeoisie will not be open but will fight the proletariat through sugar-coated bullets -- the bourgeoisie inevitably exists right in the Party!!



CHAIRMAN MAO REVIEWING THE RED GUARDS: "IN THE PAST WE WAGED STRUGGLES IN RURAL AREAS, IN FACTORIES, IN THE CULTURAL FIELD, AND WE CARRIED OUT THE SOCIALIST EDUCATION MOVEMENT. BUT ALL THIS FAILED TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM BECAUSE WE DID NOT FIND A FORM, A METHOD, TO AROUSE THE BROAD MASSES TO EXPOSE OUR DARK ASPECT OPENLY, IN AN ALL-ROUND WAY AND FROM BELOW."

For these reasons and his sum-up of historical experience, Chairman Mao developed the basic line under socialism. And that is:

"Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise, a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a relatively sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line."

Chairman Mao has shown through political economy the social basis for revisionism and has also shown the thesis:

CHAIRMAN MAO WILL LIVE



COMRADE MAO TSE TUNG ADDRESSING A CONFERENCE OF THE POOR PEASANT LEAGUES FROM EIGHT COUNTIES IN THE REVOLUTIONARY BASE AREA IN KIANGSI PROVINCE IN 1933.



CHAIRMAN MAO IN YENAN PRACTISING MASS LINE AND UPHOLDING THE NEED TO INTEGRATE THEORY WITH CONCRETE CONDITIONS. "NO INVESTIGATION, NO RIGHT TO SPEAK."



CHAIRMAN MAO INSPECTING THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY TROOPS AND WEAPONS CAPTURED FROM THE KMT AND U.S. IMPERIALISM.



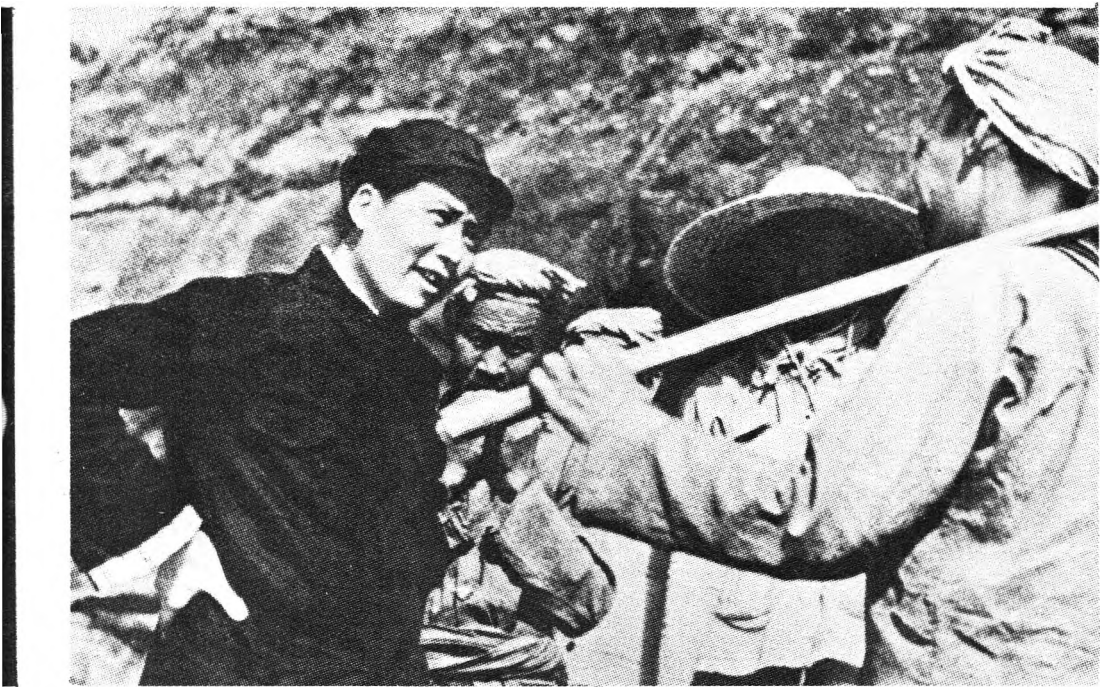
"THE WORLD IS YOURS, AS WELL AS OURS, BUT IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, IT IS YOURS. YOU YOUNG PEOPLE, FULL OF VIGOUR AND VITALITY, ARE IN THE BLOOM OF LIFE, LIKE THE SUN AT EIGHT OR NINE IN THE MORNING. OUR HOPE IS PLACED IN YOU." - MAO TSE TUNG, 1957



CHAIRMAN MAO IN A MASS RALLY SUPPORTING THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY AND OPPOSING IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION.



MAO WILL LIVE FOREVER IN OUR



CHAIRMAN MAO IN YENAN PRACTISING MASS LINE AND UPHOLDING THE NEED TO INTEGRATE THEORY WITH CONCRETE CONDITIONS. "NO INVESTIGATION, NO RIGHT TO SPEAK!"



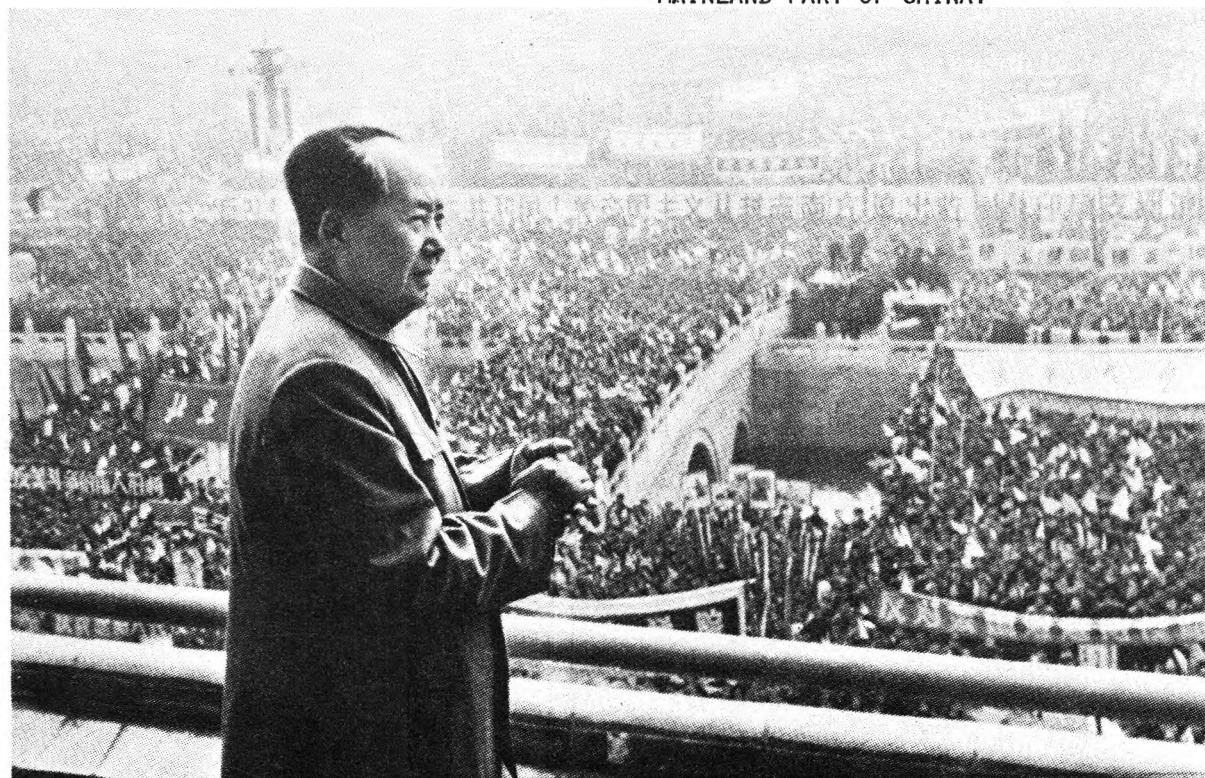
"CHINESE PEOPLE HAVE STOOD UP" CHAIRMAN MAO DECLARES TO THE WORLD IN TIEN AN MEN SQUARE, OCT 1, 1949 AFTER KICKING THE KMT AND U.S. IMPERIALISM OUT OF THE MAINLAND PART OF CHINA.



CHAIRMAN MAO'S NEW DEMOCRACY FOR THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES



"THE FUTURE IS YOURS, AS WELL AS OURS, BUT IN THE END, IT IS YOURS. YOU YOUNG PEOPLE FULL OF VIGOUR AND VITALITY, ARE IN THE FUTURE OF LIFE, LIKE THE SUN AT EIGHT OR NINE IN THE MORNING. OUR HOPE IS PLACED IN YOU." CHAIRMAN MAO, 1957



CHAIRMAN MAO IN A MASS RALLY SUPPORTING THE INDOCHINESE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION.

We are "resolved to bear in mind the abjuration he bequeathed to us, to according to the principles laid down," persevere in taking class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, uphold proletarian internationalism, carry the great cause of the proletarian revolution to the end and forge ahead valiantly along the revolutionary course laid down by Chairman Mao."

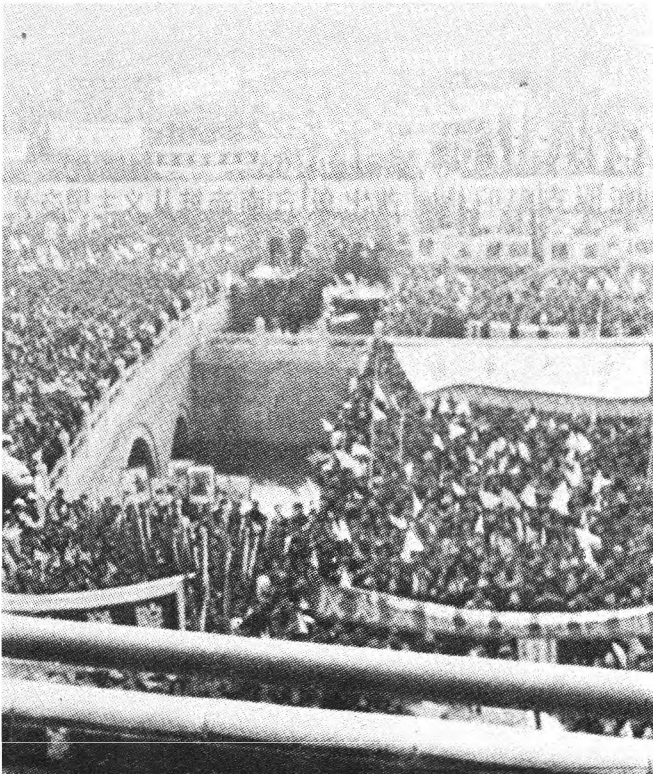
FOREVER IN OUR HEARTS!



"CHINESE PEOPLE HAVE STOOD UP" CHAIRMAN MAO DECLARES TO THE WORLD IN TIEN AN MEN SQUARE, OCT 1, 1949 AFTER KICKING THE KMT AND U.S. IMPERIALISM OUT OF THE MAINLAND PART OF CHINA.



CHAIRMAN MAO'S NEW DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION AND MILITARY TEACHINGS BLAZE A NEW TRAIL FOR THE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES IN ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA.



TING THE INDOCHINESE PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE AGAINST

We are "resolved to bear in mind the abjuration he bequeathed them: "Act according to the principles laid down," persevere in taking class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, uphold proletarian internationalism, carry the great cause of the proletarian revolution through to the end and forge ahead valiantly along the revolutionary course charted by Chairman Mao."



(Peking Review, Sept.24,1976)

MEMORIAL SPEECH BY HUA KUO-FENG, FIRST VICE-CHAIRMAN OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA AND PREMIER OF STATE COUNCIL, AT MASS MEMORIAL MEETING FOR GREAT LEADER AND TEACHER CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG

Peking, September 18, 1976 (Hsinhua)—
Following is the full text of the memorial speech by Comrade Hua Kuo-feng, First Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council, at the Mass Memorial Meeting held here this afternoon for the great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung:

Comrades and Friends:

Today, representatives of the Party, Government and Army organizations, workers, peasants, soldiers and other circles in the capital are here at Tienanmen Square holding a solemn Mass Memorial Meeting and, along with the people of all nationalities throughout the country, mourning with the most profound sorrow Chairman Mao Tsetung, our esteemed and beloved great leader and the great teacher of the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people.

Over the last few days, the whole Party, the whole Army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country have been immersed in boundless sorrow at the passing of Chairman Mao Tsetung. The cause that our great leader Chairman Mao devoted his whole life to is linked by flesh-and-blood ties with the masses of the people. It was under Chairman Mao's leadership that the Chinese people who had long suffered from oppression and exploitation won emancipation and became masters of the country. It was under Chairman Mao's leadership that the disaster-plagued Chinese nation rose to its feet. The Chinese people love, trust and esteem Chairman Mao from the bottom of their hearts. The international proletariat and progressive mankind all deeply mourn the death of Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao Tsetung was the founder and wise leader of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the People's Republic of China.

Chairman Mao tempered and nurtured our Party in the struggles it carried out under his leadership against class enemies at home and abroad and inside and outside the Party. In hard, long, acute and complex class struggle and two-line struggles. The history of the Chinese Communist Party is a history of struggles between Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line and the right and "left" opportunist lines in the Party. Under Chairman Mao's leadership, our Party defeated the opportunist lines pursued by Chen Tu-hsiu, Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san, Lo Chang-lung, Wang ming, Chang Kuo-tao, Kao Kang-Jao Shu-Shih and Peng Teh-huai and again, during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, triumphed over the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping. Guided by Chairman Mao's Marxist-Leninist line, our Party has steadily grown in strength. It has developed from small groups of a few dozen Communists into a party with a membership of over 30 million which now leads the People's Republic of China, into a disciplined Party armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, using the method of self-criticism and closely linked with the masses of the people, and into a great, glorious and correct Marxist-Leninist Party.

Chairman Mao tempered and nurtured our army in protracted revolutionary wars. He long ago put forward the famous thesis that "POLITICAL POWER GROWS OUT OF THE BARREL OF A GUN". He led the Autumn Harvest Uprising, founded the First Worker-Peasant Red Army and set up the first rural revolutionary base area in the ChingKang Mountains. In the last 50 years, Chairman Mao led our Army in smashing the counter-revolutionary campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" launched by the Kuomintang against the revolutionary base areas, in successfully completing the world-renowned 25,000-li Long March, in defeating Japanese Imperialism, in wiping out eight million troops of the Chiang Kai-shek gang armed by U.S. Imperialism and, after the founding of new China, in victoriously waging the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, triumphantly repulsing the armed provocations against our country by Soviet Revisionist Social-Imperialism and reaction, and defending the security of the motherland. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, our Army followed Chairman Mao's teachings and supported industry, agriculture and the broad masses of the left, exercised military

control and gave political and military training, thereby making new contributions to the people. Chairman Mao formulated a Marxist-Leninist line for our Army on army building and the strategy and tactics of People's War, and this is the fundamental reason why our Army was able to grow from small to big, from weak to strong, develop into powerful armed forces combining field armies, local armies and a vast militia and become the solid pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Against the people's armed forces armed with Mao Tsetung Thought, any enemy that dares to intrude will certainly be drowned in the vast ocean of People's War.

Based on the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and integrating it with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao Tsetung correctly solved the series of fundamental problems concerning the seizure of political power by armed force, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the prevention of capitalist restoration in China.

During the period of the New-Democratic Revolution, Chairman Mao analysed Chinese history and existing conditions and the principal contradiction in Chinese society, correctly answered the questions of the targets, tasks, motive forces, character, perspectives and transformation of the New-Democratic Revolution in China, and laid down the general line and general policy of our Party for that historical period, that is, the New-Democratic Revolution against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism waged by the broad masses of the people under the leadership of the proletariat. Chairman Mao pointed out that the seizure of political power by armed force in China could be achieved only by following the road of building rural base areas, encircling the cities from the countryside and finally seizing the cities, and not by any other road. Summing up the historical experience of our Party, Chairman Mao pointed out that the three principal magic weapons for the Chinese Communist Party to defeat the enemy in the Chinese Revolution were a Communist Party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, an army under the leadership of such a party, and a united front of all revolutionary classes and all revolutionary groups under the leadership of such a party. Chairman Mao led our Party in using these three weapons to win the great victory of the New-Democratic Revolution and found the People's Republic of China. The victory of the Chinese People's Revolution led by Chairman Mao changed the situation in the East and in the world, blazing a new trail for the cause of liberation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people.

In the new historical period of Socialist Revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, Chairman Mao summed up both the positive and the negative experience of the international Communist movement, made a penetrating analysis of the class relations in Socialist society by applying the Marxist-Leninist theory of the unity of opposites, and pointed out that the principal contradiction in Socialist society is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. For the first time in the history of the development of Marxism, Chairman Mao explicitly pointed out that there are still classes and class struggle after the Socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production has in the main been completed, put forward the thesis that in Socialist society there are two different types of contradictions—those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves, and advanced the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao time and again admonished the whole Party, the whole Army and the people of the whole country, "NEVER FORGET CLASS STRUGGLE". He pointed out that Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period and that, throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the Socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism, and established the Party's basic line for the entire historical period of Socialism. In view of the changes in class relations and the characteristics of the class struggle in the period of



Socialism, Chairman Mao drew the scientific conclusion: "YOU ARE MAKING THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, AND YET DON'T KNOW WHERE THE BOURGEOISIE IS. IT IS RIGHT IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY—THOSE IN POWER TAKING THE CAPITALIST ROAD. THE CAPITALIST-ROADERS ARE STILL ON THE CAPITALIST ROAD." Representing the aspirations and interests of the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants to continue the revolution, Chairman Mao himself initiated and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which smashed the schemes of Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and Teng Hsiao-ping for restoration, criticized their counter-revolutionary revisionist line and enabled us to seize back that portion of leading power in the party and state they had usurped, thus ensuring China's victorious advance along the Marxist-Leninist road. The constant defeat of subversion and sabotage by imperialism, revisionism and reaction. The upholding of socialism and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the People's Republic of China, a populous country with a vast territory - this is a great contribution of world historic significance made by Chairman Mao Tsetung to the present era and has at the same time provided the international Communist movement with new experience in combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism.

Chairman Mao Tsetung was the greatest Marxist of the contemporary era. With the great boldness and vision of a proletarian revolutionary, he launched the great struggle in the international Communist movement to criticize modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique at the core, brought about the vigorous development of the cause of the world proletarian revolution and the cause of the people of all countries against imperialism and hegemonism, and pushed the history of mankind forward. Basing himself on the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution, Chairman Mao summed up the experience of domestic and international revolutionary struggles, inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in all respects and enriched the treasure-house of Marxist theory. Mao Tsetung Thought is a powerful ideological weapon for opposing the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and for opposing imperialism, social-imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries. THE CORRECTNESS OR INCORRECTNESS OF THE IDEOLOGICAL-AND POLITICAL LINE DECIDES EVERYTHING. All victories won by the Chinese people are great victories of Mao Tsetung Thought. Mao Tsetung Thought will always illuminate the Chinese people's road of advance.

Chairman Mao Tsetung is a brilliant example of whole-hearted devotion to the interests of the people of China and the world. Chairman Mao dedicated all his energies throughout his life till his last breath to the liberation of the Chinese people, to the emancipation of the oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over, and to the cause of Communism. A Great Proletarian Revolutionary like Chairman Mao, who weathers all kinds of revolutionary storms, overcomes every difficulty and hardship, and always identifies himself with the workers, peasants and other labouring people and stands in the van of the revolutionary movement to guide it forward, is rare indeed in the annals of the Proletarian Revolutionary Movement. The magnificent

contributions Chairman Mao made in revolutionary theory and practice are immortal. Chairman Mao has passed away. This is a loss beyond measure to our Party, our Army and the people of all nationalities of our country, to the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries and to the international Communist movement.

The whole Party, the whole Army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country must respond to the call of the Party Central Committee actively, turn grief into strength, carry on the cause left behind by Chairman Mao, PRACTISE MARXISM, AND NOT REVISIONISM-UNITE, AND DON'T SPLIT - BE OPEN AND ABOVEBOARD, AND DON'T INTRIGUE AND CONSPIRE and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee, carry through to the end the cause of the Proletarian Revolution in China which Chairman Mao pioneered

Internally, we must conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the basic line and the policies of the Party for the entire historical period of Socialism, persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, consolidate the great unity of the people of all nationalities led by the working class and based on the worker-peasant alliance, deepen the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-ping and repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, consolidate and develop the victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, combat and prevent revisionism, consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, maintain independence and keep the initiative in our own hands and rely on our own efforts, work to build our country into a powerful Socialist state, and strive to make a greater contribution to humanity. We are determined to accomplish the sacred cause of liberating Taiwan and reunifying our motherland.

Externally, we must continue to carry out resolutely Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies in foreign affairs, uphold Proletarian Internationalism, and never seek hegemony. We must strengthen our unity with the international proletariat and the oppressed nations and oppressed people the world over, strengthen our unity with the people of the third world countries, and strengthen our unity with all the countries subjected to aggression, subversion, interference, control or bullying by imperialism and social-imperialism so as to form the broadest possible united front against imperialism, in particular against the hegemonism of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States. We must unite with all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in the world and wage a common struggle for the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man and the realization of Communism on earth, for the liberation of all mankind.

CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG WILL LIVE FOREVER IN OUR HEARTS.

LONG LIVE INVINCIBLE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT.

LONG LIVE THE GREAT, GLORIOUS AND CORRECT COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA.

ETERNAL GLORY TO THE GREAT LEADER AND TEACHER CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG.

Historical Lessons of Munich

EXPOSE THE SUPERPOWERS' CONTENTION FOR WORLD HEGEMONY !

THIS IS THE FOURTH OF A CHAPTER-BY-CHAPTER TRANSLATION OF A CHINESE PAMPHLET, "LURING TO THE EAST WATERS THAT BRING DISASTER." WE ARE TRANSLATING THIS TO SHARE THE HISTORIC LESSONS FROM WORLD WAR II SUMMED UP BY THE CHINESE COMRADES AND TO DEEPEN OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, AND THE TWO CONTENDING TRENDS OF REVOLUTION OR WORLD WAR AND FASCISM.

WE HAVE MUCH TO LEARN FROM HISTORY. BEFORE WORLD WAR II, THE MUNICH PACT WAS AN EXAMPLE OF APPEASEMENT OF THE GERMAN FASCISTS, OF LURING HITLER TO THE EAST, TRYING TO ENCOURAGE HIM INTO STARTING A WAR AGAINST SOVIET UNION.

THE SO-CALLED EUROPEAN SECURITY TREATY SIGNED IN HELSINKI LAST JULY IS ACTUALLY A EUROPEAN "INSECURITY" TREATY, IT ONLY SHOWS THE GROWING CONTENTION BETWEEN THE TWO IMPERIALIST POWERS AS THEY GEAR UP FOR WAR BY REALIGNING THEIR FORCES. ALSO, THE RECENT "SONNENFELDT DOCTRINE" IS AN APPEASEMENT OF THE HITLER-TYPE FASCISTS OF SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM. IT ACKNOWLEDGES THAT "EASTERN EUROPE IS THEIR TURF" AND IN

RETURN DEMANDS THAT THE U.S. IMPERIALISTS BE LEFT ALONE IN THEIR "TURF," WESTERN EUROPE.

UNDER THE SHAM COVER OF DETENTE, BOTH SUPERPOWERS AIM TO HIDE THEIR FIERCE CONTENTION BY APPEARING TO "NORMALIZE" THEIR RELATIONSHIP. IN ACTUALITY, THE SOVIET IMPERIALISTS ARE RECEIVING TRANSFUSIONS OF NEEDED MONEY & TECHNOLOGY FROM U.S. & EUROPEAN CAPITAL FOR THEIR INTENSIFIED MILITARY ECONOMY. THE U.S. & THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) COUNTRIES ARE STREAMLINING THEIR FORCES TO MAKE THEM MORE EFFICIENT. BUT INTER-IMPERIALIST CONTRADICTIONS ARE ABSOLUTE, THIS SHOWS IN THE RECENT KISSINGER WARNINGS ABOUT 'COMMUNISM' TAKING OVER WESTERN EUROPE & THE NEGATIVE RESPONSES FROM THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES CONCERNED.

THE CONTRADICTION AMONG IMPERIALISTS ESPECIALLY THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, IS INTENSIFYING; SO IS THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN LABOR & CAPITAL IN BOTH COUNTRIES. EITHER WORLD WAR WILL BRING ABOUT REVOLUTION, OR REVOLUTION WILL PREVENT WORLD WAR.

On one hand, Hitler intensified the armed intervention in Spain to weaken France and England in this area; on the other hand, he chanted psalms of peace in an energetic attempt to paralyze the western countries. He proposed a meeting with the British Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, to discuss questions that "will decide the fate of future generations." Now England, France, and the U.S. were concerned that German and Italian control over Spain would give Germany and Italy a more favorable strategic position, thus becoming a threat to the three western powers. But they desired even more to use Germany and Italy to extinguish the revolutionary movement of the Spanish people. Therefore, they were unwilling to get into a deadlock with Germany on the Spanish question, which could only harm their plan of pushing fascist Germany eastward toward the Soviet Union, and hence adopted the "non-interference" policy of collaborating with fascist aggression. The Daily Mirror, of the British Conservative Party, stated that, when discussing the victory of the Spanish Popular Front: "If the virus of communism which is rampant in Spain spreads to other countries, then...the German and Italian governments will become our most beneficial friends." The Thames held that Germany's armed intervention against Spain could only become "the march of the anti-Bolshevik Crusade led by Germany... (which) is the first battle of the struggle between Russia and Germany." U.S. and French ambassadors in Spain were of the view that the Spanish "incident" would lead Germany and Italy to an anti-Soviet war; therefore, they held to the western strategy of "wait with vigilance."

Therefore, France and Britain signed a "non-interference" agreement in the Spanish conflict with 27 other European countries. This agreement prohibited the shipping of weapons to Spain and the transit of weapons destined for Spain. "A committee of non-interference in the affairs of Spain" was established in London to supervise the implementation of the agreement. In order to curry favor with Germany and Italy, the western countries went so far as to allow Germany and Italy to participate in this committee. When the committee decided to implement controls at the Spanish border, Germany and Italy took this opportunity to dispatch warships to blockade the Spanish coast and to bombard the ships and cities of the Spanish Republic. Although the U.S. declared its pursuance of the policy of "neutrality," and announced that it would prohibit shipments to both the government of the Republic and the rebels, it also sold large quantities of arms to the Germans and Italians to aid in their intervention. And meanwhile, Germany and Italy were shipping large quantities of munitions to the rebel clique through Portugal.

The pursuance of the "non-interference" policy of the western countries, which meant collaborating with the aggressors, allowed German and Italian fascists to carry out armed intervention even more flagrantly. Italy sent 250,000 troops to the Spanish battle field; Germany sent 50,000. As the German and Italian armies of aggression continued to pour into Spain, the Spanish Popular Front was faced with increasing difficulties. In Feb. 1937, the Spanish government asked France and Britain to mediate, but they refused and stood by while the German and Italian fascist aggressors continued to make gains against the Spanish people. In March, 1939, the Spanish fascist rebels marched into the capital, Madrid, declaring the defeat of the struggle of the Spanish Popular Front against the rebels.

The Occupation of Austria

After the First World War, the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed and Austria became a Republic. The St. German Treaty provided: the independence of Austria is not to be harmed. England and France were obligated to guarantee that Austria's independence would not be harmed. The Versailles Peace Treaty also explicit

Chapter 4: Collaborating with German Aggression

Armed Intervention in Spain

As the military strength of Fascist Germany rapidly expanded, Hitler felt he was strong enough and ready to act. Therefore, in partnership with the Italian Fascists, he committed armed intervention against the Spanish Republic in 1936.

In Feb. 1936, the Spanish Popular Front, with the participation of Communists, won the election of the Cortes (National Assembly) and formed a new republican government. The new government started to implement the democratic program of the Popular Front: granting amnesty to political prisoners, punishing counterrevolutionaries, democratizing the army and the government, lowering taxes and rents, etc. However, the Spanish reactionaries were not willing to admit defeat. In July, instigated by Germany and Italy, the fascist forces in Spain organized an armed revolt and occupied some cities. The rebel bosses openly declared: "As for our struggle, it not only reflected the problem of Spain, but it is also an international problem. I am convinced that Germany and Italy are sympathetic to our goal."

Germany and Italy instigated the Spanish Fascist rebellion with the aim of suppressing the revolution of the Spanish people and strengthening their fascist forces in Spain. If a fascist dictatorship were installed in Spain, then Germany, Italy, and Spain could surround France from three sides, so that France would be exposed to attacks from the front and rear. Furthermore, in a future war, the fascists could block the Gibraltar Strait to cut off England's sea routes. The military head of fascist Germany, General von Reich- enau, confessed: "In order to prepare meticulously and systematically for war, we urgently need to infiltrate into the

camp of the enemy, into their land and sea communication lanes, into their trade lanes....Our intervention in Spain allows us to stand fast on the major strategic lanes of France and England....If we have a battle front in Spain, we would be in an advantageous position, in control of the key point of this strategic area."

The German and Italian fascists were flaunting the banner of "anti-Bolshevism." They used the fears and animosity of the British, U.S., and French capitalist class toward the revolutionary movement of the Spanish people so that these countries would adopt a policy of "non interference" toward Germany's and Italy's aggression against Spain.

Right after the rebellion of the fascists began, Germany established a "Special Command" to direct the rebel forces from behind the scene, and organized supply and support for them. On the average, two ships every week would leave for Spain, loaded with armaments. With the support of the people of the world, however, the Spanish Republican government led the Spanish people from various strata to rise up in a counter-attack against the fascist rebellion, and dealt a heavy defeat on the rebel forces in Madrid. Since Germany and Italy were afraid of the total destruction of the rebel forces, they openly carried out direct military intervention instead of settling for maneuvering behind the scenes or simply supplying the rebels with material. Under the pretext of opposing "communization" and "protecting their emigrants," they dispatched large numbers of troops, planes, artillery, and cruisers to participate in the war against the Spanish people. German troops occupied the northern part of Spain and Spanish Morocco; Italy occupied southern Spain and the Balearic Islands.

AZANIA

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And when Kissinger publicly lied by saying the five African presidents had agreed to the sham negotiation proposal, the Presidents stated they in fact did not have fundamental unity with aspects of the proposal.

The only way the Azanian and other African people will achieve genuine national liberation and independence is when the different tribes unite, and through self-reliance, and supported by the African people as a whole and all oppressed people around the world, combat counter-revolutionary violence with revolutionary violence in a tit-for-tat struggle to the end.

As communists and advanced elements in the U.S., our stand towards the heroic struggle of the Azanian masses is that it is a direct reserve to the U.S. working class movement to overthrow the U.S. bourgeoisie. As a direct reserve, national liberation struggles are a component part of proletarian revolution in advanced capitalist countries like the U.S. We must give unconditional support to the oppressed peoples of the world's fight against imperialism and hegemonism. Comrade Stalin clearly laid out our stand on this crucial question:

"...the national question can be solved only in connection with and on the basis of the proletarian revolution, and that the road to victory of the revolution in the West lies through the revolutionary alliance with the liberation movement of the colonies and dependent countries against imperialism. The national question is a part of the general question of the proletarian revolution, a part of the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Stalin, Foundations of Leninism, p. 73)

Meanwhile, the Soviet social-imperialists, who have always fancied themselves "consistent supporters" for national liberation struggles, are trying to shore up their influence.

THE SOVIET UNION IS THE MORE DANGEROUS OF THE TWO SUPERPOWERS

The "outside intervention" in Africa which Smith spoke of refers to "Communist penetration" of the SSI-type. These "friends of the African people" who claim to oppose apartheid have denounced the Kissinger shuttle and the subsequent Rhodesian settlement as "fraudulent" and a dangerous plot between imperialists and racists. But the African people must guard against the SSI sneaking in the back door -- by supporting one or another liberation group -- while they are kicking the wolf (USI) out the front.

It is precisely because the Soviet Union spouts a lot of empty rhetoric about socialism and poses as a friend of the people, while actually plotting to sell out the national liberation struggles, that it is the more dangerous of the two superpowers. The recent events in Angola show how the Soviet social-imperialists obstruct and sabotage the militant unities of the African people and split the Organization of African Unity by calling one liberation group revolutionary and the other reactionary, in an attempt to fish in troubled waters. The new Soviet czars split the liberation movements in Angola in order to gain a foothold on the African continent. They are bound to try the same trick in Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

The African peoples are daily seeing through these schemes of the two superpowers and their brazen interference in the internal affairs of the African peoples. They are defying the attempts of the two superpowers to sabotage the national liberation struggle. The resistance movement in Azania today is a direct continuation of Sharpeville, the protest by 5000 Azanians in 1960 against the racist ID card system and contains the seeds of the Azanian revolution.

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ly provided: that Germany recognizes and will strictly respect the independence of Austria. Austria's location was strategically very important. If Germany occupied Austria, it would surround Czechoslovakia from 3 sides, opening the door to the invasion of south-eastern Europe and the Balkan peninsula. Hitler long-harbored ambitions towards Austria. Austria was primarily populated by Germanic tribes, and the forces of the Nazi Party were very active in Austria. Fascist Germany wanted to use the occupation of Austria as the first step in its plans of dominating all of Europe.

In Nov. 1937, Hitler formulated a secret plan for the invasion of Austria. Shortly thereafter, England discovered Hitler's intentions. Chamberlain then sent Minister without Portfolio Halifax (Foreign Minister in 1938) to Germany as a representative of the British government to praise, in person, the "achievements" of Hitler in fighting against communism and to bestow the honor of "the shield of the west against Bolshevism". He also blatantly hinted that England did not oppose Germany's implementation of the plan to march its troops into Eastern Europe, declaring that "with regards to Danzig, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, the European order is bound to be changed sooner or later." He also expressed that England wished Germany would encourage Italy (and England would encourage France) into forming a four country cooperative agreement against the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, the U.S. ambassador to France was also ordered to Berlin to express U.S. support of Germany's plan of revising the borders in Eastern Europe with the desire of currying favor with fascist Germany. At that time, Germany also informed the U.S. ambassador of its intentions of grabbing Austria and the Sudetenland area of Czechoslovakia, which did not meet the opposition of the U.S. ambassador. Shortly thereafter, through diplomatic channels, the U.S. once again hinted to Germany that it could pursue its plans without having to worry about U.S. opposition.

After sounding out the attitude of the western countries, Hitler started to implement the plan of occupying Austria. In the beginning of Feb. 1938, Hitler ordered the German ambassador in Austria, Von Papen, to "invite" Austrian President Schuschnigg to Germany to meet with Hitler. Schuschnigg knew that Hitler harbored insidious intentions. Therefore, he requested that Germany first honor the agreement signed between Germany and Austria in July of 1936 concerning respect for the independence of Austria and non-interference in its internal affairs, before he visited Germany. In accordance with Hitler's instructions, Von Papen "pledged" that the 1936 agreement would not be changed, that Hitler only wanted to discuss the "misunderstanding and differences that continue to exist" since the signing of the agreement.

On Feb. 12th, Schuschnigg, filled with anxiety, arrived at Berchtesgaden, Germany, to meet with Hitler. When the two met, Schuschnigg started, as is usually done on such occasions, to comment about the weather and the scenery. But Hitler immediately put on a stone face and interrupted; "We did not come here to talk about the scenery and the weather." He followed with an attack on how the Austrian government had been unfriendly to Germany, and how "it hasn't improved." He stated in a commanding tone: "Listen, I will settle the Austrian question. I only have to give an order, and in one night your ridiculous defenses would be blown to bits. Do you think there is anyone in the world who can make me give up my decision? Italy? Mussolini is with me.... England? England will not move a finger for Austria.... France? France could have stopped Germany in the Rhineland, and then I would have been forced to withdraw. But not it is too late for France.... Mr. Schuschnigg, I'll once again give you an opportunity, and this is the last time, to discuss the terms. Otherwise, it'll be too late.... Think about it, I'll only wait until this afternoon." When he finished, Hitler walked out and left Schuschnigg sitting there.

That afternoon, the German Foreign Minister brought the draft "agreement." It provided: immediate repeal of the prohibition against Austrian Nazis, the release of all Nazis in prison, the exchange of 100 military officers "so that the German and Austrian military can build even closer relations," allowing three pro-Nazi elements to become the Ministers of the Interior (in charge of the police and security affairs), Defense and Finance for Austria, and incorporating Austria into Germany's economic system.

Hitler forced Schuschnigg to unconditionally sign this treaty, which in fact meant the end of Austria. Hitler viciously stated: "Mr. Schuschnigg.... This is the draft document. Nothing is left to be discussed. I will not change this document in any way. You must sign this document as it is, and satisfy my demand in three days, or otherwise I will order the march into Austria." Schuschnigg, the representative of the Austrian bourgeoisie, submitted to Hitler's pressure. He signed this document, which sold out his country. On Feb. 20, Hitler made a speech and put forward the rubbish that, due to Schuschnigg's "understanding," "a closer understanding" was reached between Germany and Austria.

The British embassy made a timely report of Schuschnigg's submission and the signing of the agreement and its contents to the British government. However, British Prime Minister Chamberlain defended Hitler in the House of Commons, claiming that: "This is but two statesmen reaching an agreement on certain measures to improve the relation between the two countries," and that Austria did not "give up its independence." France and the U.S. stood on the sidelines without a single comment.

However, this was only the first step in Hitler's plan. His ultimate goal was to annex all of Austria. After smoothly realizing the first step of his conspiracy, Hitler was convinced that England, France, and the US would not trouble him at all if he further sent troops into Austria. On March 11, large numbers of German troops gathered on the German-Austrian border. Under the pretext that "communist disturbances had occurred in Austria, Hitler sent an ultimatum to Schuschnigg, demanding his resignation and the transference of power to Seyss-Inquart (one of the three pro-Nazis, who became the Minister of the Interior). After the spineless Schuschnigg was removed, Hitler, in order to create a pretext for his acts of aggression, ordered Seyss-Inquart to immediately send a telegram requesting German troops to enter Austria to "quell the disturbances." Later, however, Hitler was so anxious to act that he did not even wait for the telegram to arrive before sending German troops all the way to Vienna, quickly occupying all of Austria.

At that time, England was still pretending to be concerned and sent a telegram to the German government to ask if the ultimatum Hitler sent to the Austrian government was true. Hitler did not pay any attention to this at all. Only after the German army had occupied Austria did the German Foreign Ministry send a mockery of a reply, stating that German-Austrian relations were the affairs of the Germans and not the British, and that Germany only sent troops to Austria after the "emergency" request of the newly formed Austrian government. Thereafter, Hitler visited occupied Austria, declaring invalid the St. German treaty which guaranteed Austria's independence, and ordered the immediate signing of the "integration of Austria and Germany" into law.

Due to fascist Germany's occupation of Austria, the Soviet Union proposed the convening of an international conference to discuss the acts of aggression of Germany, and to adopt measures to prevent German aggression. However, even this proposal was rejected by the western countries. ■

NEXT ISSUE:

The Munich Conspiracy

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"The rise to power of revisionism means the rise to power of the bourgeoisie." And that in this era of imperialism, and socialism in one and a few countries, there is the momentous historical struggle between the forces of restoration and counter-restoration, whenever there is revolutionary change in the social system, as in past historical eras.

But before continuing with Mao's development of Marxism in the political sphere, it will be useful to first discuss certain aspects of the sphere of political economy once more.

Chairman Mao's teaching that "Agriculture as the basis and industry as the leading factor" is not only responsible for the amazing speed of development of the Socialist economy in China, the only country to develop a comprehensive industrial basis from semi-colonial and semi-feudal basis and on her way to becoming a powerful modern socialist state, but is of world-wide significance for the entire Third World.

The entire Third World has a non-industrial agrarian base and a developing industrial base. Chairman Mao's correct line on economic development, coupled with the line of self-reliance, is the model for developing Third World nations, struggling against neo-colonialism, imperialism, and hegemonism. As he said,

"Rely mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary, break down blind faith, go in for industry, agriculture, and technical and cultural revolutions independently, do away with slavishness, bury dogmatism, learn from the good experience of other countries conscientiously, and be sure to study their bad experience too, so as to draw lessons from it. This is our line." (Peking Review, No. 35, p. 8, 1976)

Perhaps the most fundamental contribution of Chairman Mao on political economy is his teaching showing the link between class struggle and production. As Chairman Mao said, in the final analysis, it is revolution that releases and pushes forward the productive forces. And as Marx pointed out, "the greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself!" In the course of struggling against Khrushchev and Liu Shao-chi's productive forces theory (which puts the cart before the horse and orients the masses only to production and not revolution, Chairman Mao put forth the slogan "Grasp revolution, to promote production." He has shown why it is crucial for workers and lower and middle peasants to grasp their own historical mission, to remember the past bitterness in order to appreciate the present, that only through grasping the key link of class struggle would the proletariat be able to be "so inspired, so militant and so daring" to go "all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economic results in building socialism."

IDEOLOGICAL AND CULTURAL SPHERE

An area of Marxism which Chairman Mao developed the fullest is the area of the dynamic role of the subjective factor.

In 1938, in his "On Protracted War," Chairman Mao pointed out that it is men and not weapons that's decisive. In the course of anti-imperialist struggle, he generalized this, that as long as our cause is just, a small nation can defeat a big nation, the weak can defeat the strong, i.e. "man's dynamic role," where he said:

"When we say we are opposed to a subjective approach to problems, we mean that we must oppose ideas which are not based upon or do not correspond to objective facts, because such ideas are fanciful and fallacious and will lead to failure if acted on. But what ever is done has to be done by human beings; protracted war and final victory will not come about without human action. For such action to be effective there must be people who derive ideas, principles or views from the objective facts,

and put forward plans, directives, policies, strategies, and tactics. Ideas, etc. are subjective, while deeds or actions are the subjective translated into the objective, but both represent the dynamic role peculiar to human beings. We term this kind of dynamic role 'man's conscious dynamic role,' and it is a characteristic that distinguishes man from all other beings.... We must give full scope to these ideas and actions, to this dynamic role." ("On Protracted War," p. 225, Mao, Selected Military Writings)



AN EXAMPLE OF SOCIALIST NEW THINGS IN ART SHOWING WORKERS GRASPING REVOLUTION, UNLEASHING SOCIALIST INITIATIVE AND PROMOTING PRODUCTION.

Of course, this teaching has greater implications outside of the military struggle. And throughout the struggle against the revisionists', dogmatists', and right opportunists' vulgar materialism, he continued to develop this aspect of Marxism. In the early 1950's, in fighting the Khrushchev revisionists' goulash communism, and later on Liu Shao-chi's and Lin Piao's "pork and beans" communism (their productive forces theory), Chairman Mao boldly put forth the dialectical materialist truth that "matter can be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter." In responding to the slander against him calling him a "subjective idealist" from the international revisionist movement, Chairman Mao boldly held onto and implemented the correct line that he outlined many years earlier, in 1937, in his world-known thesis "On Contradiction:"

"True, the productive forces, practice, and the economic base generally play the principal and decisive role; whoever denies this is not a materialist. But it must also be admitted in certain conditions, such aspects as the relations of production, theory, and the superstructure in turn manifest themselves in the principal and decisive role."

A common characteristic of all revisionists is their belittling the role of man's consciousness. Not only do they practice vulgar materialism and deny the dynamic role of the subjective factor of the proletariat, they actually occupy the superstructure in various places, and try to remold their world according to their exploiting class image to restore capitalism, based on social and material basis.

To prevent that attempt at restoration and to expose China's Khrushchev, Chairman Mao personally initiated and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Even before the Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao waged struggle against the revisionists who usurped and controlled the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the CPC, the Ministry of Culture, and the Peking Municipal Party Committee. The struggle first took form in Chairman Mao's criticism of the reactionary film called, "Inside Story of the Ching Court and

Hai Jui Dismissed from Office." He said: "If it (the Ministry of Culture) refuses to change, it should be renamed the Ministry of Emperors, Kings, Generals, and Ministers, the Ministry of Talent and Beauties or the Ministry of Foreign Mummies." When the revisionists, the bourgeoisie in the Party, China's Khrushchevs, refused to change, then Chairman Mao launched the full-scale Cultural Revolution with his famous wall poster "Bombard the Headquarters!"

In the Circular of the Central Committee, Chairman Mao said,

"Hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called academic authorities who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is at the same time necessary to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and all spheres of culture, and to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions."

He laid out for the first time in Marxism that "The working class must exercise leadership in everything." He reaffirmed his line laid out earlier in 1942 in the "Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," which for the first time in the history of Marxism stated that "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines." There is no above-class art, literature, and music, as well as no above-class feelings and love.

He reminded the people in China and the world over to "never forget the class struggle," and that the working class should not be numbed by bourgeois illusions but must exercise all-round dictatorship in all spheres and all areas. On that he said

"To overthrow a political power, it was always necessary first of all to build up public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class."

With that he contemptuously ridiculed the representatives of the bourgeoisie in the Party: "it was a great invention to use novels to carry out anti-party activities."

In opposition to the theory of passive reflection (a line which serves the old and the reactionary, since bourgeois ideology is far stronger and more entrenched than proletarian ideology), Mao stated that our slightest belittling of proletarian ideology, positive examples, socialist new things of the working class, means promoting the strength of the old world and bourgeois ideology, the strength of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. From this line Chairman Mao pointed out that the proletariat must actively promote its world view to remold the world according to itself. He laid down the general line that: "life as reflected in works of literature and art can and ought to be on a higher plane, more intense, more concentrated, more typical, nearer the ideal, and therefore more universal than actual everyday life." This general line on the ideological and cultural spheres is essential for the proletariat, before and after the seizure of state power, to create public opinion for our class to overthrow the bourgeoisie as well as exercise the dictatorship over the bourgeoisie under socialism.

Besides identifying, sorting out, and repudiating the representatives of the bourgeois, political lines of the bourgeoisie within the Party, and recapturing the superstructure from the bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao also put forward the slogan: "fight self, repudiate revisionism." This slogan raises the vigilance of the working class and all

the toiling masses, that not only are the bourgeoisie, and the representatives of the exploiting class, bourgeois democrats, or petty-bourgeois democrats the target of revolution, but that bourgeois ideology among the workers, lower and middle peasants too, must be the target of ideological struggle-criticism-transformation in the course of three great revolutions to change the world. On this question, Chairman Mao deepened and developed Marxism to new heights, summing up historical experiences and showing that when comrades do not pay attention to ideological remodeling, members of the working class who have been tempered in revolutionary war can also easily yield to bourgeois and revisionist pressure, hoodwinked by bourgeois right and also liable to degenerate. So he showed that there must be a reciprocal relation between proletarian struggle to change the world and, in turn, its own outlook. So he said,

"The working class remolds the whole of society in class struggle and in the struggle against nature, and at the same time remolds itself. It must ceaselessly learn in the course of its work and overcome its shortcomings step by step, and must never stop doing so." (Emphasis ours, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People")

This is the significance of the slogan "fight self, repudiate revisionism."

But of course, bourgeois ideology among the people, bourgeois democrats and fellow travellers from the past revolutionary struggle, and other non-antagonistic contradictions among the people can be transformed. As Lenin once put it,

"When a workers' party grows very quickly (as ours did in 1905-6) its penetration by a mass of elements imbued with a petty-bourgeois spirit is inevitable. And there is nothing bad about that. The historical task of the proletariat is to assimilate, reschool, re-educate all the elements of the old society that the latter bequeaths it in the shape of offshoots of the petty-bourgeoisie. But the proletariat must re-educate these newcomers and influence them, not be influenced by them..." As long as these bourgeois and petty-bourgeois democrats "...study in earnest, to study Marxism and to learn persistent proletarian work - they will always remain Social-Democrats and Marxists."

The key thing is the question of line and leadership, whether the general representatives of the proletariat or the general representatives of the bourgeoisie are in power. It is the capitalist roaders inside the Party that give strength to the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois leadership, turning their hope for changing verdicts and for restoration into attempts for reversing verdicts and for restoration. Class struggle, as Mao pointed out, is particularly sharp in the "last hereditary domain" of the bourgeoisie, in the various realms of superstructure. So it is the representatives of the bourgeois line, the bourgeoisie within the Party, that can reverse the proletarian verdict in "fierce struggle between restoration and counter-restoration, occupation and counter-occupation, transformation and counter-transformation." (Peking Review, No. 37, 76)

For this reason, while the ideology of the proletariat and the masses can be remolded, their ability to differentiate line must be sharpened and raised in the course of massive debates, polemics, study Marxism, criticize revisionism, in order to combat and prevent revisionism; it is the bourgeois line and its representatives that are the immediate danger. It is "Those leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road, have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers... (who) are the target of the struggle, the target of revolution."

In a recent quote Chairman Mao said, "Lenin said that 'small production en-

genders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously and on a mass scale.' They are also engendered among a part of the working class and of the Party membership. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of the state and other organs, there are people who take to the bourgeois style of life."

That's why, in the course of the Cultural Revolution and its aftermath, Chairman Mao drew the lesson that not only "the current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism," but that "great disorders across the land leads to great order. And so once again every seven or eight years, monsters and demons will jump out themselves. Determined by their own class nature, they are bound to jump out." (10th National Congress Documents)

Given the deep seated social and ideological basis for revisionism and for the bourgeoisie to jump out in this era, it is necessary, as Chairman Mao taught, for China to have many more cultural revolutions in the future. This is, in short, the theory of continued revolution under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Both for its immediate impact and its historical significance on this great historical struggle to maintain the proletarian political power in China, to keep it red, and on the struggle to transform the effect of criticism-struggle-transformation on the 800 million Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world, Chairman Mao summed up that, indeed, "the great proletarian cultural revolution is a revolution which touches men to the depths of their souls!"

Through this first proletarian revolution in the world, under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which "touched men to the depths of their souls," revolutionary initiatives and socialist new things in different walks of life of the working class and toiling masses blossomed. Promoting the things workers and peasants developed and struggled for, Chairman Mao's line on revolutionarizing the educational sphere, abandoning traditional methods of educating the youth, not only eliminated illiteracy, surprise-attack examinations, admission policies in the interests of the sons and daughters of the bourgeoisie and landlord class, etc. (which essentially build bourgeois experts but not communists), but it also unleashed the tremendous energy and enthusiasm among the workers and peasants for socialist education to be red and expert. Tens of thousands of proletarian universities were opened up, giving tremendous impetus to the educational movement and thus the development of the productive forces in China. Barefoot doctors, health work based on the prevention of disease transformed the Chinese people into the healthiest population in the world. In industry and technology, in successfully grasping revolution to criticize Liu Shao-chi's and Teng Shao-peng's slavish comprador bourgeois philosophy of everything subservient to things foreign, and crawling at a snail's pace, Chairman Mao is responsible for the amazing speed of China's industrial and scientific developments, many of which have surpassed the advanced standards of the world.

Chairman Mao also opposed national nihilism, which denies the proletarian content in the culture of the Chinese workers and peasants and advocates wholesale "Westernization," uncritically assimilating the Western capitalist class's past and rejecting the Chinese working class and peasants' present content. Chairman Mao put forward, "To find men truly great and noble-hearted, we must look here in the present," which puts the bourgeoisie of the past and the proletariat of the present in their proper historical place. In pushing the correct line, Chairman Mao advocated the correct method: "Make the past serve the present and foreign things

serve China," "Weed through the old to bring forth the new," that in order for certain old forms to be used, they must first be criticized, that "there is no construction without destruction. Destruction means criticism and repudiation, it means revolution. It involves reasoning things out, which is construction. Put destruction first, and in the process you have construction." Through this great debate, China was able to produce a wealth of revolutionary model art and literature, novels, and short stories and poetry, movies and operas, which truly inspire the proletariat and toiling masses, which for the first time in history, glorifies the working class, the greatest class in the world, and serves to further strengthen the proletarian dictatorship. Chairman Mao's basic orientation on socialist new things is loved and embraced wholeheartedly by the masses and will stay, develop, flourish, and blossom forever, as will the international proletarian class itself!!

SIGNIFICANCE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Chairman Mao's stand, viewpoint, and method of cultural revolution in China and the subsequent massive campaign to study Marxism and criticize revisionism has not only prevented the restoration of capitalism in China, but has provided fresh experience for the international communist movement, both for parties with state power and for parties without state power, in order to identify, combat, and prevent revisionism, a question that, due to the degeneration of all the modern revisionist parties in the late 1950's around the world, has not yet been answered by all the genuine parties around the world, and especially in advanced capitalist countries.

In 1957, Chairman Mao in his "Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," laid out some aspects of the sum-up of the international lessons



of the dictatorship of the proletariat, prompted by the reactionary Hungarian counter-revolution in the mid-1950's. He pointed out both in 1949 and after the New Democratic Revolution that there is still the bourgeoisie and class struggle, but up to that point he still had not found a form, a method to combat and prevent revisionism in an all-round and penetrating way. It was through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the mass campaign to study Marxism and criticize revisionism, that he found a form and a method.

He said, "Never before in any mass movement have the masses been aroused so thoroughly and on so broad a scale," that "In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below."

Chairman Mao finally found the form and method -- the Cultural Revolution and the massive study campaign and criticism of revisionism, in being able

to consolidate the masses ideologically in the course of struggle to transform the world. And following his leadership, the international communist movement has begun to tackle this fundamental question, which has impact for us in the U.S., particularly on how to build the Bolshevik Party ideologically on the proletarian ideological plane.

THE WORLD-WIDE IMPACT OF CHAIRMAN MAO

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has not only thoroughly revolutionarized the CPC and strengthened the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, it has given impetus to and rejuvenated the communist movements internationally. Ever since the late 1950's, the genuine communists the world over were looking for an alternative to the stale and moribund international Modern Revisionism, headed by the Khrushchev-Brezhnev clique and followed by revisionist parties like the "C" PUSA. Since then, Mao Tse-tung Thought has reverberated throughout the world. Here for us in the U.S., it has opened greatly the vistas of the movements of oppressed nationalities, national minorities and students and eventually won their most advanced elements to the side of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. Disillusioned by the class collaborationist line of the "C" PUSA, its bourgeois democratic illusions, its trust on the liberals and the "lesser of two evils" line, many advanced elements were turned off to the "Marxism" of the "C" PUSA, which is actually revisionism. The Cultural Revolution in China, Chairman Mao's proletarian internationalist stand on national liberation struggles around the world, the great international polemics which thoroughly exposed the revisionist "theory of three peacefuls," the Third World turning from storm centers of world revolution into the main force against imperialism, and supported by the great, glorious, and correct line of the CPC -- all these have greatly inspired advanced elements and provided the impetus to seek out Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. It was through Chairman Mao's Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the great debate against revisionism that the international communist movement was rejuvenated and further developed. Briefly, in the seven, eight years since the cultural revolution, the communist movement around the world has begun to mature. And in many countries, the genuine parties of the proletariat are being born. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought has become an irreversible and irresistible trend, making all bourgeois elements and reactionary forces tremble!

Chairman Mao not only laid down the basic orientation for the international communist movement, but also the orientation for the world's people against the two superpowers, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet Social Imperialists, particularly against the Soviet Social Imperialists, which are the more deceptive and more dangerous. He pointed out that both superpowers are paper tigers, that we despise them strategically (1 to 10) but take them seriously tactically (10 to 1). Chairman Mao has laid down the basic orientation of the international situation for many decades to come. He taught us that, at present, both factors of war and revolution are on the rise, that either world war will give rise to revolution or the revolution will prevent world war; we must be prepared. Either way, the situation is developing increasingly in the interests of the oppressed people and nations of the world!

THE POLITICAL SPHERE - NEW DEMOCRACY

Before we go into his teaching on party building, we will briefly outline his development of Marxism on the military sphere as well as the political sphere not touched upon earlier. It must be remembered that Chairman Mao's teaching on the military sphere was done as part and parcel of his contribution on the political sphere of New Democracy. There are only two strategies in the world today for proletarian revolution. One is the

two stage programme of the New Democratic Revolution and then the socialist revolution for all the Third World countries. Another is the one stage socialist revolution for advanced capitalist countries, which has not yet been confirmed historically. It must be noted that the tested and confirmed program for revolution in the world today is the two stage program (New Democracy/socialist revolution).

Chairman Mao, in developing the political, military, economic, and cultural line and policy on New Democracy in the course of struggling against imperialism, has blazed a new trail for the Third World and oppressed people of the world.



CHAIRMAN MAO IN MOSCOW WITH THE GREAT STALIN AFTER THE CHINESE LIBERATION.

In Nov. 1919, Lenin posed the problems of revolution in colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal countries in this way:

"Here you are confronted with a task which until now did not confront Communists anywhere in the world: relying upon the general theory and practice of communism, you must adapt yourselves to peculiar conditions which do not exist in the European countries and be able to apply that theory and practice to conditions in which the bulk of the population are peasants, and in which the task is the waging of a struggle not against capitalism, but against medieval survivals." And furthermore that "That is a problem the solution of which you will not find in any communist book, but which you will find in the common struggle that Russia has begun. You will have to tackle that problem and solve it by your own independent experience." ("Address to the Second All-Russian Congress of the Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East," Lenin)

Chairman Mao has certainly confronted, tackled, developed, and successfully carried out this task, through solving the character, tasks, the motive force, the objective, and the perspective of the New Democratic Revolution. This is an aspect of the historical significance of Chairman Mao's contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and the liberation of the millions of toilers in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Certainly, what is required to carry out the New Democratic Revolution through various stages in a country like China, with "three great mountains" oppressing the great Chinese people, like feudal warlords, bureaucratic capitalism, and imperialism, is a complicated problem.

To deal with this question, Chairman Mao defended and enriched the Leninist tactic of united front.

For example, in fighting against Chen Tu-hsiu's "all unity-no struggle" revisionist line during the period of alliance with the KMT in the First Great Revolution (1924-27) which caused serious set backs for the CPC, Chairman Mao explained the purpose of the united front and the meaning of "independence and initiative of the united front" in this way:

"What then is our purpose in uphold-

ing that principle? In one aspect, it is to maintain the foothold that we have already gained. This foothold is the starting point of our strategy, and its loss would mean the end of everything. But the chief purpose lies in another aspect, namely, to expand one foothold, to realize the positive aim of mobilizing millions upon millions of the masses to join the Anti-Japanese National United Front and overthrow Japanese imperialism," and that "...struggles are the means to solidarity and solidarity is the aim of struggles... solidarity is realized through struggles and destroyed through concessions."

As one trend covers another, he also waged relentless struggles with "left" opportunists who surged forward right after the right opportunist line was defeated. To educate these opportunists and many comrades misled by them, he put forth the three famous principles of "justifiability", "expedience", and "restraint" towards KMT, namely: "Persisting in such justifiable, expedient, and restrained struggles, we can develop the progressive forces, win over the middle-of-the-road forces, isolate the die-hard forces and make the die-hards chary of heedlessly attacking us or heedlessly starting a large-scale civil war." This policy maximized the political exposure of the die-hard KMT's and prepared the Chinese people to topple the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek regime, backed by U.S. imperialism.

Perhaps Chairman Mao's most important enrichment of Marxist-Leninist teaching on the question of strategy and tactics is his teaching that in China, where the national bourgeoisie is politically weak, the direction of main blow should not be aimed at the middle forces, the vacillators, such as the national bourgeoisie and bourgeois democrats. In imperialist countries, advanced capitalist countries, super profits can successfully buy off a bribed strata of the proletariat, the labor aristocracy; and other factors enable the bourgeoisie to rule through the dual tactic of the social prop and the military prop (the priest and the hangman). In countries like China, though there are individuals who served such a role for a brief period of time (like Hu Shih, a lackey of U.S. imperialism), there was no fertile material basis for the existence of such a strata comparable to liberals, social props, and seemingly endless strains of reformist misleaders in advanced capitalist countries.

This difference is because China, being semi-feudal and semi-colonial, did not have bourgeois democracy as a form of rule. The bourgeoisie in China was extremely weak politically and culturally. The bourgeoisie's right-wing was the compradore bourgeoisie, tailing after the Western bourgeoisie at every turn, and were out and out traitors to the Chinese people. These forces were quickly differentiated from the Chinese masses. The "left" wing were patriotic and many of them broke with the KMT. Of course, all of them have dual aspects. But based on these factors and national oppression, middle forces, vacillating though they were, didn't and couldn't serve as a significant social prop to shield or prolong imperialist plunder. The

main blow therefore was aimed at the imperialists, KMT, the targets of the united front at definite stages of the New Democratic Revolution. This has special significance in terms of applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought's teachings on strategy and tactics to many Third World countries around the world today, where there are similar economic and political systems as in pre-liberation China.

THE MILITARY SPHERE

While Chairman Mao's political contribution on New Democracy blazes a new trail for the Third World nations and peoples of the world, his teaching and development of Marxism on the military sphere, particular forms of struggle to implement this political program, is no less world-renowned. And, in fact, this is the aspect that is most visible after the victory of the protracted people's war in Indochina and other parts of the Third World:

"The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution... But while the principle remains the same, its application by the party of the proletariat finds expression in varying ways according to the varying conditions. Internally, capitalist countries practise bourgeois democracy (not feudalism) when they are not fascist or not at war... Because of these characteristics, it is the task of the proletariat in the capitalist countries to educate the workers and build up strength through a long period of legal struggle, and thus prepare for the final overthrow of capitalism... China is different however. The characteristics of China are that she is not independent and democratic but semi-colonial and semi-feudal... it follows that we have no parliament to make use of and no legal right to organize the workers to strike. Basically, the task of the Communist Party here is not to go through a long period of legal struggle before launching insurrection and war, and not to seize the big cities first and then occupy the countryside, but the reverse." ("Problems of War and Strategy," Nov. 1938, p. 269-70, Mao, Selected Military Writings)

In these brief paragraphs, Chairman Mao essentially laid out the qualitative difference in the character and form of the struggle between the advanced capitalist countries and the Third World countries. Flowing from that, he put forth the view of the countryside surrounding the cities, a form of struggle used successfully in China, and which may probably be the correct form of struggle in most of the Third World: "...to neglect building up revolutionary base areas in the rural districts, to neglect performing arduous work among the peasants, and to neglect guerrilla war, are therefore all incorrect views."

Integrally linked to the line on the countryside surrounding the cities is the three strategic stages of the Protracted People's War: the strategic retreat, strategic preparation for the counter-offensive, and the period of strategic counter-offensive. He also developed a set of tactical principles, such as offence within defence, quick decision within a protracted war, exterior lines within interior lines and developed a whole art of warfare based on mobile, guerrilla war and positional warfare.

But, of course, most important is Chairman Mao's line on army building - based on the mass line - that the people's army is like fish swimming in the sea of the people, a true army of the sons and daughters of the workers and peasants, which serve and live as one with the people.

"The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of the people..."

The army must become one with the people so that they see it as their own army. Such an army will be invincible..." (Mao, "On Protracted War" Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse-tung, p. 260.)

And based on his line and policies, including that such an army must also engage in production and farming to be self-reliant (which flows from his bold vision and throughgoing proletarian outlook), the Chinese people can indeed say, "Without a people's army, the people have nothing." (Mao, "On the People's Army," Quotations from Mao Tse-tung, p. 99)

His strategy of countryside surrounding cities has been verified again and again by successful struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America. His teachings on strategic stages of the peoples' war and tactical principles have been the guiding light for national liberation struggles around the world and were instrumental in helping to develop the "storm of the East" in Asia, Africa and Latin America, to spread and turn into the storm center of world revolution in the 60's and the 70's. Many of his military writings, for example, his theory on the worker and peasant militia, which are not available yet, will surely reflect the rich lessons learned from deepening of the socialist revolution and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

ON PARTY BUILDING

Party building itself is a political question directly linked to the question of the representative of the classes and the state itself. The question of party building, however, must be linked to the theoretical, ideological, political, organizational and military lines.

The first thing about Chairman Mao's teaching on this question is "The correctness or the incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." How are we to build up our party today? How can we build up "a bolshevized Chinese Communist Party, a party which is national in scale and has a broad mass character, a party which is fully consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally"? The answer can be found by studying the Party's history, by studying Party building in connection with the united front and armed struggle, in connection with the problem of both uniting and struggling with the bourgeoisie, and with that of persistence in guerrilla warfare against Japan... and the establishment of anti-Japanese base areas." (Mao, "Introducing the Communist", emphasis added, MSW, Vol. 2, P. 295)

He then repeatedly advised comrades to use Marxism as a guide to action and not dogma. Through his struggle with opportunists of both the 'left' and right he repeatedly stressed the need to "shoot the arrow of MLMTTT at the target and not at random. That we must take the stand, viewpoint and method of MLMTTT and shoot at the concrete conditions of Chinese revolution. In order to do that we must study conditions conscientiously and proceed from objective reality and not from subjective wishes;" He concluded in "Reform Our Study," written in May 1941 that "The twenty years of the CPC have been twenty years in which the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism has become more and more integrated with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution... As soon as it was linked with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism gave an entirely new complexion to the Chinese revolution." To do so we must combat two poles of subjectivism, of dogmatism and empiricism as well as sectarian style of work and stereotyped party writing."

To correct these deviationist winds in the party, Chairman Mao developed a method to change these practices which he called the "rectification campaign", a campaign of study as well as criticism and transformation. A fundamental metho-

dology which he proposed for the entire party to adopt, to avoid "left" and right deviations, is to apply the mass line. This line has since been adopted by communists the world over and proven to be a powerful weapon to combat both "left" as well as right deviations.

And as the leadership of the CPC since the Tsunyi Conference, Chairman Mao has since then summed up and synthesized the three great traditions of the party. They are: link theory with practice, practice criticism-self-criticism, and the mass line. In recent years, he further summed up and developed these three traditions and put forward the five fundamental criteria for revolutionary successors, which is also the criteria for party membership.

- (1) Conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and criticize revisionism;
 - (2) Work for the interests of the vast majority of people of China and the world;
 - (3) Be able at uniting with the great majority, including those who have wrongly opposed them but are sincerely correcting their mistakes; however, special vigilance must be maintained against careerists, conspirators and double-dealers so as to prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level and guarantee that the leadership of the Party and the State always remains in the hands of Marxist revolutionaries;
 - (4) Consult with the masses when matters arise;
 - (5) Be bold in making criticism and self-criticism.
- (Tenth National Congress of the CPC, p. 66)

These five criteria are the concentrated expression of the practice and method to build the party ideologically based on the advanced elements of the working class, to develop the true vanguard character of the party.

Chairman Mao, in recent years, especially in summing up the experience of the cultural revolution developed the principles of inner party struggle that "going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle" and the foremost importance of upholding the "philosophy of struggle" to make the development of the internal life of the party vigorous. The three do's and don't's are "practice Marxism and not revisionism; unite and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." Whether one practices these criteria or not distinguishes the genuine communist from the opportunists. He also compared the party to a living organism, that it develops and grows stronger through "taking in the fresh and getting rid of the stale." On the organizational sphere and methods of leadership, Chairman Mao teaches the importance of grasping major issues in giving centralized leadership; that in practising democratic centralism, we must "create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness... make it easier to overcome difficulties... consolidate our Party and state and make them better able to weather storm and stress." We need democracy, but we need centralism even more to achieve "unity in thinking, policy, plan, command and action."

In "Serve the People," Chairman Mao wrote: "To die for the people is heavier than Mt. Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather." The death of Chairman Mao is the most profound weight in our hearts. Words cannot express our sorrow at the passing of our great leader and teacher of the international working class and the oppressed peoples and nations the world over.

During his lifetime, Chairman Mao's brilliant deeds and teachings served as an inspiration to revolutionary and progressive peoples; in his passing we are determined to learn from his life as an

ALSC....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

of the RWL, that its party building line should be a principle of unity, and whether the prior purges of ALSC members had been correct. The "left" opportunists (one of whom had been the chairperson of ALSC) had consistently attempted to delay the national meeting, which originally was to have taken place in August.

Philistines that they are, the RWL opportunists sent a few representatives, not to defend their line, but to make a formal appearance and split. These "left" opportunists raised various accusations, principally that they had not been informed, and therefore the meeting was bogus. They called on all "genuine" elements to leave, and got up and walked out. Of course, no one left but themselves. This clearly was a philistine attempt to, on the one hand, save face by showing up, but on the other to avoid struggle on what clearly was an issue of "show-down" significance. Rather than defend its raggedy line, the RWL denounced the meeting, walked out, and claimed that the "real" ALSC meeting called by them would be held in October. Every one at the meeting saw through the theatrics of this maneuver, and on the resolution put forward by the WVO, at the end of the meeting, unanimously denounced the "left" opportunist clique and their philistine splittist actions and officially purged them from the ALSC for their wrecking activities.

With the expulsion and departure of the "left" opportunists, the right character of the lines of the RWC, RCL, MLOC became clear as the struggle on how to build ALSC was the agenda for the two-day meeting. The voting and discussion revealed that the WVO was firm in upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, the RWC was consistently right, and the RCL swung back and forth between the two. The MLOC, although without the right to vote, "participated" in the discussion and struggle, and was exposed as thoroughly opportunist on every point.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Discussion and struggle around this question revealed that the opportunist line, which distorts Chairman Mao's May 20, 1970 statement (that "revolution is the main trend" and "the danger of world war still exists") dangerously borders on international centrism and belittles the danger of world war and the role of Soviet social-imperialism (SSI) as the main danger to the people of the world. This was demonstrated most clearly by RWC's position that the "immediate" struggle to topple backward regimes is still a reflection of the dominant trend of revolution. This position would objectively lead to supporting the MPLA, and fails to grasp the intensified contention and collusion of the two superpowers in these struggles and the necessity for ML and progressive people to expose the SSI's disguised betrayal. This is the classic opportunist policy of the "immediate" movement is every thing, the final aim is nothing.

The RCL wavered in this struggle, while the MLOC jumped out with a thoroughly modern revisionist position that nothing in the world has changed since 1953. (Apparently the MLOC either does believe that the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union has not taken place, or that "it's no big thing". In either case their line echoes that of the modern revisionists.) Neither the RWC nor MLOC would take a position on whether the principal contradiction in the world, at present, is still between imperialism/social-imperialism and national liberation movements, from which the position revolution is the main trend flows. In repeated struggle, the MLOC was asked to either state its position openly, or repudiate its line that the principal contradiction is still imperialism/social-imperialism and the national liberation movements.

What all these opportunist-lines are unable to grasp is the distinction between the "general character of the epoch" of imperialism, in which proletarian revolution is the main and irreversible trend, and the present situa-

tion, within the epoch. Genuine Marxist-Leninists always have to make assessments on the basis of the strategic period and the present situation; always have to be cognizant of time, place, and conditions, versus the lazy-bone and inevitably opportunist approach of endless generalities. This was MLOC's line, that this is still the general era of imperialism and the main trend is revolution. This leads them to the modern revisionist position that nothing is changed in the world. Angola is a reflection of revolution is the main trend, just as the tremendous national liberation movements mainly against U.S. imperialism since the second World War up until the early 1970's were evidence of such. It is for this reason that all the opportunist lines that hold revolution is the main trend have to distort Chairman Mao's May 20th, 1970 statement, and tear it out of time and context. They also have to distort Chou En-lai's Report delivered at the First session of the Fourth National People's Congress, January 1975, in which he said,

"The present international situation is still characterized by great disorder under heaven, a disorder which is growing greater and greater...On the one hand, the trend of revolution by the people of the world is actively developing; countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution - this has become an irresistible historical current. On the other hand, the contention for world hegemony between the two superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, is becoming more and more intense...Their fierce contention is bound to lead to world war someday. The people of all countries must get prepared...At present the factors for both revolution and war are increasing. Whether war gives rise to revolution or revolution prevents war, in either case the international situation will develop in a direction favorable to the people and the future of the world will be bright."

In order to get around the line of the CPC, which clearly lays out the situation - at present, the factors for both are on the rise, and in either case the situation will be favorable the opportunists have to resort to playing with words. The MLOC tries to draw a distinction between both factors on the rise, and two contending trends (one towards war, one towards revolution), which is nothing but the stand and viewpoint of the academic petty-bourgeoisie, not serious proletarian revolutionaries. The Revolutionary Communist League, muddled on this question as they are on many others, falls into this trap. Even though they hold that both contradictions are sharpening in this period, and the factors for both are on the rise, they cannot draw the correct conclusions from such, and continue to add that revolution is still the main trend at present. Apparently, the RCL cadre have not read the latest issue of their own paper, in which they quoted a CPC position which described revolution as one trend and war as another trend. The RWC also holds that two contending trends characterizes the international situation, but that revolution is the main trend because any other position over-estimates the strength of reaction and underestimates the strength of revolution.

All the above cases, whether from a lag of the subjective understanding of the objective situation or, as clearly in the case of MLOC, conscious modern-revisionist opportunism, objectively represent a danger to proletarian revolution and are incapable of preparing the proletariat for the great battles ahead. The class basis for these lines lies in their petty-bourgeois philistinism.

All philistines of revolution usually picture it as a steady rise in a straight ascending line. They cannot see that revolution passes through a number of trials, ebbs, etc. but culminates in the victory of the exploited and oppressed. It is only by grasping this, that we can understand that either world war gives rise to revolution, or revolution prevents war; in either case the future is bright for the people!

But our philistines are horrified by the possibility and danger of world war, which flows from an objective assessment of the present international situation, when the inter-imperialist contradiction and the contradiction between imperialism/social imperialism and the national liberation movements represent two contending trends, i.e. both factors are on the rise. Our philistines cry "revolution is the main trend" to cover their own fears, doubts, and pessimism. Communists apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought to concrete conditions. In the event of world war, we must turn it into a civil war. Our stand is that we oppose world war, but we are not afraid of it. If it comes, we will turn a bad thing into a good thing. What our philistines cannot possibly understand is that world war can be the most opportune path to proletarian revolution if the superpowers dare to unleash it. As Lenin stated in his famous "Thesis on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International" on What Immediate and Universal Preparation for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Should Consist in (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 189) "...since the entire economic and political situation is most inflammable and abounds in causes of a sudden flare-up; the other condition for revolution, apart from the proletariat's preparedness, viz., a general state of crisis in all the ruling and in all bourgeois parties, also exists." Hence, proletarian revolution is possible, at least the conditions for it are possible, in the immediate future. What's decisive is the subjective factor, our preparations and understanding of the situation of world war and how we can turn a bad thing into a good thing. For MLOC and RWC, all they see is the darkness and horror of world war, and therefore they cannot possibly lead the proletariat to victory.

All of these philistines are petty-bourgeois fellow travellers who desperately cling to "revolution is the main trend" like a child clings to a teddy bear in order to assuage its fears of the unknown. Like a child who goes to bed every night and wishes and prays that "revolution is the main trend," when faced with overwhelming concrete conditions for the two contending trends, each on the rise, one trend giving rise to or preventing the other trend, these voluntarists cross their fingers, close their eyes, and wish with all their might that the danger of world war will go away. They wave the red flag to hide their own spineless fears and doubts of the bright future and favorable direction for the world's people.

A definite position on this question -- revolution is the main trend versus two contending trends, either world war will give rise to revolution, or revolution will prevent world war -- was not adopted as an ALSC principle of unity (POU) although a vote was taken to register the sentiment of the group, after the struggle. It was 11-2 in favor of the eclectic position. There was unity, that in keeping with ALSC's tradition of struggle, it would continue to provide arenas for struggle around this question.

CHIEF FORM OF WORK FOR ALSC - PROPAGANDA OR AGITATION?

The thoroughly rightist character of the RWC was revealed on this question also, as RWC put forward a view that ALSC's chief form of activity should be agitation in order to reach the broad masses and rebuild ALSC into a mass organization. This rightist line liquidates the necessity for ALSC to re-build itself as a definite trend - distinguishable from the numerous sham, centrist, reformist, and other opportunist forces that have mobilized around similar issues, and the necessity to build a solid national organization with a clear orientation based on a consolidated core to expand from around the country. It reflects their view on the level and quality of ALSC work, the type of forces (middle and backward) that they want to aim at, under the cover of "broad masses."

MLOC, in its classic opportunist treachery, at every point attempted to liquidate struggle for definiteness. They proposed that ALSC should not even discuss this question, that ALSC should do both propaganda and agitation. Of course, ALSC should do both (which was very profound!). The issue was which is principal, given the present state of ALSC where concretely it lacked a clear orientation based on definite lines on what's going on in southern Africa in the international context of both rising trends, world war and revolution, where one trend gives rise to or prevents the other. Was agitation to serve propaganda, or propaganda to serve agitation? Which is to lead? Which is to lead, which is to be the chief form of activity, given the present state of ALSC, where there is no common analysis, nor even a national newsletter? Which can help to tie various chapters together politically?



PRINCIPLES OF UNITY

Four basic principles of unity were adopted unanimously by the ALSC national meeting. These were:

- (1) Resolute support of the national liberation movements in southern Africa against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, zionism, racism, and against all reaction.
- (2) Oppose the two superpowers, the detente line of the two superpowers. Expose the Soviet Social Imperialists as the main danger to the independence of the Third World peoples, and the peoples of the entire world, and as the main source of war in the world today.
- (3) Militant solidarity of the struggles of the working class and oppressed nationalities and national minorities of the US with the oppressed nations, countries and peoples of the world.
- (4) ALSC should be a multi-national organization focused in the working class and oppressed nationality and minority communities and workplaces.

The WVO put forward two additional POU's:

Support the democratic rights of all oppressed nationalities and national minorities in the U.S. and

Uphold the right of self-determination of Afro-Americans in the Black Belt South.

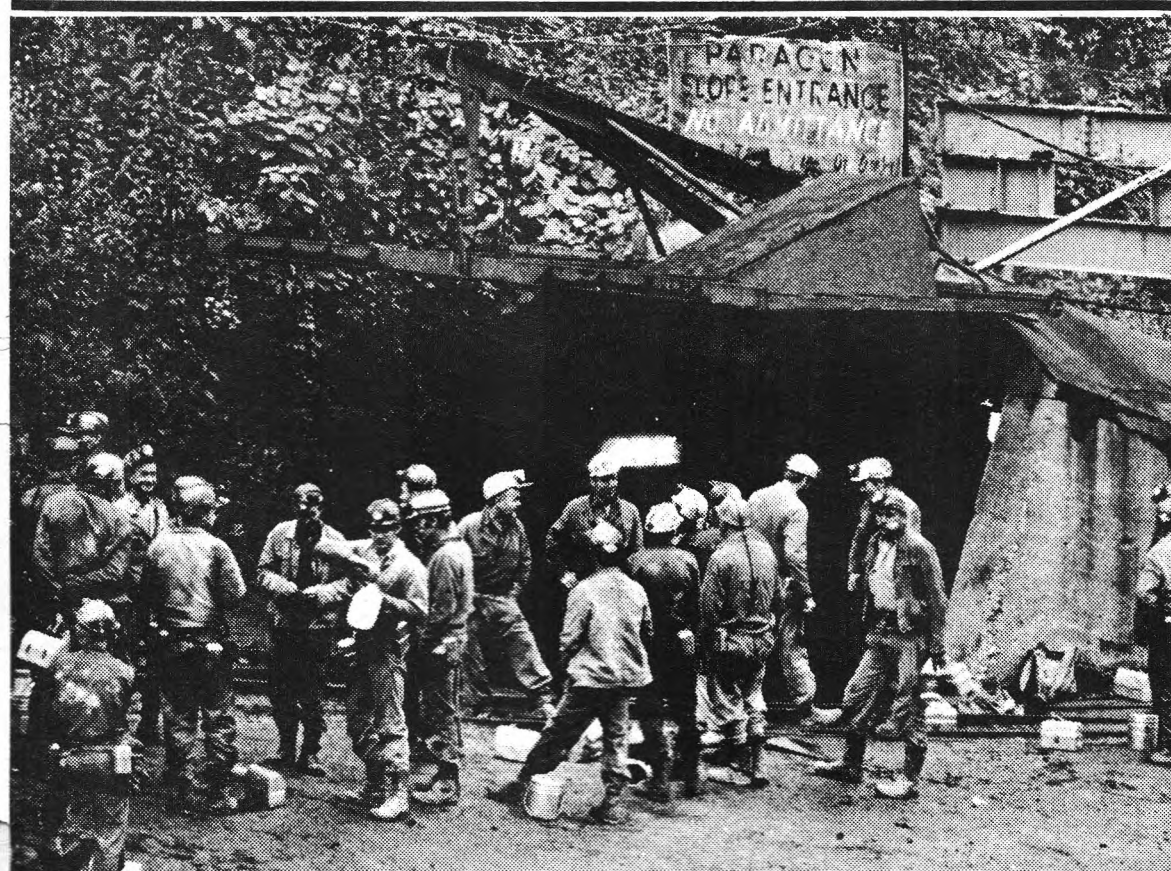
The struggle around this question (the right of self-determination) was such that the Atlanta chapter was opposed to this issue due to differences on criteria and the necessity to study the question more; the Chicago chapter upheld the right of self-determination but didn't see it as a POU at this time; RCL supported the position and said that it should be a principle of unity, but POU's shouldn't be taken "dogmatically," that ALSC was not a democratic-centralist organization; consequently people shouldn't quit ALSC because of differences over the POU's, but should stay within. (This view clearly reflects the RCL's view and attitude toward principles - compromise them!)

Conforming to its opportunist line on no open polemics, conforming to its opportunist practice of stating endless generalities and producing Comintern reprints, but never taking a position on any concrete, present, burning questions, the MLOC at each point attempted to oppose definiteness and struggle, thereby allowing itself to wiggle back and forth, attempting to unite with anyone and everyone, "regardless of past line, practice, or size."

The RWC attempted to draw a distinction between propaganda as the chief form of activity for Marxist-Leninists, and propaganda as the chief form of activity for a mass organization, led by Marxist-Leninists. Again this reflected their view of who is being aimed at, and how to build the mass organization of ALSC based on its present state, with hundreds of bogus revisionists, Trotskyites, and centrist groups running around pretending to support the African liberation struggles, as well as their lack of understanding of the history of ALSC. The only thing these comrades have summed up as to why ALSC played such an influential role in the Black Liberation Movement and attracted the most advanced elements, is due to the numerous demonstrations carried out by ALSC. They liquidate the countless forums, pamphlets, and documents (concerning the two line struggle inside ALSC and the Black Liberation Movement), speeches, newsletters, etc. and similar activity, which was the chief form of activity that was served by the agitation around various issues and demonstrations, and why ALSC became a mass organization chiefly of the advanced and intermediate that could mobilize and draw into motion thousands of people.

The RCL voted with the WVO that propaganda should be the chief form of activity.

This was not a POU, but the sentiment was 7 for agitation as chief form and 6 for propaganda as chief form.



The proposal to make "uphold the right of self-determination" a POU was defeated 7-3, RCL voting with the WVO on this issue.

Another resolution was put forward and adopted unanimously as a POU: "Support the democratic rights of all oppressed nationalities and national minorities in the US" as the entire ALSC united the fact that it was a prerequisite to struggle for this principle in order to build the unity of the multi-national proletariat.

PROGRAM OF ALSC

The main struggle around program manifested itself in beating back MLOC's opportunist proposal to focus only on Azania, and not on entire southern Africa. The WVO led the struggle against MLOC's position which belittled the consciousness of the advanced and the masses and their ability to grasp the interconnection of the events in the entire southern Africa, as well as the necessity for ALSC to explain and clarify the machinations and maneuvering of the two superpowers in all of southern Africa (Zimbabwe, Azania, Namibia, etc.) MLOC again (as the lower strata of the proletariat often do not) does not understand our movement and its most advanced experience. ALSC historically conducted its work around the exposure of Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, etc., and their interrelations, to fully explain and politicize the advanced and broad masses as to the interrelation and nature of the contradictions. The advanced and masses themselves took up staunch support for the liberation movements in entire southern Africa.

The national ALSC meeting also adopted the line of carrying out mass demonstrations around southern Africa, guided by the POU's, in the near future; secondarily to take up the Gary Tyler case independently of the OL and the Gary Tyler defense committee at this time; to step up the exposure of centrist, reformist, bourgeois nationalist, etc. positions on this question; elect a new steering committee; sponsor a tour for ZANU, but in the meantime develop a more definite position on our attitude toward the liberation groups; conduct liaison with the U.S. representatives of other revolutionary struggles in the world.

The national meeting united on the view of rebuilding the ALSC apparatus and encouraging other progressive forces that could unite with the ALSC's POU's to join and work with the ALSC, to help serve our task of preparing the U.S. people against the danger of world war and accumulate revolutionary forces.

With the defeat of the "left" opportunists, the work of rebuilding ALSC can go forward, but only in a staunch and resolute struggle against the rightist influence of the RWC and the RCL (the main danger in our movement being right opportunism), which has achieved temporary dominance in the ALSC rebuilding efforts. In this effort, we must maintain our independence and initiative in carrying out support work around this most important area of struggle. The correct line of the WVO on ALSC work will win out eventually, and ALSC will once again be rebuilt into a mass fighting organization! ■

MINERS' STRIKE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

rialism, the eve of proletarian revolution. It shows that the bankrupt lines of the opportunists are increasingly being sorted out in the heat of class struggle as the working class movement surges forward. With firm lines of demarcation drawn between the revolutionary proletarian line of WVO and all shades of opportunism, the emergence of the genuine ML party is now closer than ever before. Genuine communists must take up our tasks, forge the iron organization of the anti-revisionist Communist party, win the advanced workers to communism and begin the systematic preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat! ■

from our readers

Sept. 5, 1976

Dear Workers Viewpoint Organization,

I have been reading "Workers Viewpoint" of August 1976 and am very impressed with your analysis of OL (and RCP) because it's all true - my kids belong to those groups and I've been telling them for years they're repeating the same errors we made in the C.P.

I read "Peking Review" and Australia's "Vanguard" every week (since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution) and have read most of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao, but only a few books by Stalin and Engels, so I thought I could point out to them why they were wrong. But because I was a legal secretary previously and encouraged my kids to go to school and college and am not working, as well as because of my bad experiences with Mike Laski's "People's Voice" and my having almost joined C.L. one week about 3 years ago, they say I don't know what I'm talking about.

But your line does tell where they're wrong so much better than I could do, I am very pleased. I think you have the beginnings of a Communist Party in you, unlike the others. I hope so. We sure need it. I have "Workers Viewpoint" of May, 1975 also but nothing else by you, which I would like to have since you mention them in your articles.

My oldest daughter whom I live with has just lost her job, so I have no money right now - she's waiting to collect unemployment (she's a social worker with an MSW and far less political than my other kids). My youngest daughter went to China before Nixon

Can you make me a subscriber on credit until I can pay you? The kids give me money on my birthday. I could pay you then at the latest.

Good luck to you and your efforts.

Comradely yours,

B.M., Los Angeles, Ca.

WVO CALLS FOR LETTERS

Communist organizations and Parties around the world must acquire the great traditions of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party summed up by the Communist Party of China: integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practicing criticism and self-criticism. We think that one way for WVO to start acquiring these traditions is through our newspaper's correspondence.

We ask comrades and friends around the country to send us letters, criticisms, reports on struggles, etc., on our articles and other issues in the communist and workers' movements, the international and national situations, the national movements, working women's movements, etc. This correspondence will contribute directly to our common struggle to build the U.S. anti-revisionist communist party and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Write to: Workers Viewpoint Org.
GPO Box 2256
New York, N.Y. 10001

Subscribe now!
See page 12

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 25

example of wholehearted and unflinching devotion to the interests of the overwhelming majority of the world's people. We shall learn from his earth-shaking spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death," dare to struggle and dare to win, to overcome all difficulties, the tremendous resolve with which he waged a struggle against his illness, continuing his leadership and fighting until his last breath. His life was one of flesh and blood ties to the masses. He said, "compared to the masses, we are often childish and ignorant," and "the masses are the real heroes." We must learn from the unshakeable revolutionary spirit he displayed his entire life, his penetrating and scientific critical method, never releasing his vigilance in fighting for the cause of socialism and communism. In recalling his accomplishments, we shall never forget the path of liberation he blazed, consummating the New Democratic Revolution. We are inspired by the courage and vision in the great struggle he launched against modern revisionism.

In his life time, the imperialists, revisionists, and all reactionaries all hounded and cursed him and tried to kill him. But in his death, they all attempt to convert him into a harmless icon, to surround him with a certain halo for consolation of the oppressed classes in order to emasculate his teachings. Even the Breshnev renegade clique and the head of U.S. imperialism, President Ford, and other imperialists and revisionists sent their "condolences" and lauded him saying that he was a "great man," a "man of history." But we know they are only trying to kill his revolutionary teaching on communism.

The bourgeoisie and revisionists say that Chairman Mao had no successors. Nothing could be farther from the truth! Strictly adhering to his teaching on the 5 criteria, millions of workers and young revolutionaries are being brought up, nurtured by the storms of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, not only in China but all over the world. Revolutionaries are coming forth worth after wave. In fact, no other man in our time has so many successors. And there is nothing the bourgeoisie and revisionists can do about it!

The bourgeoisie and revisionists slander him by saying that since the CPC has lost Chairman Mao, it is leaderless and is no longer the same party. Again, this is nothing but the hopeless dreams of the dying classes. The CPC tempered in the course of the 10 line struggles, steeled in the cultural revolution and now em-

AZANIA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 21
The days of the hated Vorster fascist regime and its apartheid system are surely numbered.

Africa belongs to the great African people, and the African people must rely on themselves to win their independence, free from both superpowers' meddling. The heroic Palestinian and other Arab peoples who have for decades been forced to drift on the deserts as refugees and been viciously oppressed are valiantly rising up to kick the Israeli Zionists out of their homelands. So, too, the African peoples are advancing wave upon wave in a mighty storm that, with the victories of all other oppressed peoples in the world, will sweep the two superpowers and all reactionaries down the gutter once and for all.

Either world war will give rise to revolution, or revolution will prevent world war. Either way, the situation is excellent for the vast majority of the world's people. The Azanian people are determined to smash apartheid and win national liberation. Their invincible struggle will surely triumph! ■
END THE CRIMINAL APARTHEID RULE OF THE ARCH RACISTS VORSTER AND SMITH!
KICK THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, USI AND SSI, OUT OF AFRICA!
THE AZANIAN PEOPLE WILL SURELY WIN COMPLETE LIBERATION THROUGH SELF-RELIANCE AND ARMED STRUGGLE!
PEOPLES OF AZANIA AND THE U.S., UNITE!
ALL AFRICA WILL BE FREE!

barked on a massive campaign to study MLMTTT and criticize Teng Hsiao-ping, has established a great party tradition and experience with line struggle. No party in the world is so thoroughly Bolshevized, so vigorous and strong. Long live the great, glorious, correct Communist Party of China!

In the U.S. today, the principle task for all communists is to build our new communist party of the proletariat. There is no better way to pay tribute to Chairman Mao than to conscientiously study MLMTTT, turning our grief into strength, and exerting every effort toward this task. As Chairman Mao said, on the occasion of his statement in support of the struggle of afro-american people in 1968, "to end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class." We are determined with renewed vigor, to build the party now as an immediate preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Basing ourselves on the dialectical historical materialism, we are revolutionary optimists because we know beyond a shadow of a doubt that the road ahead is full of twists and turns, for the future is bright and the goal of communism is irreversible and inevitable. From the profound sorrow, we pledge to draw fresh strength and renew ourselves to the cause and march forward on the road to the emancipation of all humanity.

CHAIRMAN MAO TSE TUNG WILL LIVE FOR EVER IN OUR HEARTS!

LONG LIVE INVINCIBLE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO-TSE TUNG THOUGHT!

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As Chairman Mao teaches us, "in capitalist society, contradictions find expression in acute antagonisms and conflicts, in sharp class struggle; they cannot be resolved by the capitalist system itself and can only be resolved by socialist revolution. (Mao, "On Contradiction," Selected Works, Vol.1)

Whether one stands for resolving the contradictions between the bourgeoisie and the working class by socialist revolution or through the capitalist system is a basic line of demarcation between genuine communists who fight for the interests of the proletariat versus the sham communists, the trade union misleaders (lackeys of the monopoly capitalists within the ranks of the workers) as well as opportunists of all shades.

EXPOSE THE REVISIONIST SLOGAN OF 30 FOR 40 -- FIGHT FOR THE SIX HOUR DAY

In the name of fighting for a shorter work week, the revisionist "C" PUSA put forth the slogan "30 for 40" -- that a worker should get 40 hours' pay for 30 hours' work. This is a treacherous slogan because it serves the monopoly capitalists by covering up the criminal nature of the wage labor system. It gives the working class an illusion that what we are getting for "40" is a "fair wage." Yet we know that during 40 hours of work, we are producing much more than the 40 hours of pay that is given to us. What we should ask for is all the fruits of our labor, including the surplus value that the capitalists have robbed from us. This is what Marx taught us:

"Instead of the conservative motto, a fair day's wages for a fair day's work! they ought to inscribe on their banner the revolutionary watch-words: 'Abolition of the wage system!'" (Marx, Price and Profit, p. 78)

The trade union misleader Woodcock also put forth the demand for a shorter workweek in order to "cure unemployment in the auto industry." This is another smokescreen to cover up the nature of the capitalist system, the fact that in the mad pursuit for profits, unemployment cannot be "cured" under capitalism. We demand no layoffs in order to further expose the system and, through fighting for our demands in a revolutionary way, educate our class brothers and sisters in the task of overthrowing the bourgeoisie. Yet these trade union hacks are putting forth their demands to prop up the capitalist system. And under the guise of criticizing Woodcock, the REvolutionary "Communist" Party opposes the short work week as a "shaft" and misses the demand of the class for the six hour day. At best, all that the opportunists raise is to have the shorter week in our contracts and only in our contracts. This is confining the struggle to only the economic struggle and stunts the growth of the "embryo" of class struggle.

Another more sinister trick of Woodcock and Co. is his demand for "banking time" which grants 30 minutes credit for each week of "perfect attendance." So-called "absenteeism" is rampant in all the plants. This spontaneous and primitive form of protest of the workers against the exploitation they suffer in the plants is a threat to the capitalists because it is a revolutionary kernel that says that workers cannot take it any more and are ready to take matters into our own hands. In putting out the sinister proposal for "banking time," Woodcock is in fact offering himself to the capitalists to whip the working class into wage slaves.

Every minute that we spend working under these oppressive conditions drains us that much more physically and mentally. Every hour we spend on the line means sure surplus value extracted by the capitalists. Especially in the industrial proletariat, where the modes of production are most highly developed and allow the auto monopolists to squeeze a higher amount of surplus value than in other industries.

In criticizing the opportunists who belittle the independent revolutionary character of the working class struggle, Comrade Lenin said that a demand like the eight hour day, in his time, was a demand of the whole proletariat, presented not to individual employers, but to the government as the representative of the monopoly capitalist class as a whole.

Genuine Communist propaganda must unleash the struggle to serve the entire working class and must aim its blow at the entire capitalist class.

While for the entire working class, the slogan for the 6-hour day is still a propaganda slogan which makes an indictment against capitalism and educates workers about the nature of wages, profits, capital and socialism, it is not yet a correct action slogan in many industries where concretely this demand will divert burning issues such as the right to organize, national oppression, double exploitation, etc. In auto, however, due to the workers' organization, history of struggle, productivity and various other factors, we can and must make the demand for the 6-hour day an action slogan now, an immediate demand. This action slogan and revolutionary actions around it, and its victory will concretely help defend the standard of living for the entire working class.

FIGHT FOR ONE YEAR CONTRACTS -- OPPOSE C.O.L.A. -- FIGHT FOR HIGHER ACROSS THE BOARD INCREASES

The auto monopolies and the UAW misleaders also trumpet the fact that auto workers get the best deal, that they are the standard to which the rubber workers must catch up, that they are favored with an uncapped COLA that is supposedly allowing them to keep up with the rampant inflation, year after year. These are straight-out lies!

COLA and the plan for annual wage improvement factors were devised by G.M. president Charles E. Wilson (who later became Secretary of Defense under Eisenhower) in 1940! Wilson made concessions to the workers in 1948 to bring "stability and predictability to its dealings with the union... putting labor relations on a stable basis..." In the 1940's, workers were rising up massively to fight against oppression on the jobs and taking to the streets by the thousands. To stop the waves of strikes and to restore production, G.M. offered the COLA formulas. Yet the truth is that, even the best COLA only covers for yearly inflation at a rate of 5%. Beyond that, workers can only witness our hard earned dollars bringing in less and less of our daily needs.

Inflation is a means used by the capitalists to exploit and rob the working class. U.S. imperialism has gotten itself into huge deficits year after year partly due to the huge military expenditure overseas and at home. The U.S. government is also spending huge sums to subsidize the monopoly capitalists, which it serves. To make up for this huge deficit, the ruling class can only raise taxation, print more paper money, issue bonds to cover the deficit, raise prices, etc. Each is an attack on the working class. Under the current deepening cycles of crisis, inflation will only get worse as the U.S. government plunges deeper and deeper into deficit.

The 1973 contract brought the auto workers only a miniscule wage increase of 3% a year, which is far below the constantly rising rate of inflation. The COLA doesn't come close to making up for the difference! But even the bourgeoisie is forced to admit that real wages have gone down at least since 1973!

We must demand short term contracts and not be fooled by all the fancy COLA formulas that the bourgeoisie use to try to cool us off. We must fight for 1 year term contracts so that we can demand straight wage increases every year as our real wage is eaten up by inflation and taxes.

There is an even more important political reason for why we should fight for short term contracts. For the bourgeoisie the contract is a means to bind the hands of hands of the workers; the capitalists try to use the contract to give the worker "the appearance of acting from a free choice, unconstrained consent, as a responsible agent who has attained his majority." (Engels, "Conditions of the English Working Class, p. 115)

For the working class, the contract is a temporary truce in the war which will overthrow the bourgeoisie. Each contract fight brings the contradiction between the capitalists and the working class to the forefront of the struggle, helps to educate the masses of workers, trains the communists and advanced workers in the art of war, and gives us an opportunity to review our ranks. In this period when workers minds are wide open to communism and are surging forward spontaneously in the fight against the bourgeoisie, we must not allow ourselves to be bound by the bourgeois legality of the contract but must seize every opportunity of bringing forward the revolutionary potential of the working class.

BUILD THE IRON UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS

More than a century ago, Engels in his study of the conditions of the working class under rising capitalism already pointed out that "this competition of the workers among themselves (has) the worst kind of effect upon the worker (and is) the sharpest weapon against the proletariat in the hands of the bourgeoisie." (p. 115)

In this period when the bourgeoisie is trying to usher in fascism to maintain their dying rule, the bourgeoisie is resorting even more desperately to use this weapon to split the working class. When Ford workers are out and our class brothers and sisters at G.M. and Chrysler are forced to work overtime, workers are objectively forced to scab on each other. They are also trying to split the workers with different seniority in the plants. They allowed the sub funds to run dry and tried to mislead the older workers to think that it was the younger workers and not the bourgeoisie that robs them of protection against unemployment.

They also tried to pit the pensioners against workers by saying that we cannot struggle for better benefits for pensioners this year without hurting the other workers. Sham "communists" and right opportunists such as the OL assisted the bourgeoisie in splitting the working class by pushing the so called "super seniority," putting women workers against men and Afro-American workers against whites in the name of fighting against national oppression.

The misleaders also want the workers to believe that it is our class brothers and sisters in the sweat shops of Ford, General Motors and Chrysler plants in Third World countries and the Black Belt South that are taking away our jobs. This is a blatant lie! Historically, the auto monopolies have built their empire partly on the oppression of workers of oppressed nationalities and national minorities at home and third world workers abroad. We must fight for the democratic rights for all workers and fight national oppression of Afro-American workers. General Motors is paying our fellow Afro-American workers in the Black Belt South at \$1.05 and giving fewer benefits than workers get in other parts of the country. This is a clear example of how the U.S. bourgeoisie continues to oppress the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South by keeping it economically and culturally depressed. To uphold equality among nations and unleash the revolutionary potential of the revolutionary national movement, we must support self-determination of the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South. It is also actively sabotaging the unionization fights of workers in the Black belt south. In auto plants across the country, Afro-American workers are usually forced to work the hardest,

toughest and dirtiest jobs in the plant. This is a form of national oppression where the bourgeoisie forces Afro-American workers into certain jobs. Communists must struggle against national oppression and expose the class nature of this oppression (i.e. that the root cause is the monopoly capitalist system.) As Chairman Mao teaches us, "the contradiction between the black masses in the United States and U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The black masses and white working people in the United States share common interests and have common objectives to struggle for." (Mao, "Statement in Support of the Afro-American Struggle against Violent Repression.")

Industrial workers, put an end to the criminal rule of U.S. monopoly capitalism. The auto monopolies are now congratulating themselves with an unprecedented "boom." Sure enough. Ford is reaping four times as much profit as the same quarter last year. But these auto monopolies are only digging their own graves.

Ford's "boom" has led and can only lead to more severe impoverishment of the working class. The profit system of capitalism, no matter how developed the level of production or technology, has only created increasing numbers of unemployed and workers whose paychecks leave them at the poverty level. While Ford squeezed us with speedups, forced overtime and tried to cut our SUB benefits to produce more and more cars, they are only creating the conditions for another capitalist crisis -- the crisis of overproduction. Is it not absurd that when we seek to produce more goods we then have to suffer recurring crisis?

But it is precisely this anarchy of production under capitalism that reveals its essence. Capitalism is based on profits and not the needs of the masses of people; when we "overproduce", or produce more than we can buy, the capitalists throw us out of work, heightening our exploitation with speedups, forced overtime and the like, and trying to conquer new markets in world wars which further limit our ability to consume. With each crisis the capitalist class is "paving the way for more extensive and destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented." (Marx, Manifesto of the Communist Party, p. 38)

On the one hand, the assembly line method of production created by Ford regiments great masses of workers for the sake of capitalist profits. On the other hand, it builds an army of workers, who will bring an end to wage slavery.

"The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the laborers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable." (Marx, Communist Manifesto, p. 46)

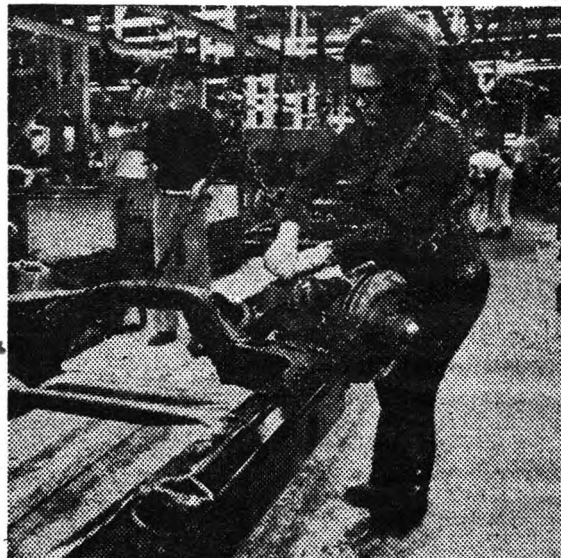
It is in the huge factories, in which advanced capitalism has socialized production, that enslave thousands of workers at a time. In Mahwah, N.J., for example, Ford's largest auto assembly plant of 4,897 workers produce 1,000 compact cars and trucks a day on the 177 acre plant site. Capitalist production which is highly socialized and centralized trains workers in increasing numbers to be disciplined, united and organized as reflected in revolts of the workers.

"The industrial proletariat are most susceptible to Social-Democratic (Communist) ideas, most developed intellectually and politically, and most important by virtue of their numbers and

concentration in the country's large political centers." (Lenin, "The tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats" CW, Vol. 2)

It is in the hands of the industrial proletariat to put a standstill to the U.S. economy.

General Motors is the world's largest private employer and the largest consumer of steel, copper, zinc, aluminum, brass, rubber and glass. Other major industries depend on the auto industry for their very existence. One out of every six workers in the U.S. is employed directly or indirectly by the auto industry. When auto workers go out, all these other industries are sharply affected. It is like the hub of the wheel area around which many other industries spin. The auto industry is one of the three pillars of the U.S. economy. Workers know that the shutdown of a few key engine plants can close down many plants throughout the country. Due to the week old strike at Ford, the first wave of layoffs at Ford Motor of Canada of 1600 workers has started effective 9/20. These plants are dependent on parts from auto plants in the U.S.



The long history of struggle of auto workers, as members of the industrial proletariat, shows their pioneering role in breaking the despotic rule of monopoly capitalism. Auto workers have wrung concessions from the bourgeoisie such as the Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB), 30 and out, which have set a precedent for the struggles of the entire working class. Three major developments were welded into the history of the auto workers: the struggle to unionize, the betrayal of the leadership and the merging of the national and working class movements.

In the early 1930's the infantile and spontaneous revolts against the auto barons were violently put down. But with repression the auto workers became steeled and by 1936 they were waging a veritable civil war in Flint, Michigan with their sit-down strikes. Braving the national guard, a red scare and freezing temperatures, they forced GM to concede to the presence of the union.

Although the bourgeoisie couldn't prevent the union's formation, they were successful at sabotaging the union from within. The rank and file and even Walter Reuther stood up against the red baiting during the union drive because communists were the staunchest fighters for the union. But Reuther, true to his nature as a trade union bureaucrat, sided with the bourgeoisie in expelling the communists after 1937, in order to secure the reins of power for those who agreed with the capitalist system. This "pioneering" set a backward precedent in the working class movement which led to anti-communist clauses in many unions.

In the early 60's Afro-American and Arab workers were hired in the worst positions: pouring molten steel in the foundries and welding in the body shops,

etc. This systematic oppression not only on the job but by the union misleadership also led to the '68 wildcat of 4,000 workers at Dodge Main in Detroit over speedups which was led by what later become the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM). The revolutionary national movement was hitting not only at the urban ghettos but at the very heart of U.S. monopoly capitalists, the point of production. The wildcat at Chrysler Forge in '73 lasted longer and proved more damaging to production than the official three-day UAW strike that year.

By hitting national oppression on the job, these struggles took on a political character that went beyond struggles against speedups, overtime, low wages, health and safety conditions. The 1973 struggle by the Arab auto workers struck directly against U.S. imperialism and Israeli zionism. In that year, 3,000 Arab auto workers walked off the lines and staged a militant parade to protest UAW Israeli bond purchases at the union offices.

The bourgeoisie has increased the repression of the auto workers to try to maintain its rule. In response the auto workers and the industrial proletariat have forged higher and more disciplined forms of organization. Nevertheless, this irreconcilable contradiction between the bourgeoisie and proletariat, between capitalist appropriation of the wealth and socialized production can only be resolved under the guidance of a genuine communist party fighting for socialism. The improved economic and political demands, for which auto workers have lost lives, can only be realized under socialism. The industrial proletariat, the best disciplined and organized sector of the working class because of its relationship to advanced capital, must be prepared to pioneer the struggle to overthrow the ruling class. As comrade Lenin said, "agitation among the advanced sections of the proletariat is the surest and the only way to rouse (as the movement expands) the entire Russian proletariat. The dissemination of socialism and of the idea of the class struggle among the urban workers will inevitably cause these ideas to flow in the smaller and more scattered channels." (Lenin, "The Tasks of Russian Social-Democracy," Collected Works, Vol.2)

BUILD THE U.S. PROLETARIAN PARTY OF A BOLSHEVIK TYPE - IMMEDIATE PREPARATION FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!

Winning over the advanced workers and consolidating our basis in the industrial proletariat is part of our communist task of immediate preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To lead this struggle of the industrial proletariat and the whole working class, we need our General Staff, our political leader, the Party of the working class. Our main task in this period is to build a new anti-revisionist communist Party - the most advanced and organized detachment of our class.

As Comrade Stalin said, our Party must be: "A new party, a militant party, a revolutionary party, one bold enough to lead the proletarians in the struggle for power, sufficiently experienced to find its bearings amidst the complex conditions of a revolutionary situation, and sufficiently flexible to steer clear of all submerged rocks in the path to its goal...The Party must stand at the head of the working class; it must see farther than the working class; it must lead the proletariat and not drag at the tail of the spontaneous movement." (Stalin, Foundations of Leninism)

The Workers Viewpoint Organization is the only organization in the U.S. today which can build a party that will provide genuine communist leadership to the working class. We have been steeled in the struggle with sham communists, right opportunists and "left" dogmatists. We are the only organization to grasp the revolutionary role of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, applying it to the concrete conditions in the U.S. to chart the course of the struggle against the bourgeoisie! ■

Bourgeoisie Attacks WVO in Frenzy

Advance Our Work Forward!

To Be Attacked By the Enemy Is A Good Thing!

"I hold that it is bad as far as we are concerned if a person, a political party, an army or a school is not attacked by the enemy, for in that case it would definitely mean that we have sunk to the level of the enemy. It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work." (Mao Tse-tung, "To Be Attacked by the Enemy is Not a Bad Thing But a Good Thing." May 26, 1939)

Recently comrades in Workers Viewpoint Organization have been tailed and harassed, and most recently one member of the organization was physically harassed, kidnapped, cut up, raped and interrogated by the state. It is common knowledge, which even the bourgeoisie admits, that the FBI harasses and taps phones and offices. But kidnap and rape represent an escalation in attacks by this desperate and dying criminal rule of the monopoly capitalists.

Why did the state resort to these goon tactics? Clearly, the main purpose is not to get information but to try and stop our work and intimidate us, and hopefully provoke us into a rash action. This attack comes at a time when class struggle is intensifying. As during the Palmer Raids in 1920, this attack comes when there is an upsurge in the working class and during this current economic crisis and workers are wide open to socialism and the trade union misleaders are more and more exposed. The communist movement in general and WVO in particular are deepening their fusion with the proletariat. No matter what the bourgeoisie resorts to, they will be un-

able to halt this deepening fusion. This means we must step up our agitation and propaganda and win the advanced to communism.

We are a rising force and as we fuse more and more deeply and as the founding of the genuine Communist Party of this country gets nearer and nearer, these attacks will become relentless as the bourgeoisie desperately tries to stamp us out. But as Chairman Mao says, to be attacked by the enemy is a good thing. It means we are achieving a great deal in our work. This is how we view these attacks as represented by this advanced provocation. We will not lose our orientation, hesitate in our work, or be forced underground. We will use this to advance forward and step up our work!

But in struggling against the enemy, we must bear in mind at all times "strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously." ("Speech at the Moscow Meeting of Communists and Workers' Parties," Nov. 18, 1957) Strategically, we know the monopoly capitalist class is on the verge of death and they have no future and that the working class is invincible and indestructible because we are a new and rising force and have a bright future. Though we may face difficulties and setbacks, we can overcome all difficulties with an indomitable will. "It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world ("Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?") However, at the same time, we must remember to always tactically take the enemy seriously, on each and every concrete question. Although bourgeois democracy is the best shell for monopoly capitalism, we must never forget that that's all it is -- a shell!! We must cast aside all illusions, because everyday, day in and out, the bourgeoisie carries on violent repression against the working class, especially communists. As the great revolutionary teacher, Comrade Lenin, pointed out, bourgeois democracy is hypocritical and false.

"In all countries, even in those that are freest, most 'legal,' and most 'peaceful' in the sense that the class struggle is least acute there, it is now absolutely indispensable for every Communist Party to systematically combine legal and illegal work, legal

and illegal organizations. Notwithstanding their false and hypocritical declarations, the governments of even the most enlightened and freest of countries, where the bourgeois-democratic system is most 'stable,' are already drawing up blacklists of Communists and constantly violating their own constitutions so as to give secret or semi-secret encouragement to the white guards and to the murder of Communists in all countries, making secret preparations for the arrest of Communists, planting agents provocateurs among the Communists, etc. etc. Only a most reactionary philistine, no matter what cloak of fine 'democratic' and pacifist phrases he may don, will deny this fact or the conclusion that of necessity follows from it, viz., that all legal Communist parties most immediately form illegal organizations for the systematic conduct of illegal work and for complete preparations for the moment the bourgeoisie resorts to persécution..." (Lenin, "Theses on Comintern's Fundamental Tasks," Vol. 31, p. 195)

Despise the Enemy Strategically, Take Them Seriously Tactically

Certainly these attacks will redouble our efforts to skillfully combine legal and illegal work and master all forms of struggle, peaceful and armed, open and secret, legal and illegal, parliamentary and other legal forms. The bourgeoisie is doing us a favor by showing their hands. We intend to propagate this experience to the entire communist movement and our correct response and tactic to the entire working class and communist movement.

Historical experience of communists and revolutionaries in this country should be a daily reminder to us today that the bourgeoisie has and is carrying out repression against us. But to do this openly and to try to prevent the advanced from turning it around, the bourgeoisie is forced to create public opinion against the communist movement. Prior to the Palmer Raids, on 1/2/20, which rounded up 10,000 communists and revolutionaries across the country in more than 70 cities, the bourgeoisie drummed up the "Red Peril" hysteria, a "plot" by Russia, aliens and "Bolsheviks" in America to overthrow the U.S. government by force and violence. In the late '60's, to launch the massive attacks and raids on the Black Panther Party and the murder of Fred Hampton, the FBI built up the Black Panther Party as the No. 1 enemy of the American people.

Today, the bourgeoisie and its press is again escalating its attacks on the communist movement. Several months ago, the New York Times printed that the Woodrow Wilson Think Tank school said the real fear in the U.S. is Bolshevism, not the SLA.

The National Caucus of Labor Committee is announced as formally meeting with the trade union misleaders to rid the union of "Maoists". Red-baiting is clearly escalating in the unions. In the latest Miners' Convention in Cincinnati, an anti-communist fever was induced by the reactionary trade union mis-

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

is the political organ of a communist organization. The theory guiding our thinking is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. We view ourselves as a part of the general communist movement in the U.S. and look forward to uniting with other communist organizations on the basis of a common program, strategy, tactics and organizational principles. We view the present tasks of our movement as the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and the linking up of the working class movement with the communist movement to help build an anti-revisionist communist party in the United States.

We welcome your suggestions and criticisms. Also, if you would like to support us financially, be placed on our mailing list, or receive additional copies of our newspaper or our journals, please write to us. Address to:

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AUTO WORKERS ON THE MOVE AGAINST CAPITALISM

A Communist Analysis of the Contract Fight Strips Woodcock's and Bosses' Cover



AFRO-AMERICAN WORKERS BROUGHT CHRYSLER ASSEMBLY LINE TO A HALT IN 1973, IN A PROTEST AGAINST NATIONAL OPPRESSION AND POOR WORKING CONDITIONS.

On Sept. 14, the contract covering 700,000 auto workers across the country expired. Despite all the months of public fanfare drummed up by the capitalist press, the "Big Three", GM., Ford, and Chrysler, and President Woodcock of the United Auto Workers (UAW) that there would be a "peaceful settlement," 170,000 Ford workers are now on strike at 102 plants across the country against Ford. The other workers are kept from striking because of the collaboration of Woodcock with the auto monopolies. A nationwide strike of all auto workers will be a heavy blow to the capitalist class and will paralyze the U.S. economy overnight. Woodcock and his cronies knew this well. Yet they are caught in a bind. On one hand, the contradiction between the auto monopolies and the workers is so sharp that workers are already staging spontaneous protests everyday in every plant, in the form of wildcats, sabotage, and so-called "absenteeism." On the other hand, as agents of the bourgeoisie within the working class, Woodcock and his cronies must carry out the wishes of his capitalist masters to suppress the anger and the revolt of the working class. One of his tricks to get out of the bind in order to serve his capitalist masters is precisely to pull a strike against Ford only, the so-called "target company." The "contract talks" are a big show which Woodcock wants to make believe that he is really fighting for the workers while each of his meetings with the auto monopolies is a step towards the coming big sell-out.

THERE IS NO "PEACE" BETWEEN THE WORKING CLASS AND THE CAPITALIST CLASS

The burning issue on the minds of auto workers is the struggle against forced overtime, speed ups for job security and for shorter hours. In order to fight for the genuine interests of the working class and launch conscious and organized economic and political struggles, we must first "comprehend the essence of capitalist society, the relations of exploitation between social classes, and its (the proletariat's) own historical task." (Mao, "On Practice," Selected Works, Vol. 1, p. 301)

Under monopoly capitalism, there is never "peace" between the working class and the monopoly capitalists. Under monopoly capitalism, all the means of production, the factories, the machines etc. are owned by the capitalists while workers are ruthlessly exploited by the system of wage labor. Everyday, we sell to the capitalists our labor power but what we produce is many times more than what we take back from the capitalists in the form of wages. The difference between the wages, which is the price of our labor power, and the product of our labor is called surplus value. Surplus value, which is created by us workers through our labor, is the sole source of profit of the capitalist class.

The only purpose of the capitalists is the pursuit of more and more surplus value. As Marx pointed out, "production of surplus value is the absolute law of this mode of production." (Capital, Vol. 1, p. 618).

That is why the capitalists are not interested if what we produce is of use to working people as long as it can bring him surplus value. This is also why the interests of the capitalists are diametrically opposed to the working class. This basic law of monopoly capitalism is shown most blatantly in the auto industry, one of the most highly developed industries and a key industry of U.S. capitalism.

THE BLOOD SUCKERS -- G.M., CHRYSLER, AND FORD

To increase the surplus value, the capitalist must step up the exploitation of the workers so that he can pay as small amount of the price of the workers' labor as possible but be able to squeeze as much labor from the workers as possible. That is why the auto monopolies are attacking the working class with speed ups, forced overtime, massive layoffs, deteriorating safety and working conditions and are scheming every step of the way to cut real wages and the benefits of auto workers.

Speed ups are an important means of the capitalist to increase his surplus value. Speed ups mean that the capitalist can use the labor power he purchased from the worker to create more products and more value for himself. The blood sucker Henry Ford back in 1914 started the Ford system of conveyor belts and automation, which increased the labor intensity of the workers tremendously. Today, the monopolies have not stopped launching newer and more sophisticated systems of speed up. As Lenin said, "the result is that, within the same nine or ten working hours as before,

they squeeze out of the worker three times more labor, mercilessly drain him of all his strength, and are three times faster in sucking out every drop of the wage slave's nervous and physical energy."

Forced overtime also allows the capitalists a freer hand in exploiting the workers. First, with the hourly wage rate, the capitalist can lengthen and shorten the labor day of the workers as he wishes to maximize profits under given market situations. Second, forced overtime, increasing the work day, leads to lowering the price of labor power so that the capitalists can reap more surplus value. It's cheaper for the capitalists to pay the time-and-a-half rate rather than pay the fringe benefits (medical, dental, vacation pay) for additional workers. This shows how while in appearance overtime brings an individual more wages, it in fact brings down the price of labor power of the entire working class. Eventually, every worker suffers.

Unemployment is also part and parcel of the exploitation of the capitalist system. Under capitalism, automation and improvements in technology in industries such as auto will not improve the well-being of the workers. Increased mechanization will only displace more workers onto the streets since one man now will be able to perform three men's jobs. Speed ups and overtime are additional methods that the capitalists use to drive workers out of jobs. Furthermore, the capitalists want to keep a pool of permanently unemployed workers in the market to keep down the price of labor.

As American capitalism plunges deeper into cycles of crisis where there is no full recovery or recovery to the former level, we see that the capitalists are going into a frenzy to intensify these attacks on the working class so that they can reap as much profit as possible in the limited time before their inevitable doom.

We must stand firmly in fighting against these attacks; we must fight for NO LAYOFFS, NO SPEED UPS, NO FORCED OVERTIME in the concrete struggle. But we must understand that these demands cannot be won consistently for the entire working class. So we must fight for them in the context of overthrowing the entire monopoly capitalist system! CONTINUED ON PAGE 29.

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