

# WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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!

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## Expose Annexation

# FREE PUERTO RICO NOW!

The latest example of the intensifying contention between the 2 superpowers - U.S. imperialists and Soviet social imperialists in Latin America is Ford's proposal to make Puerto Rico the 51st state of the USA. This attempt to tighten their control in their "own backyard" also shows the fear of the U.S. imperialists to the rising consciousness and mounting struggles of the heroic and great Puerto Rican masses for national liberation and socialist revolution.

Puerto Rico has been and still is a key colony for U.S. imperialism, strategically and economically. From the time the rising U.S. imperialist power wrested Puerto Rico and other colonies from the falling Spanish imperialists in 1898, to its contention now with the new rising imperialist power, the Soviet Union, U.S. imperialists here used all means to keep tighter and

tighter control over Puerto Rico to exploit the resources.

Every piece of legislation on the status of Puerto Rico that has been passed so far - from the Foraker Law (1901) which established a civil colonial administration in Puerto Rico, to the Jones Law (1917) which forced Puerto Ricans to replace their natural citizenship with U.S. citizenship, to the Law 600/Puerto Rican Commonwealth Bill (1950) which puts in a U.S.-puppet governor - is for the purpose of consolidating the control of the U.S. imperialists and intensifying the oppression of the Puerto Rican people under the cover of "democracy" and "freedom."

The status of commonwealth has served the U.S. imperialists well so far. They were able to exploit all the valuable resources (human labor, fertile land, minerals, etc.)



THE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALIST DUTY OF THE MULTINATIONAL U.S. PROLETARIAT, WHICH INCLUDES THE PUERTO RICAN NATIONAL MINORITY IS TO MAKE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN THE U.S. AND GIVE DIRECT SUPPORT TO THE MOVEMENT TO FREE PUERTO RICO NOW!

at "no expenses paid." Puerto Rico is a tax haven for the superprofits of the monopoly capitalists. Even with the recent discovery of oil off the shores of Puerto Rico, it is still easier for the U.S. imperialists to plunder under the commonwealth status. Just look at the way they move in to try to build the superport despite strong protests from the Puerto Rican people. - But the crucial factor of heightening superpower contention now forces the U.S. imperialists to tighten their death grip on Puerto Rico now.

The strategic location of Puerto Rico in the Caribbean is important in a world war. However, after the Vietnam War experience, it is harder

to create public opinion in favor of going to war to "protect" a commonwealth than a state. Therefore, to keep Puerto Rico as a first line of defense, it is necessary to annex it as a state.

The masses of Puerto Rican people have made clear their opposition to statehood the last time this attempt at centralization was made in 1967. The U.S. bourgeoisie tries to use the fact that 60% of the people voted for commonwealth in that plebiscite to justify the existence of Puerto Rico as a colony of U.S. imperialism. The claim that the majority of Puerto Rican people want to remain as a commonwealth and have no desire for independence is an outright lie!

(continue on p. 29)

## Oil Workers, Fight for One Industrial Union & Closed Shop!

U.S. workers are stepping up the battle against the oil monopoly capitalists and union misleaders in the present contract struggle. They are dealing heavy blows at their inevitably collapsing rule!

### OIL BARONS: PART OF THE IMPERIALIST SYSTEM

Oil is a crucial part of the imperialist system. Imperialism is the last stage of capitalism where free capitalist competition gives way to capitalist monopoly. Most important, there is merging of bank capital (capital in money form) of a few very big monopolist banks with the capital of the monopolist combines of industrialists. This is called finance capital.



FIGHTING OIL WORKERS AND COMMUNISTS MUST RUTHLESSLY EXPOSE AND DRIVE THE TRADE UNION MISLEADERSHIP FROM THE RANKS OF THE WORKERS.

Another feature of imperialism is that every corner of the world comes under the control of one imperialist nation or another. This era is characterized by a constant dog-fight among imperialists for re-division of the world.

By 1900 in the U.S., the railroad king Banderbilt, the oil king Rockefeller, the steel king Morgan and the automobile king Ford monopolized over 80% of all production in these four key industries.

"The Rockefeller group's Standard Oil Company founded in 1879 as a trust, controlled almost all of the American oil companies. It also possessed railroads, steamship, coal mining and coke making firms. Such huge trusts made up only one percent of the nation's business enterprises in 1909, but they actually controlled one-half of the gross national product. Lenin therefore considered the U.S. the prototype of trust imperialism." (A Brief History of the U.S., Shih Chan, p.16)

In America, two very big banks, those of the billionaires, Rockefeller and Morgan, are at the head of all capitalist economy as a result of the process of concentration. The union between banks and industry is supplemented by the "personal union" between both and the government. The Rockefeller "oil trust," its struggle for hegemony and division of the world oil market is laid out by the great proletarian teacher Lenin in Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, pages 82-85.

(continue on p. 2)

## Marxist-Leninists Unite

### 2 ROADS TO PARTY BUILDING

by the Harriet Tubman - Nat Turner  
Collective (Marxist-Leninist)

## INSIDE

### SUPPLEMENT: ATM, SOCIAL DEMOCRATS FROM THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

THE DEATH PENALTY AND POLITICAL REPRESSION IN THE BLACK BELT SOUTH.....4	ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION: OL AND RCP REVISE MARXISM.....16
PRACTICE THEORY, MASS LINE, SELF-CRITICISM: REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH/STUDENT AT BROOKLYN COLLEGE.....6	IN COMMEMORATION OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S TWO POEMS.....17
DUAL TACTICS OF THE SUPERPOWERS: MINI-STATE SCHEME AFTER LEBANON.....8	NICHOLAUS VS. OL: A MENSHEVIK'S CRITICISM OF MENSHEVISM....18
CAPITALISTS USE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT TO EXPLOIT WORKING WOMEN: CUTS IN PREGNANCY BENEFITS.....9	RCP DISCOVERS: 'THEORY IN IT'S OWN RIGHT'.....19

SECCION EN ESPAÑOL



# OIL WORKERS, TURN INTO POLITICAL STRUGGLE

(continued from p. 1)

The fate of the entire economic life of every capitalist country lies in the hands of a few bankers and industrial monopolists.

## SUPERPOWERS NEED OIL TO SURVIVE & CONTROL OTHER COUNTRIES

Oil has strategic importance as a source of fuel and as a most fundamental raw material for transport, steel, chemical and other basic industries. Without oil, advanced capitalist countries could not exist. Its strategic importance is reflected on the political front as we have seen in 1973. In the heat of the Middle East October War, members of OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) withheld their natural resources from the U.S. imperialists as a monument of resistance against foreign capitalist extraction of cheap crude oil and exploitation of labor. As Lenin stated :

"Finance capital is interested not only in already discovered sources of raw materials but also in potential sources." (P.99)

"In these backward countries profits are usually high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low, wages are low, raw materials are cheap." (P. 73)  
Imperialism, Highest Stage of Capitalism

So imperialists invest their surplus capital to increase profits, exporting it abroad to the backward countries. U.S. imperialists have exploited oil in the Middle East super-exploiting labor and refining oil more cheaply; meanwhile, they are keeping domestic oil in reserve.

The Soviet Union also has its greedy tentacles in the Middle East. These goulash communists sell out-dated arms to Middle Eastern governments for high prices in exchange for low-priced oil. They then resell the oil to European countries below OPEC's prices, tightening their grip over them. Meanwhile, our brothers and sisters in oil producing countries like Saudi Arabia, who work under superpower companies, slave 7 days a week for less than \$3 an hour and barely get 16 hours between shifts.

## OPEC RESISTS SUPERPOWER DOMINATION

The vast oil reserves in the Middle East are a tasty morsel for both superpowers... whoever controls the Middle East, controls Europe, a highly populated, industrialized continent very dependent on Middle East oil.

No wonder then that both imperialist superpowers howled like wounded animals when OPEC launched the oil boycott. Waging tit for tat struggle, the Third World exporting countries firmly defended their national rights, interests, and control of natural resources. Again this month, OPEC has called for price increases striking at superpower hegemonism.

The valiant struggle of the peoples in the Middle East and around the world are inseparably connected with our struggle here at home. We must staunchly support these struggles. The heroic Palestinian, Omani and Lebanese peoples are also rising up against both of the imperialist superpowers--the United States and the Soviet Union--thus helping to fight the danger of world war. The tide is irreversible and the situation is excellent for the proletariat, oppressed peoples and nations of the world.

## MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS NOW SITTING ON A SMOULDERING VOLCANO

But not only are the peoples of the Middle East and around the world rising up against the two superpowers, in the belly of the monster the U.S. proletariat is rising up to resist the increasing exploitation and oppression of dying U.S. imperialist rule. The capitalists are sitting on a smouldering volcano that is beginning to erupt in their faces.

Outwardly they may appear strong, but inside their imperialist system is weak & dying.

"Capitalism in its imperialist stage leads right up to the most comprehensive socialization of production; it, so to speak, drags the capitalists, against their will and consciousness, into some sort of a new social order, and a transitional one from complete free competition to complete socialization.

Production becomes social, but appropriation remains private. The social means of production remain in private property of a few. The general framework of formally recognized free competition remains, but the yoke of a few monopolists on the rest of the population becomes a hundred times heavier, more burdensome and intolerable." (Ibid. P. 25)

This contradiction drags the capitalist into a most flammable economic/political situation. This is the essence of Lenin's statement that "imperialism is the eve of proletarian revolution."

## CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION & SURPLUS VALUE

Under monopoly capitalism, there is never "peace" between the working class and the monopoly capitalists. All the means of production (the mills, factories, refineries, machines, etc.) are the private property of the capitalists while the workers are ruthlessly exploited by the system of wage labor. Owning nothing but our own labor power, everyday we sell this to the capitalists in return for wages. But what we produce with our labor power is many times more than what we receive in wages. The difference between our wages and the product of our labor is called surplus value. This is the sole source of the capitalist class' profits.

To increase surplus value, their profits, capitalists step up exploitation of workers in a thousand different ways. They squeeze as much labor out of the workers as possible while paying the smallest amount they can in wages. In the oil industry, this takes the form of not only the wage system, but deteriorating health and safety conditions, forced overtime, speedups and attacks on our benefits and real wages through inflation.

## OIL WORKERS AND THEIR PROUD HISTORY OF STRUGGLE FOR INDUSTRIAL UNIONIZATION

The objective law of history is, that wherever there is oppression there is resistance. In 1917, the same year of the great proletarian October Revolution in Russia, the U.S. working class was fiercely resisting capitalist attacks here. Workers walked out of refineries and oil fields all over the country demanding the 8 hour day, minimum wages and union recognition. Together with the rubber, steel and auto workers, the struggle for industrial unionism and closed shops was spearheaded. The formation of the CIO (Congress for Industrial Organization) represented a significant step forward for the entire working class. The CPUSA (Communist Party of the USA), at that time still a genuine Marxist-Leninist party of the working class, played a vital and decisive role in the great strikes and organizing drives to establish the new industrial unions in the basic, still unorganized industries. As Engels stated, the character of these new unions were essentially different from the old unions of "skilled workers" :

"That immense haunt of misery is no longer the stagnant pool it was six years ago. It has shaken off its torpid despair, has returned to life, and has become the home of what is called the great mass of "unskilled" workers. This organization may to a great extent adopt the form of the old Unions of "skilled" workers but it is essentially different in character. The old Unions preserve the traditions of the time when they were founded, and look upon the wage system as a once-for-all established, final fact, which they at best can modify in the interest of their mem-

bers. The new Unions were founded at a time when the faith in the eternity of the wages system was severely shaken; their founders & promoters were Socialists either consciously or by feeling; the masses, whose adhesion gave them strength, were rough, neglected, looked down upon by the working class aristocracy; but they had this immense advantage, that their minds were virgin soil, entirely free from the inherited "respectable" bourgeois prejudices which hampered the brains of the better situated "old" Unionists. And thus we see now these new Unions taking the lead of the working class movement generally, and more and more taking in tow the rich and proud "old Unions." (Selected Works of Marx & Engels, Vol.3, p.451)

## NARROW CRAFT UNIONISM AND OPEN SHOP TACTICS OF THE OIL BARONS

The proletariat advanced in their struggles, led by the vanguard, CPUSA, making important gains wave after wave. But the capitalists also stepped up their divide and rule tactics, devising new schemes and tricks to further split the working class. History shows that the bourgeoisie grants reforms with one hand and with the other, always takes them back, reducing them to nothing. They try to use them to enslave the workers, to divide them into separate groups and perpetuate wage slavery.

Forced by the irresistible tide of the working class, monopoly capitalists agreed to union recognition, closed shops, the 8 hour day and increased wages. But after years of bloody struggle for the closed shop, during the oil strike of 1948, the monopoly capitalists took this back.

To further split the class, Rockefeller the oil baron of finance capitalism, historically promoted the growth of narrow craft unions within the oil industry. This gained inroads in the industry with the weakening of industrial unions through restoration of open shops. Today, at Standard Oil only 65% of all oil workers belong to the union and there exists alongside of the OCAW (Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers) a number of craft unions. Although at Union Oil there is 99% union membership, there is still the threat that the company will try to bring in non-union workers.

## ALL OIL WORKERS MUST BE ORGANIZED, OPPOSE "RIGHT-TO-WORK" LAWS, ESPECIALLY IN THE BLACK BELT SOUTH

This paved the way for the latest bourgeois scheme of bringing in outside contractors, who act as a reserve labor force for the bourgeoisie, hiring outside labor on an assignment basis as they are needed. While contracted workers are used by the bourgeoisie's labor misleaders to split the working class and break the closed shop, they are also being exploited and denied not only union status but also benefits and training.

We must demand all oil workers be organized. No longer can the bourgeoisie pit the organized against the unorganized workers. We must sweep unorganized plants with unionization drives and oppose the anti-union "right-to-work" act enacted in many states, particularly in the South. Historically, the bourgeoisie has made all-out attempts to superexploit the workers and keep unions out of the South. These are clear manifestations of the national oppression of workers in the Black Belt South. We must support the right of self-determination of the Afro American nation in the Black Belt South and call for the organizing of the unorganized shops and expose these "right-to-work" laws.

## NARROW CRAFT UNIONISM, CHAUVINISM, & THE LABOR ARISTOCRACY HAVE THEIR ROOTS IN IMPERIALISM

Why is it in Rockefeller's interest to promote narrow craft unions, or to maintain open shops and unorganized plants? Why do our union leaders mislead and not lead our struggles against ex-



# ECONOMIC FIGHT AGAINST CAPITALISM

plottation and oppression by these monopoly capitalists like Rockefeller?

Lenin gives the scientific explanation:

"One of the chief causes hampering the revolutionary working class movement in the developed capitalist countries is the fact that because of their colonial possessions and the superprofits gained by finance capital, etc., the capitalists of these countries have been able to create a relatively larger and more stable labor aristocracy, a section which comprises a small minority of the working class. This minority enjoys better terms of employment and is most imbued with a narrow-minded craft spirit and with petty-bourgeois and imperialist prejudices. It forms the real social pillar of the Second International, of the reformists and the "centrists"; at present it might even be called the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie. No preparation of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is possible, even in the preliminary sense, unless an immediate, systematic, extensive and open struggle is waged against this stratum, which, as experience has already fully shown, will no doubt provide the bourgeois white guards with many a recruit after the victory of proletariat. All parties affiliated with the Third International must at all costs give effect to the slogans: "Deeper into the thick of the masses," "Closer links to the masses" -- meaning by masses all those who toil and are exploited by capital, particularly those who are least organized and educated, who are most oppressed and least amenable to education." ("Theses on Comintern Fundamental Tasks," Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 31, P.193)

Capitalists obtain enormous superprofits over and above the profits which they squeeze out of the workers of their "own" country. With this, the Rockefellers readily bribe the labor leaders and upper strata of the working class, who most strongly hang onto the most narrow craft interests and hold the most imperialist prejudices and chauvinist ideas. That's why it is no accident that the monopoly capitalists encourage a number of different unions, especially craft unions, to represent the same plant. The narrow craft ideology promoted by the labor misleaders and "bourgeoisified" workers of many craft unions, like some steam fitters and boiler makers strengthens the narrow craft prejudices and interests among the workers.

To break up the revolutionary unity of the working class being built up through the winning of union recognition of the OCAW and the closed shop and demands like the 8 hour day, the monopoly capitalists stepped up their offensive against the class. To take back these concessions with their other hand, they brought back the open shop and pushed the growth of craft unions, bribing the upper strata of workers and labor leaders that best misled the working class by appealing to narrow craft prejudices among the class. Another form of national oppression of Afro-american workers is their exclusion from the industry, keeping them in the lowest paid and unskilled jobs, like the operators, and the propagation of white-chauvinist ideology. This feeds the division among the class to the interest of Rockefeller.

## OIL WORKERS BUILD AN INDUSTRY-WIDE STRIKE FOR CLOSED SHOPS!

As Lenin said, the proletariat can become revolutionary only as long as it doesn't restrict itself to the narrow framework of craft interests. The proletariat must act as the leader of all the toiling and exploited masses in all matters and spheres of life. We cannot achieve the dictatorship of proletariat, the majority over the handful of bourgeoisie unless we are prepared and able to make the greatest sacrifices for the sake of victory over the bourgeoisie.

That's why a key demand for this upcoming skirmish with the monopoly capitalists is to call for an industry-wide strike for the closed shop. To have a national strike of all oil workers that will deal a heavy blow to the capitalist class and paralyze the U.S. economy, the oil workers must combat the bourgeoisie's attempt to restrict the struggle to narrow interests along craft lines. To successfully defeat the bourgeoisie and their social lackeys in the working class, we must rise above the narrow craft interests which serve the bourgeoisie. In the past, when OCAW workers went out on picket lines, craft workers of other unions crossed them. We must call for the class unity of all oppressed and exploited workers against the vicious monopoly capitalists who enslave us.

## TRADE UNION MISLEADERS OUT, TAKE BACK OUR UNIONS

As for the labor misleaders and the labor aristocracy, these "bourgeoisified" workers, we must expose and kick them out of their posts and sweep them out of the working class movement! Unless we wage an immediate, systematic and extensive and open struggle against this principal social prop of the bourgeoisie in the working class, the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is impossible! We must replace them with workers, even if inexperienced, as long as they're connected with the exploited masses and workers.

The capitalists of the "advanced" countries are bribing the labor leaders and the labor aristocracy in a thousand different ways, directly and indirectly, openly and secretly. As a result, their way of living, their earnings and their entire outlook makes them the principal social prop of the bourgeoisie today. In a civil war between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, inevitably, they'll side with the bourgeoisie as they are now doing. They are the real agents of the bourgeoisie in the working class movement!

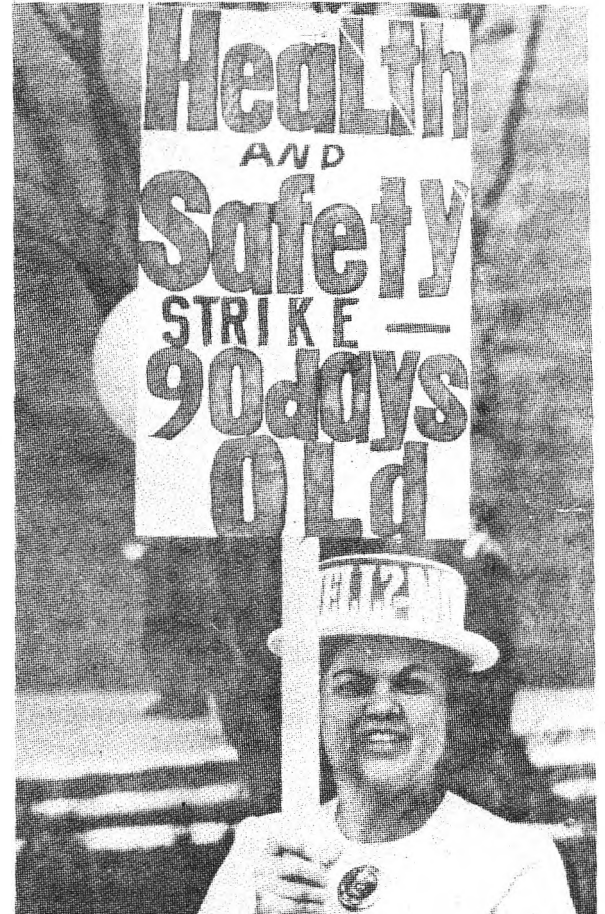
There's an inseparable connection between opportunism in the working class movement and the rise of imperialism. This had been traced by Marx and Engels historically. That's why Lenin said "the fight against imperialism is a sham and a humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism." To fight against imperialism, we not only have to struggle against exploitation by monopoly capitalists like Rockefeller in the refineries and oil fields. We must also struggle against the trade union misleaders like Grospiron, president of OCAW, who are detachments of the bourgeoisie in our movement, bribed by the superprofits of imperialism.

## WORKERS GET HIT FROM BOTH ENDS - BY CAPITALISTS AND GROSPIRON

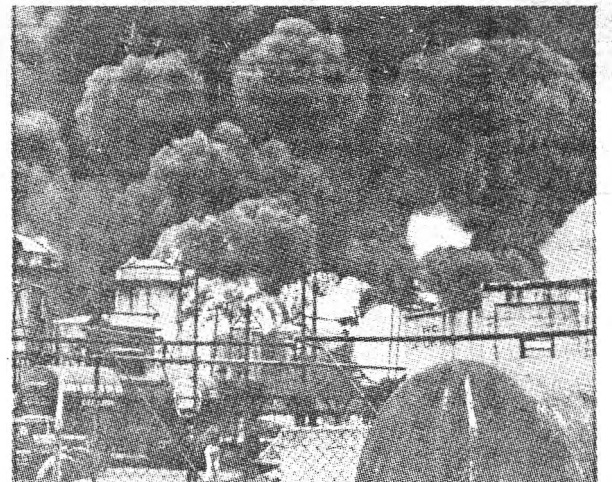
Recently, the trade union misleaders took up the demand for closed shop. We're not fooled by their tricks. They adopted the demand put forth by the Standard Oil unit of OCAW because of the spontaneous resistance to open shop by the rank and file. To maintain their posts and not expose themselves, they're forced to appear to take up genuine demands of the rank and file.

We must have no illusion that they will follow through. Their bargaining package is not our contract demands but Grospiron's own laundry list of demands, the National Oil Bargaining Program (NOBP). This is "selected"

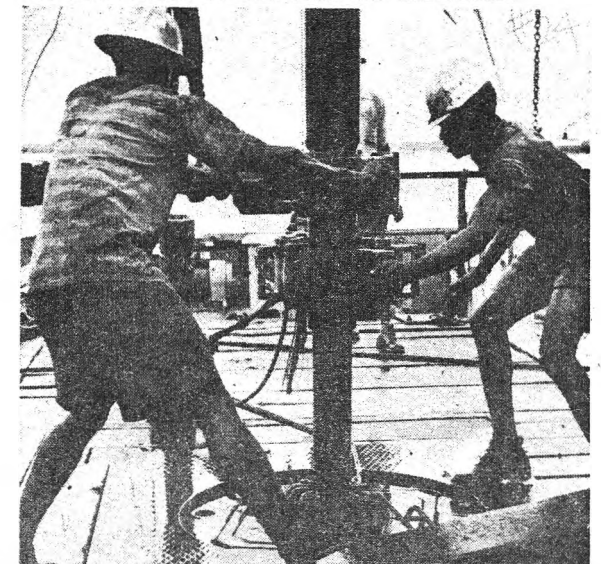
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OIL WORKERS HAVE A PROUD HISTORY OF STRUGGLE FOR INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM. UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THEIR VANGUARD PARTY, THE OIL WORKERS WILL SURELY END THE CRIMINAL RULE OF THE ROCKEFELLER OIL BARONS AND THE ENTIRE U.S. MONOPOLY RULING CLASS.



THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS' SOLE CONCERN FOR PROFITS CAUSES COUNTLESS ACCIDENTS AND INJURIES TO THE WORKING CLASS. UNDER THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, HEALTH AND SAFETY WILL BECOME A PRINCIPAL CONCERN IN CARRYING OUT PRODUCTION FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE TOILING MASSES OF THE U.S. AND THE WORLD.



OIL WORKERS IN NIGERIA. PART OF OPEC, THEY HAVE FIRMLY RESOLVED TO DEFEND THEIR NATIONAL INTERESTS AND RESOURCES AGAINST THE TWO SUPERPOWERS. WE MUST STAUNCHLY SUPPORT THEIR STRUGGLE.





HARRIET TUBMAN -- REVOLUTIONARY FIGHTER FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION IN THE BLACK BELT SOUTH.



IN THE 1930'S, THE COMMUNIST PARTY USA LED A REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE SCOTTSBORO BOYS, VICTIMS OF US MONOPOLY CAPITALISM'S VICIOUS NATIONAL OPPRESSION.

# THE DEATH PENALTY & POLITICAL

This past July, the Supreme Court decided to "bring back" the death penalty. We must properly understand its significance. The death penalty is a weapon of the capitalist class used to intimidate and threaten the growing working class movement and movements of oppressed nationalities and national minorities. The bourgeoisie knows that the working class and national movements, increasingly fusing with the communist movement, will inevitably become more and more revolutionary. In desperation the bourgeoisie tries to prevent this fusion through police repression and will use as exemplary punishment, the death penalty for revolutionaries.

The death penalty historically was used to intimidate the revolutionary struggles of workers and national movements in the United States: from the frame up and execution of workers in the Haymarket Rebellion of 1886 when the working class was on the move for better working conditions and the 8 hour day; to the murder of the Rosenbergs during the McCarthy period; and currently in preparation for war and fascist rule.

The courts, prisons and the death penalty are tools of class and national oppression. Since 1930, the death penalty has claimed the lives of 3,859 people, over 74% of whom were working class brothers and sisters, and over 50% of those killed by the government were Black. Prisons are filled and overflowing with hundreds of thousands of working class youth. Yet mass murderers like Nixon, Rockefeller, and the children of the bourgeoisie (who become short-term terrorists for kicks and then recant like Patty Hearst) are set free.

Trying to hold back the historical tide, the bourgeoisie is trying to make circulation of "seditious literature" and "inciting to insurrection" illegal and punishable by death. The Senate Bill 1 or S-1 Bill, the reworked Nixon omnibus crime bill, threatens to remove most of the democratic rights the working class now has, to mete out heavy punishment for political offenses such as demonstrations, strikes, etc and to make the death penalty mandatory for certain offenses such as sabotage -- loosely defined and open to bourgeois, anti-working class interpretations.

The movements of the past several decades, by struggling against exploitation and national oppression forced the Supreme Court to change its "face," to "abolish" the death penalty in 1972. Now as we enter into the beginnings of a flow in the workers and mass movements, the capitalists are restoring it.

But in fact they never abolished it, they only stopped the "legal" death penalty from being used for a time. Bourgeois courts said that capital punishment was unconstitutional because it was being applied in an arbitrary manner, as "an open invitation to discrimination." Seeing growing mass working class upsurge, they are bringing back a "fairer," more "humane" death penalty providing guidelines for its being applied "even-handedly." These are only cosmetic gimmicks used by the bourgeoisie to dress up their repressive machinery and at the same time sharpen it.

Reforms in the death penalty are not designed to save the lives of our class brothers and sisters in struggle, but to save and prolong the life of decadent capitalism. The recent media campaign over Gary Gilmore and his demand for death is all a method to promote the acceptability of the death penalty, to show how the death penalty can be a "humane" alternative for some prisoners, how some prisoners even welcome it. This is a reflection of the bourgeoisie's attempt to promote death as a solution to working class problems, rather than the struggle for a decent life, for socialist revolution.

Thus, the death penalty must be seen in the context of the oppression of the working class and as one of the repressive tactics of the bourgeoisie. In particular, we must deepen our grasp of the class character of crime, as it is under the demagogic phrases about the "reduction of crime" that the bourgeoisie intensifies its repression of the revolutionary working class movement.

Faced with a working class movement that is growing not only in size, but in heightened political consciousness, the monopoly capitalists are forced to step up their repressive tactics against the proletariat, and the communist movement, while at the same time continuing to exercise their main form of rule - reforms.

## TWO VIEWS ON CRIME

The expansion and centralization of the police and intelligence apparatus, the development of sophisticated equipment and SWAT teams, the attempt to pass the S-1 and a bill requiring national ID cards, as well as the "re-institution" of an active death penalty are all a part of these repressive tactics of the bourgeoisie under the facade of "law and order", of "protecting" the working class from the growing wave of crime which is an inevitable outgrowth of the decay and

crisis of capitalism. They use the masses' genuine fear of being mugged by lumpen elements and our proletarian indignation, to their own advantage by heightening the repression of the working class.

The bourgeoisie media focuses on the increase in "street" crime in an attempt to divert the attention from themselves, the real criminals in capitalist society. The real criminals' rule is founded on the oppression and exploitation of the proletariat, oppressed nationalities and national minorities. Every minute, every hour, they steal from the working class, exploiting our labor in order to make huge profits for themselves, while brutalizing the children of working class and oppressed national communities through an arm of their state apparatus (police), raining tons of bombs against those heroically struggling for national liberation. Yet these real criminals, the monopoly capitalists, go scot free. Their crimes are sanctioned by the bourgeois state, the organ for their rule, and the bourgeois legal system.

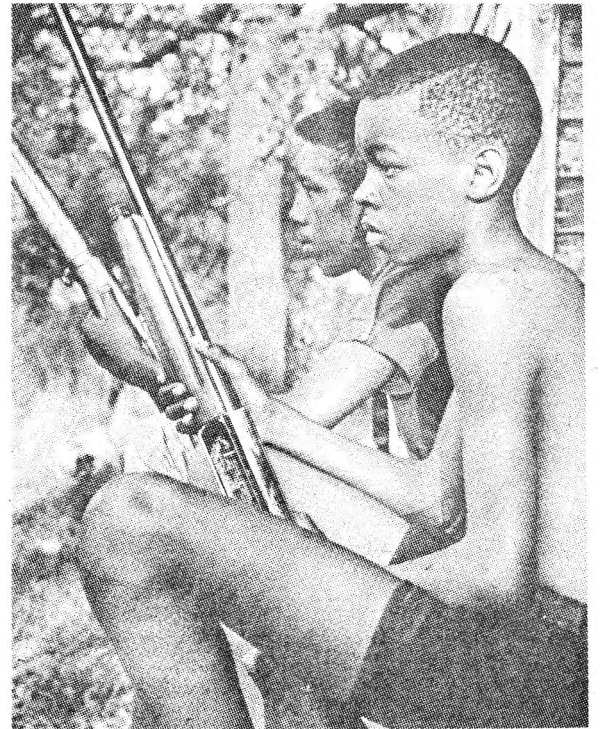
The crimes that are prosecuted by the state are largely petty crimes, the results of capitalist exploitation. On this question, we must divide one into two and look at its different aspects -- those workers who are driven to petty crime by capitalism, and those elements that leech off the working class. Under capitalism, as the economic situation worsens and it becomes harder for the masses to survive, many people are driven to crime in an attempt to survive under capitalism. Although we do not justify these petty crimes, we are clear that they are mainly driven to them by an intolerable situation created by the real criminals, the monopoly capitalists. The solution to the oppression of the proletariat is not individuals resorting to crime, often against class brothers and sisters, but by uniting with the working class and oppressed nationalities in making proletarian revolution.

Then there are those lumpen elements and gangs who live off the working class and gain from the decay of capitalism - the pimps, loan sharks, hustlers, pushers, etc. There are those petty-bourgeois elements who parasitically live off the working class - bail bondsmen, lawyers who fix cases, etc. These degenerate elements are generated by decaying capitalism and as the economic crisis deepens and the ruling class must prepare the ideological and political base by splitting the working class by promoting backward ideas, and degenerate





DESPITE SNOW AND RAIN, AFRO-AMERICAN STUDENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA ROSE UP IN 1972 TO PROTEST POLITICAL REPRESSION.



FROM THE RURAL SECTION OF THE BLACK BELT SOUTH, AFRO-AMERICAN YOUTH PREPARE FOR THE KKK AND POLICE, AGENTS OF US MONOPOLY CAPITALISM.

# REPRESSION IN BLACK BELT SOUTH

culture, they jump out in even greater numbers.

Typically, the Revolutionary "Communist" Party (RCP), in their populist, pragmatic, attempt to get next to the spontaneous working class movement, completely liquidates the class character of crime:

In their article on the death penalty in The Worker (July issue), they say:

'Some of them (prisoners on death row - ed.) are guilty of truly terrible crimes and at least under capitalism won't change.' The RCP populists gloss over the difference in class nature between class crime and petty crime, both resulting from the decay of capitalism. They never draw a distinction between proletarian kernels and backward views that can be used to build the base for fascism.

The pragmatism of the RCP led them to use the catchword "terrible" for all crimes, trying to get over the quickest and easiest way on the question of the death penalty (as they do on all other questions). Not providing any Marxist-Leninist analysis is to allow bourgeois ideas to flourish and take hold. And this is exactly what the RCP is practicing." (WV Aug. Vol. 1, No. 5 Death Penalty: OL's "Two Aspects Theory" of the State Exposes Their Illusions of Bourgeois Democracy)

We are not opposed to the death penalty at all times. Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, where the state represents the interests of the masses of the people, we uphold the death penalty in its application to those counter revolutionaries who commit crimes against the people in their attempt to wreck socialism and restore capitalism. However, we oppose the death penalty under the bourgeois state. For it is used as a weapon of the monopoly capitalists to intimidate, oppress, and murder workers and oppressed nationalities rising up against the criminal rule of the bourgeoisie.

## DEATH PENALTY & NATIONAL OPPRESSION

WHERE THERE IS OPPRESSION THERE IS RESISTANCE

The Afro-American national movement in its militant struggles, especially the struggle for armed self-defense of the Afro-American community, have resulted in a significant decrease in the

number of people being killed in acts of national oppression, whether by "legal" or other means. This has been historically demonstrated by the Deacons for Defense in the Black Belt South who took up armed self defense against the terrorist attacks of the KKK and "official" arms of the state apparatus, the Local Sheriffs and Police, the State Troopers, etc.; the heroic acts of self defense by the Afro-American community in Cairo, Illinois against "official" state, county and local police attacks; the Republic of New Africa militants in Detroit, Michigan, who took up armed self defense against attacks by the Detroit police department, etc. and countless other examples of resistance. But we must recognize that as the struggle for revolution intensifies, the bourgeoisie will resort to numerous methods of repression, coupled with sugar coated reforms.

As class and national oppression increase, the toiling masses increasingly rise up to repel the attacks. In New Jersey, hundreds of Afro Americans stormed the police station in protesting the murder of an 18 year old youth by an off duty policeman in 1975. Angered Afro Americans in East Palo, California turned out in the streets over the shooting death of a 15 year old youth Gregory White by two policemen. In Virginia, over 1,200 Afro Americans protested the re-imprisonment of Thomas Wansley, falsely accused of a crime, after a higher court reversed a lower court decision.

Often, as a spontaneous response to national oppression, Afro Americans have directed their anger at the police that patrol the Afro American communities protecting capitalist property and repressing rebellions and spontaneous resistance. Spontaneous shootings as well as planned shootings of police have been a chief reason why the bourgeoisie has hooked the death penalty to police shootings in an attempt to intimidate and repress kernels of spontaneous resistance against the capitalist system itself.

## REPRESSION IN BLACK BELT SOUTH: N. CAROLINA

The death penalty under capitalism has always been used to preserve the system of exploitation and national oppression, especially in the Black Belt South. The 1837 North Carolina statutes automatically condemned to death those found guilty of, among other things, "concealing a slave with intent to free him. . .inciting slaves to insurrection. . .circulating seditious literature among slaves. . .", etc.

Numerous leaders of slave revolts were executed for their resistance to slavery John Brown, who took up arms to stimulate a slave revolt was executed after first being found guilty of treason, inciting a slave insurrection, and first-degree murder.

After reconstruction was betrayed by the Northern bourgeoisie, Jim Crow became the official legal system in the Black Belt South, accompanied by Klan lynchings and police organized race riots. These were the main methods of dealing with the heroic rebellions for self determination in the Black Belt South, consolidating the industrial and planter bourgeoisie's hold over Afro American tenant farmers and share croppers in the Black Belt South.

Today, in North Carolina, the death row population is the highest in the country. Numerous mass demonstrations and protests have been staged. In 1974, in Tarboro, North Carolina, over 2,000 Afro-Americans staged a protest meeting culminating in a boycott of businesses and plant shutdowns in this textile mill town. Also in the state, protest developed around the sentencing of Samuel Poole to death row on trumped up rape charges. Greensboro, N.C., the site of the sit-ins of the 60's and the uprisings 1969-1970, organized numerous protests against police brutality and the death penalty. In 1972 an ad-hoc group called Black Citizens Concerned with Police Brutality formed to protest the shooting death of a young Afro-American youth and the numerous other incidents of police repression. The group culminated its efforts with a Black Community Trial where they denounced and declared the white bourgeois courts unfit to try Afro-American people and where they found the mayor and the police force guilty of violence and murder in the Greensboro Afro-American community. Though repression in North Carolina has been brutal, the masses of people, particularly Afro-Americans, are mounting resistance against brutal repression in N.C.

## FOCUS FOR REVISIONISTS & BOURGEOISIE

In its bid for misleadership of the Afro-American national movement, the "C" PUSA ("Communist" Party USA) chose North Carolina to be the focus of its National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression. The "C" PUSA calls N.C. the "laboratory of repression", one of the most repressive states in the US.

Historically, NC has also been known as one of the most "liberal" states in the South. Both are true, as the "lib-

(continue on p. 27)



# PRACTICE THEORY, MASS LINE, Surest Road to Correct Leadership

## Militant Struggle at Brooklyn College

"Irresistible is the revolutionary torrent let loose by the students and workers!" (Peking Review #22, May 31, 1968)

Revolutionary students throughout the nation and the world are proving to be an important motive force of great political and social significance as they continue to exhibit a tenacious and militant stand against capitalist oppression. Through arduous struggle and a willingness to join hands with the masses of oppressed people, they are clearly showing that, indeed, the future is bright - the trend of socialist revolution is inevitable and irreversible!

Defying the rain and freezing cold, two hundred black, Latin, Asian and white students and workers demonstrated against and stopped the proficiency examinations being given at Brooklyn College on Dec. 20, 1976.

Brooklyn College is one of the "testing grounds" for the proficiency examination, which has been designed to kick a sizable percentage of students off of the different campuses. Sugar-coated with lies from liberal politicians about intentions to "upgrade" CUNY and to help students develop language arts and math skills, the proficiency exam is being fully exposed as a bourgeois tactic to further divide the working class students in CUNY and to turn CUNY into educational institutions for the elite.

This scheme of the dying capitalist has not gone unchallenged, and the result is a mounting force determined to not only expose the tactic, but, indeed, crush it to the ground. Provided with leadership that is guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the masses of students in CUNY have shown their total willingness to struggle in a revolutionary way for their just demands. They have shown their determination to "fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again - till their victory...!"

The demonstration was initiated and led by the May Fourth Coalition, a revolutionary student organization formed under the leadership of the Workers Viewpoint Organization. Shouting militant chants, the demonstrators marched into each of the four exam sites and declared (under mandate of the masses of oppressed students) the exams officially over!

This demonstration was a clear sign that students at Brooklyn College, supported by students and workers throughout CUNY, are rising up like a storm against all forms of oppression. Students, faculty, and workers are showing that they will not lie back and accept the latest maneuvers by the ruling capitalist class to eliminate thousands of minority and other working class students from CUNY.

In keeping with this outlook, the masses of students at Brooklyn College have waged demonstration after demonstration, waged battle after battle and, along with the entire working class, moved closer and closer to ultimate victory. Starting this year with the militant response of Puerto Rican students to national oppression in the forms of cuts in bilingual education, ethnic studies, tuition, and the forced proficiency exams, the struggle grew to include the masses of black, Latin, Asian and white students and workers on campus who, through revolutionary struggle, have exhibited their understanding of the need for an organized, multi-national movement against the fascist designs of the ruling class.

While the past demonstrations have dealt blow upon blow to the ruling class, the demonstration of December 20th was by far the most militant, most highly poli-

tical, most revolutionary and most effective of the demonstrations on campus this year. In addition to stopping the exams, there was a high level of fusion between communists and students, which was clearly exhibited by a) the masses' acceptance of the leadership of the May Fourth Coalition, a mass student organization, led by Workers Viewpoint Organization, and b) the positive response to communist speeches at the rally, which culminated the demonstration.

Chanting revolutionary slogans, the demonstrators, in a militant, disciplined, and unstoppable fashion, dared to face the campus guards, administrative threats, and go beyond the bounds of bourgeois legality in order to fight for their just demands. They entered each exam room, and, using agitation and propaganda, not only stopped the exams but got students to tear up their exams and join the demonstrators. Cheers rang out as students committed themselves to struggle continuously against the exams and other forms of oppression until the ruling class is crushed into final defeat!

### EDUCATION UNDER CAPITALISM.

In order for us to be clear on the importance of the struggle being waged throughout CUNY in general and Brooklyn College in particular, we must deepen our understanding of the role of bourgeois education, and the implications of



GUIDED BY THE GENUINE COMMUNIST PARTY, THE YOUTH-STUDENT MOVEMENT DEALS DEATH BLOWS TO THE BOURGEOISIE.

the most recent attacks by the bourgeoisie on working class students and oppressed nationalities and national minorities. We must also be clear on the role of Communists in these spontaneous struggles of students against oppression in all its forms, and the dangerous role of revisionists and opportunists in mis-leading the youth/student movement.

Higher education, like any other bourgeois institution, is true to the nature of the system -- it is run to serve the bourgeoisie -- the banks and the corporations. In keeping with this, education in this country was never meant to serve the interests of the working class, but rather, one, to train technicians, scientists, managers, politicians, etc. and other intellectuals that are necessary to maintain the profits of monopoly capitalism; and, two, it is meant to ideologically serve the bourgeoisie by spreading illusions in bourgeois democracy and by consolidating individuals with bourgeois ideology, i.e. pragmatism, idealism, ethnocentrism, racism, individualism, etc. to mislead the working class. In short, education has been a major weapon of the monopoly capitalists to attempt to maintain their rule through branding each of us with bourgeois world outlook.

While the strategic aim of education in this society has been to perpetuate the system of capitalism, its tactics take various forms. Throughout the development of education in the United States, the monopoly capitalists have enforced its class and national tracking

system -- dividing students in accordance to class interests, skills, capabilities and nationalities -- so as to better facilitate their strategic aim of maintaining capitalism.

### REFORMS ARE A BY-PRODUCT OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE.

In the past, higher education was only for a privileged few, while national minorities and oppressed nationalities and other sons and daughters of the working class were always tracked into vocational schools, straight into unskilled labor or else into unemployment. However, this was to change somewhat when, during the sixties, members of the working class in general and the oppressed nationalities and national minorities in particular, waged militant struggles throughout the country demanding open admissions and ethnic studies. Faced with the rising and mighty storm of workers and students, the ruling class was forced to make certain concessions and grant reforms in the area of education. These reforms, while a by-product of revolutionary struggle, must be viewed as temporary measures implemented by the bourgeoisie in order to maintain its class rule. The reforms will only last as long as the working class continues its revolutionary struggle. Reforms must never be seen as the answer to our problem. It is only through socialist revolution, led and guided by the genuine vanguard party, that the ultimate aims, aspirations, and needs of the working class can be realized.

In keeping with our understanding of the nature of reforms, and the dialectical relationship between reforms and repression, we can best understand that, during a time of great political and economic crisis in the capitalist system, the bourgeoisie is forced to retract all concessions made during the fight for quality education and employment by closing down working class colleges, dividing the working class around issues such as busing; creating arenas for increased competition within the working class, and isolating and excluding revolutionary youth and students from higher education by setting up strict requirements through "new" forms of tracking systems, i.e. proficiency exams. They are forced to step up this process of fascistization, which is clearly shown by such tactics as a SUNY-CUNY merger, the elimination of progressive groups from campuses, the increase of police and agents on campus, and stepping up bourgeois propaganda and agitation aimed at creating and exploiting backward ideas amongst the working class and students.

Where there is oppression, however, there will always be resistance! In the face of increased repression by the bourgeoisie, workers and students throughout the nation have put up a consistent and militant resistance, and through spontaneous struggle shown their desire to eliminate all forms of oppression. Communists must take the lead in these struggles and turn spontaneous struggles into struggle for socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat for the cause of communism! Communists must be able to integrate with the broad masses of workers and students in order to provide leadership to achieve our aim. Mindful of this task, we must constantly beware of the sham communists, the revisionists and the opportunists, who, while hoisting the red banner of communism, would divert us into the marsh.

### PETTY BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM OF PSP EXPOSED

The youth/student movement has been no exception to the appearance of sham communists who try to divert the progressive student struggles. Brooklyn College in particular, can serve as an example of the necessity to staunchly expose the treachery of misleaders, liberal politicians, and opportunists within the movement. The Puerto Rican Socialist



# SELF-CRITICISM of the Youth & Student Struggle

Party and other assorted opportunists confined the level of struggle at Brooklyn College with their petty bourgeois nationalism and economism ("fight back") and had to resort to lies and slanders in order to consolidate the Puerto Rican students around their bankrupt lines. These opportunists have emerged in full swing against the revolutionary efforts of students to forge multinational unity as represented by the May Fourth Coalition.

These organizations have shown their true colors during the recent demonstration at Brooklyn College. The PSP not only failed to follow through on their commitment to mobilize students for the December 20th demonstration, but did not actively participate in the demonstration itself. This has been a part of the revisionist trend of PSP. From the beginning of the struggle, PSP consistently exhibited their petty bourgeois nationalist line, only mobilizing students from the Puerto Rican Studies Department for the first demonstration, setting up phony ad-hoc committees aimed at confining leadership and planning to themselves, and in their various propaganda, narrowed the struggle against the proficiency exams as an issue that only concerned Puerto Rican students as opposed to the working class students in general and all oppressed nationalities and national minorities in particular. Their lines were exposed by their inability to provide any leadership to the struggle and by the masses of students that showed up in multinational unity to support the struggle despite the fact that PSP did not mobilize the rest of the student body.

The struggle at Brooklyn College was a spontaneously taken up by the Puerto Rican students in their struggle against class and national oppression. However, without the correct orientation, without the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought to guide the struggle, the revisionist PSP attempted to pimp off the struggle and pushing their petty bourgeois nationalism, limited the struggle to Puerto Ricans. Inevitably, the struggle was not focused and ineffective, causing demoralization among students.

The advanced however, remained undaunted. Led by the May Fourth Coalition, and the WVO, the masses spontaneously attempted to sum up the struggle, separate the positive from the negative, the correct from the incorrect and once again march forward. This reflected the boundless revolutionary initiative and determination of the masses.

WVO must make a self-criticism for our weakness in implementing mass line during the struggle at Brooklyn College. Although there were some application of mass line that enabled us to give political, organizational and tactical guidance during the struggle, we failed to provide a framework and orientation to fully unleash the initiative of the masses, to tap the rich experiences and ideas of the masses through the fusion of the science of MLMttT.

Despite our weaknesses, the advanced took good initiative. Led by the May Fourth Coalition, the advanced students actively raised propaganda in different classrooms, educating the masses of students on the issue of proficiency exams. The students, with their revolutionary spirit, wrote leaflets, visited other campuses in an attempt to link up the different struggles together. Also taking into account the particularities of the struggle, the students actively prepared floor plans, investigated the changing tactics of the administration on the campus. All this is a reflection of the historic revolutionary spirit and fighting tradition of the youth and students in this country and around the world.

Although we were late in recognizing our weaknesses in mass line, we attempted to rectify. Through guiding the later



THE BOURGEOISIE'S ATTEMPT TO DENY THE WORKING CLASS AND OPPRESSED NATIONAL MINORITY STUDENTS THEIR RIGHTS TO AN EDUCATION WILL BE MET BY A MIGHTY TORRENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH-STUDENT MOVEMENT.

sumups, we established the correct framework and orientation for the struggle at Brooklyn College. Given the framework of immediate and universal preparation of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the cause of communism, and linked to the struggle at Brooklyn College, the advanced under the guidance of Communists were able to separate the universal from the particular, able to sum up to the level of line the correct application of United Front tactic in uniting the various organizations on campus; the nature of the state and bourgeois legality; the class nature of PSP, etc. Through the correct application of mass line, the advanced were able to move from perceptual to rational knowledge and their spontaneous stand with the working class became a class-conscious stand with the proletariat.

Once armed with the science of MLMttT, the advanced surged forward in leaps and bounds in the struggle. With the correct framework and orientation to guide their work, the advanced and May Fourth Coalition in particular were able to adapt to changing conditions, were able to mobilize for the demonstration on short notice and able to unite the campus in a focused, directed struggle aimed straight at the heart of the bourgeoisie! In the course of the demonstration itself, the class-conscious stand of the students was shown by their militant, organized and disciplined nature. This was in clear demarcation from the assorted opportunists who were only able to tail after the masses, only able to complain that the correct line had gained hegemony and leadership in the movement!

## Theory, Mass Line and Criticism/Self-Criticism

Maintaining close ties with the masses, learning from them and criticism/self-criticism are two of the three great traditions of the CPC. These two traditions, along with linking theory with practice are indispensable styles of work of all Communists. The struggle at Brooklyn College once again confirms the tremendous value of the mass line of Chairman Mao. It once again confirms that the masses under the leadership of Communists are irresistible and with the correct style of work the advanced in particular, becomes the eyes and ears of Communists, the concrete link with the broad masses.

To correctly apply mass line, communists must first apply the summed up historical experiences of the international proletariat in its general aspects -- the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought -- to provide concrete political orientation for the masses. This is an aspect of what Chairman Mao said is the "linking the particular with the general" in his writings concerning the methods of leadership.

Communists and advanced students must study Marxist science. For only

on this theoretical basis will we be able to guide and sum up practice. No matter how rich our practice is, we will fail in the struggle if we do not guide it with Marxist theory. We especially stress this task of studying Marxism today, when our principal task is to build the genuine communist party in the US, the vanguard of the US proletariat that will lead the socialist revolution.

However, the general ideological, political and tactical orientation is necessary but not sufficient in itself. We must learn from the masses. For as Lenin put it:

"The Bolshevik slogans and ideas on the whole have been confirmed by history; but concretely things have worked out differently; they are more original, more peculiar, more variegated than anyone could have expected. To ignore or overlook this fact would mean taking after those 'old Bolsheviks' who more than once already have played so regrettable a role in the history of our Party by reiterating formulas senselessly learned by rote instead of studying the specific features of the new and living reality." (Lenin, Letters on Tactics, Vol. 24)

To learn and to be guided by the general theory is a pre-requisite for the working class and its vanguard Party. This we have struggled out decidedly with right opportunists such as the Revolutionary Union (RU) and October League (OL) in the last few years. But to

concretely lead the struggles in different fronts, we must learn the concrete situation, the concrete questions, insights as well as doubts and reservations of the masses. We must tap the real revolutionary initiative and knowledge of the masses, whose ideas though in a scattered and unsystematic form, reflects the real, "more original, more peculiar, more variegated...specific features of the new and living reality." This is necessary to tightly link the general with the particular, theory with practice. This is the aspect of "from the masses". Then we must concentrate their knowledge, opinions and views by getting rid of the dross and retaining the essence, discerning the appearance from the essence, by applying the Marxist class view, and method, detect trends and tendencies, and return the scientifically summed up view to the masses. Through struggle against the bourgeoisie and opportunists, sum up again with the masses and in this way, through repeated process, enrich our line as well as winning the masses to the side of communism. This is the aspect of "to the masses".

The struggle WVO led in Brooklyn College represented one small cycle of this process. We have attempted to apply this line, though with many shortcomings. From the historical standpoint, the fact that communists use and struggle to establish these three great traditions

(continue on p. 34)



# Dual Tactics of Superpowers

## MINI-STATE SCHEME AFTER LEBANON

### THE HARD "SOFT" DUAL TACTICS OF THE SUPERPOWERS--THE MINI STATE SCHEME AFTER LEBANON

Tal al Zatar! The events surrounding this heroic struggle waged by the Palestinian freedom fighters serve both as a symbol and a reminder of the Palestinian people's determination to return to their historic homeland. It is a symbol of the Palestinians' and all oppressed people's movements against the superpowers, Zionism, and reactionaries the world over. It is a reminder of the brutality and desparation of the imperialists and reactionaries in their frenzy to divide the world.

The inevitable doom of the superpowers and reactionaries has already been sealed by history. However, the Arab people's movement, spurred on by the cause of Palestine, reaches higher levels daily and is hurrying that end even closer. With scores of young revolutionaries and Marxist-Leninists developing in the course of the struggle, the superpowers' dreams of superprofits are being crushed in the Middle East.

The massacre at Tal al Zatar has proven that the superpowers, Zionists, and local reactionaries cannot stamp out the flames of the Palestinian people's resistance to oppression. On the contrary they only arouse more determination to fight against their schemes. They only expose their real nature to the world.

Unable to stamp out the flames of the Palestinian liberation struggle, they now must resort to trying to smother it. It is in this context that we must approach the question of the Palestinian "mini-state", once again being peddled by the superpowers. It is in the context of the two tactics of imperialism--from armed aggression to "peaceful settlement", from all-out extermination (particularly after some recent losses in the hands of the Syrian reactionaries in Lebanon) to the "concession" of the mini-state--that the just demand of the Palestinian people for their whole homeland and the establishment of a multinational, secular state including the Jewish people, takes on more significance.

To appreciate the tremendous growth of the Palestinian movement it is necessary to understand their recent history.

#### BRIEF HISTORY OF PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE

The resistance of the Palestinian people goes back to 1936-1939, when the people of Palestine rose up against British rule. Aided by the collaboration of the Zionists and British colonialists, the Arab people were pitted against the Jewish people.

The United Nations, then dominated by the imperialists (including the Zionists and British colonialists) partitioned Palestine into a Jewish state and an Arab state. At that time, the feudal regimes in the Middle East rising against the schemes of the imperialists, were unprepared and unable to defeat the imperialist-backed settler state of Israel. However, it was in the course of that war in 1948 that more patriotic forces under the new leadership of the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie developed. This in turn gave rise to a stronger anti-imperialist national movement throughout the various countries in the Middle East. The action of the Egyptian government to nationalize the Suez Canal in 1956 illustrated the growth of this anti-imperialist national movement. But restricted by their class interests, the Arab national bourgeoisie were also afraid to thoroughly arouse and mobilize the Arab masses in their fear that in the course of struggle against imperialism, their own rule would topple as well. Thus instead of relying on the energy and initiative of the masses of Arab people, they relied heavily on conventional warfare and as a result began to rely on imperialist powers to help them fight other imperialist powers!

Not utilizing the enthusiasm and energy of the Arab masses was crystalized in the defeat of the Arab countries by Israeli aggressors in the June 1967 war. As a result of that defeat, millions of Palestinians were driven out of the West Bank, Jerusalem, and other areas into deserts and more refugee camps. While the national bourgeoisie vacillated because of the defeat, the masses grew more steeled. Proving once again that, "Where ever there is oppression, there is resistance," this aggression further fired the anger of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples. Tens of thousands of Palestinians were formed into grass roots resistance groups throughout the Middle East. Moreover, the military arrogance of the aggressors spurred the Palestinian people to seek out the indirect experience of class and other national struggles around the world--particularly the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought.

Thus, as a result of bitter lessons, sum-ups and study, the Palestinian people, organized in the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), have adopted the tactic of protracted people's war and are relying more on the masses than weapons in their struggle for their homeland. It was this development that was responsible for the great victory the Arab people achieved in the October War of 1973, for it was only under tremendous popular pressure of the Arab people that the Egyptian and Syrian Governments joined forces with the Palestinian resistance to defeat the U.S. imperialists and Israeli aggressors.

In the light of the thirty year resistance of the Palestinian people against oppression by the imperialists, is it any wonder the superpowers must resort to tricks and schemes in their vain attempt to divert and destroy the growth of the Palestinian movement? What have been their tactics aside from the outright repression of the Palestinian people? How is their mini-state formulation part and parcel of their devious plans?

#### TREACHERY OF THE SUPERPOWERS

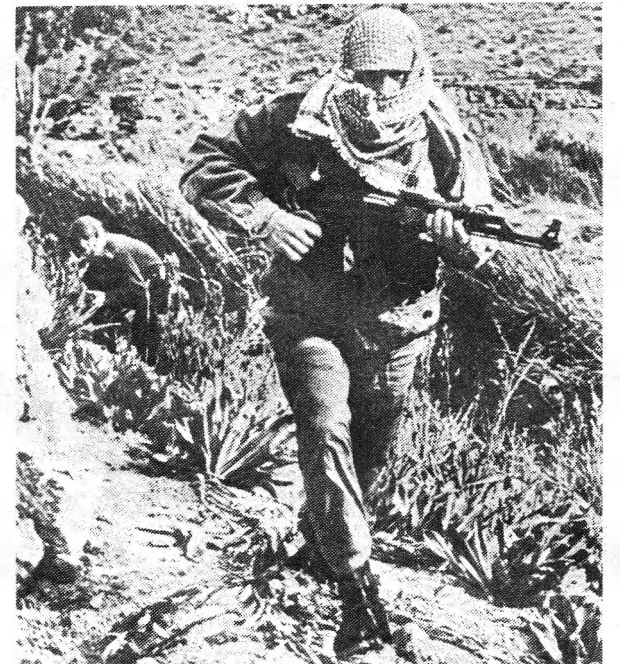
The crimes of the U.S. imperialists against the Palestinian and Arab people since World War II are well known. From their direct support of Israeli-Zionist aggression to the CIA-supported slaughter of 20,000 Palestinians (in the course of 3 months in 1971), their brutal nature and greedy aims have been well exposed. And we must deepen this exposure.

It is the Soviet social-imperialists who have remained more hidden behind their words of "socialism." It is they, because they are more hidden, who are more dangerous, as they contend and collude with U.S. imperialism for spheres of influence in the Middle East.

In the early stages of the Palestinian struggle the Soviet social-imperialists (SSI) did not even recognize the Palestinian people's demand for the recovery of their historic homeland. In fact, the Soviet social-imperialists joined the Zionists and the U.S. imperialists in denouncing the Palestinian resistance! However, after the October War, after the tide had turned toward the Palestinian people, after the Palestinian struggle had already won worldwide support, then they turned around and "backed" the "national rights" of the Palestinians. And yet even then, they did not support the demand for the recovery of the Palestinian homeland. This "backing" is more like a stab in the back since it denies the heart of the struggle - the formation of a multinational, secular nation of Palestine. It is part of their counter-revolutionary tactic of "no war, no peace."

#### "NO WAR - NO PEACE" TACTIC OF SUPERPOWERS

The "no war, no peace" tactic is the tactic by which both superpowers contend and collude in the Middle East. The "no war, no peace" situation--a situation of



instability and apparent motion--is the best possible screen for both superpowers to penetrate the area without allowing the Arab people to eliminate Zionism completely (and therefore the imperialists' interests) in a protracted peoples' revolutionary war.

An essential element of the superpowers' "no war, no peace" tactic is the safeguarding of the existence of the settler state of Israel. Both superpowers use Israel as their junior partner to "check" the growth of the Palestinian movement. Both superpowers pushed through the UN resolution #242 which denies the right of the Palestinian people to regain their homeland. Both superpowers are key to the survival of Israel in that Israel relies on military support from the U.S. and manpower from the Soviet Union. Thus as the Palestinian resistance grows and Israel becomes further isolated, the superpowers must resort to further tricks - from Resolution 242, the Rogers Plan, Kissinger's step-by-step negotiations to Soviet social-imperialism's renewed Geneva Conference - trying to stem the growth and divert the struggle of the Palestinian movement. The mini-state scheme works neatly into their plans.

#### SUPERPOWER MINI-STATE SCHEME FITS INTO "NO WAR-NO PEACE" TACTIC

The superpowers hope to gain in a number of ways by their schemes:

First, it splits or retards the growth of the popular movement of the Palestinian people.

Second, as it diverts the Palestinian struggle, so too does it split the unity of all the Arab people of different Middle eastern Arab nations who have historically viewed the Palestinian cause as their own. It removes a key rallying point in their struggle against imperialism.

Third, it guarantees the continued existence of the settler state of Israel. Which in turn guarantees the continuance of the superpowers' "no war, no peace" tactic. There is either Israel or the multinational, secular state of Palestine - it cannot be both.

Fourth, by attempting to undermine the mass movement, the superpowers are trying to prevent the development of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in the Middle East.

Fifth, the Palestinian cause is an issue on which some national bourgeoisie in the Middle East are objectively forced to take a stand against the superpowers. The superpower mini-state scheme allows the reactionary bourgeoisie to disassociate themselves from

(continue on p. 34)



# Supreme Court Cuts Pregnancy Benefits

## Capitalists Use Civil Rights Act to Further Exploit Women Workers

With the recent Supreme Court decision that pregnancy need not be covered in disability benefits given to workers, we see how the bourgeoisie "grants reforms with one hand and with the other always takes them back and reduces them to naught, uses them to enslave the workers, to divide them into separate groups and perpetuates wage slavery." (Lenin, "Once Again About the Duma Cabinet") We see the hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie who say they are for equal rights for women by giving us Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, and then deny us our real rights.

In 1964, with Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, the bourgeoisie, in an attempt to cool down the rising movement of the national minorities, oppressed nationalities and

the awakening women's movement, "granted" us this to prohibit job discrimination due to race, religion, national origin, and sex. The bourgeoisie is now using this same law to prevent us from getting some concrete gains that speak to our oppression as women workers.

We see how sham the ERA is-liberal politicians and the petty bourgeoisie pushing for their abstract conception of "liberty and democracy", covering for the bourgeoisie as it tears away at every concrete gain that women have won in the course of struggle.

We must also expose this latest Supreme Court decision, expose all illusions of bourgeois democracy, of the neutrality and fairness of the courts; courts are an institution set up by the bourgeoisie to maintain its rule, to further oppress and exploit the working class. We must fight against all attempts to divert and narrow the struggle into petitioning Congress, drawing up new legislation, as many petty bourgeois liberals are doing.

A Coalition to End Discrimination Against Pregnant Workers was set up by petty bourgeois forces such as the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Organization of Women to draft legislation that would oppose the Supreme Court ruling. Kathleen Peratis of the American Civil Liberties Union says, "We bombed out in court, so we'll have to go to Congress."

The only way to fight for true equality for women is to smash the bourgeois dictatorship and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and fight for communism.

### WOMEN'S OPPRESSION IS CLASS OPPRESSION

Women Office Workers, a group organizing among office workers, believes the recent Supreme Court decision is what "you would expect from an all-male Supreme Court." This view reflects the petty bourgeois view on the women's question. It says that the main enemy of women is men. The root of our oppression is class oppression! But this petty bourgeois view aids the bourgeoisie in diverting the struggle of women workers from its goal of liberating all mankind. The struggle for women's equality must be inseparably linked to the struggle of the working class:

"...the true emancipation of women is not possible except through communism. You must lay stress on the unbreakable connection between women's human and social position and the private ownership of the means of production. This will

draw a strong, ineradicable line against the bourgeois movement for the 'emancipation of women.' This will also give us a basis for examining the woman question as part of the social, working-class question, and to bind it firmly with the proletarian class struggle and the revolution." (Clara Zetkin, My Recollections of Lenin.)

The oppression of women arose along with the division of society into classes. With the early development of agriculture and industry - cultivation of land, taming and breeding cattle, the development of the loom, use of metal as weapons and tools - primitive communal society, where property was shared, began to take another form.



A GREAT RESERVE OF THE WORKING CLASS, AND SOME OF ITS STAINCHEST FIGHTERS, WOMEN ARE LEARNING THAT THE FIGHT FOR EQUALITY MUST BE LINKED WITH THE FIGHT TO OVERTHROW THE BOURGEOIS DICTATORSHIP AS SHOWN HERE DURING THE 1937 FLINT STRIKE.

"The increase in production in all branches: cattle-raising, agriculture, domestic handicrafts - gave human labour-power the capacity to produce a larger product than was necessary for its maintenance. At the same time it increased the daily amount of work to be done by each member of the gens, household community or single family. It was now desirable to bring in new labor forces. War provided them; prisoners of war were turned into slaves. With its increase of the productivity of labour, and therefore of wealth, and its extension of the field of production, the first great social division of labour was bound, in the general historical conditions prevailing, to bring slavery in its train. From the first social division of labor arose the first great cleavage of society into two classes: masters and slaves, exploiters and exploited." (Engels, Origin of the Family, Private Property and State)

In primitive communal society, property was used commonly. Women worked mainly in the house, doing other household duties. Men hunted, fished, fought in wars. Each was equal, each was master of their own domain. With the division of society into classes, the division of labor between man and woman remained the same, but man's domain - raising cattle, making tools, etc.

became more important and therefore more dominant in this new society.

The herding society led to surpluses and the development of private property for the first time in the history of mankind and men's dominance over this private property became more important and men's corresponding social position also became more important. This turned the whole family relationship upside down, putting women and her domestic activity into a secondary role. Throughout slave and feudal society, this secondary role of women was maintained and reinforced.

Under capitalism, because of the bourgeoisie's drive for cheap labor power, women were more able to reach beyond the confines of domestic labor and enter social production. But the material base and ideology of male supremacy remains for the bourgeoisie to use at will to remove and put women back and forth in the labor force, according to their own needs and profits, under different conditions.

### WHAT DOES THE SUPREME COURT DECISION MEAN?

This recent Supreme Court decision shows how the bourgeoisie is again attempting to keep women workers as cheap labor and a reserve labor force. Every year more and more women are joining the workforce, becoming a larger and a revolutionary part of the working class. The attack on paid maternity benefits is part of the bourgeoisie' attempt to keep down the living standard of working class women, and attack on their demands for equal pay for equal work. Also, by denying women these pregnancy benefits, the capitalists gleefully will use women's frequent absences due to pregnancy as women workers as an excuse to lay off women workers. In times of capitalist crisis, the bourgeoisie does not need such a large labor force, as it does when their industries are geared to produce increasing profits for the capitalists.

Along with this "legal" means to force women out of the work force, the bourgeoisie conveniently uses the ideology of male supremacy to "put women in their place," with lower paying jobs, to confine them to domestic chores, and as sexual objects for men.

We already saw this come out with the bourgeoisie's push for the ERA, where right-wing groups "appealed to the good working class instincts of resentment against social decadence, against broken families and doped-up kids." "They spread the lie that ERA will force women out of the home...breed widespread homosexual marriage." They said that "American women never had it so good. Why should we lower ourselves to 'equal rights' when we already have the status of special privilege?" (WVO newspaper, Vol. 1, No. 1, "ERA: A Bourgeois Trick to Divert the Workers Movement").

We also have seen the push for the "total woman" image, and other degenerate ideas about women being inferior, ultra-feminine, etc.

"In the middle of this economic crisis where the working class - especially the oppressed nationalities and national minorities, and women - are hardest hit, anti-ERA forces act together with the bourgeoisie to push working women

(continue on p. 26)



# The Murder of Randolph Evans

## Police Brutality: A Concentrated Expression of National Oppression

On Thanksgiving evening, Randolph Evans, a 15 year old Afro-American youth, was shot in the head by a policeman in front of his housing project in Brooklyn's East New York. This shooting is not one isolated individual act of one policeman, but represents again, the hundreds of years of national oppression faced by the oppressed nationalities and national minorities, particularly faced by the Afro-American people outside the Black Belt South and national oppression of the Afro-American nation inside of the Black Belt South. The ruling class through its state apparatus has systematically brutalized Afro-Americans, denied them their democratic rights, and fostered racist ideas in order to split and weaken the working class. The material basis of this national oppression traces back to historic oppression by the ruling class of the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South. The Comintern stated:

"In the interest of the utmost clarity of ideas on this question, the Negro question in the United States must be viewed from the standpoint of its peculiarity, namely, as the question of an oppressed nation, which is in a peculiar and extraordinarily distressing situation of national oppression not only in view of the prominent racial distinctions (marked difference in the color of skin, etc.), but above all because of the considerable social antagonism (remnants of slavery)."

The shooting of Randolph Evans is a crystallization of this brutality used to oppress Afro-Americans. It represents the bourgeoisie's view that the lives of the oppressed masses are cheap and to be used and thrown away according to the profit of the bourgeoisie. The shooting of Randolph Evans represents all this and more over it is not simply a question of police brutality. We must look at what happened in the context of the current situation to deeply understand its significance.

### CURRENT CRISIS OF CAPITALISM -- BOURGEOISIE STEPS UP ITS ATTACKS ON THE WORKING CLASS AND OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES

With the intensification of the economic and political crisis of the ruling class, in order to save itself, the bourgeoisie must whip up racism to blunt the rising consciousness and unity of the working class. At the

same time, they must intensify its repression of the revolutionary upsurge of the oppressed nationalities and national minorities and delay the inevitable merger of the national and working class movements.

Historically, Afro-Americans have faced brutal conditions from the days of slavery, to the end of the Civil War when they were freed to become wage-slaves, to the civil rights Black Liberation movements in the 1960's and 1970's.

Police brutality was, is, and has been a common fact of life for Afro-Americans, as well as for other oppressed nationality and working class communities. One needs only to remember the murders in the last few years---10 year old Clifford Glover in Queens, 14 year old Claude Jr. in Brooklyn, Otto Lee in Harlem, to name only a few in New York alone---for that fact to hit home dramatically.

But police brutality represents not only the bourgeoisie's systematic repression of an oppressed nationality, but is also used to stir up racist sentiments between Afro-American and white working class families.

With this recent killing, racism has become the focal issue---white cop kills black youth. The issue is not as simple as that. It is a question of an attack by the state on an oppressed nationality and it is a question of preparing the ideological base for fascism by splitting up the working class.

### THE ROLE OF MISLEADERS IN PROPPING UP CAPITALISM, WHITE CHAUVINISM, AND PREPARING THE WAY FOR FASCIST RULE

The role of the NAACP, some preachers and Jesus hustlers, poverty pimps, revisionist & opportunist forces in the Afro-American community is to turn all spontaneous, militant movements of the oppressed nationality into national divisions, and into using reformist means to cover up class and national oppression. Their role is to mislead, misinform, & misdirect the working class and oppressed minorities. There is no way to reform the capitalist system and its inherent oppression of the masses of people. The only way to overthrow it is to set up a dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, socialism, to abolish

the material basis of class and national oppression.

The NAACP is pushing that the government (that represents the interests of the very class that oppresses the masses of people) to investigate the killing and why the police were slow in arresting police officer Torsney. This is like asking the hawk to investigate the hen house!

The government and police work hand in hand. Bourgeois democracy is a cover to give the working class the illusion that we have power and rights:

"...every state in which private ownership of the land and means of production exists, in which capital dominates, however democratic it may be, is a capitalist state, a machine used by the capitalists to keep the working class and poor peasants in subjugation; while universal suffrage, a Constituent Assembly, and parliament are merely a form, a sort of promissory note, which does not alter the essence of the matter."

(Lenin, State and Revolution)

It is clear from the spontaneous demonstrations against the police department after the shooting that Afro-Americans will not confine the struggle to legal channels only. The proletarian kernels of consciousness of the role of the police were evident and it is up to communists to take these kernels and make it a conscious understanding of the bourgeois state. Otherwise the misleaders will further cover up and blur the nature of the state.

This is exactly what some of the church misleaders are doing. Rev. Clarence Norman of the First Baptist Church in Brooklyn (where the funeral services were held) and Rev. Timothy Mitchell of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Flushing Queens, made it strictly a Black/white issue. Mitchell said at the funeral service: "We say to a city that has two systems of justice, woe be unto you. We say to a Mayor who seemingly cares not for his Black citizens, woe be unto you. We say to a Police Commissioner who allows those who are crazy and insane with racism to be allowed into our police department, woe be unto you." They say "woe be unto you" but what they don't lay out at all is the role of the police as part of the state apparatus! These ministers, for all their passionate words

RESISTANCE IN THE BLACK BELT SOUTH...Demonstrators march against police and fire hoses in Birmingham.



POLICE BRUTALITY REPRESENTS not only systematic repression of national minorities, but vain attempts to prevent the inevitable merger of working class & national movements...W. Virginia coal mines.





are covering the fundamental question and thus too are in the service of the ruling class.

"In the work among the Negroes, special attention should be paid to the role of churches, and preachers who are acting on behalf of American imperialism. The Party must conduct a continuous and carefully worked out campaign among the Negro masses, sharpened primarily against the preachers and the churchmen, who are agents of the oppressors of the Negro race." (Comintern Resolution, 1928)

Some ministers, particularly those who push a militant image of fighting against racism and national oppression of Afro-Americans, actually whip up more racism by promoting white workers as the main target. "Whites are the main enemy whether they are workers or capitalists-- Blacks, cops included, are our friends." However, the class interest of who one serves, whether one serves the interest of the oppressor ruling class or the oppressed masses, are fundamental to determine who are friends and who are enemies---not skin color!

WHO ARE OUR FRIENDS? WHO ARE OUR ENEMIES?

Black cops, under the leadership of the Guardians (a Black organization of cops) threatened to pull out of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association (PBA), also claiming racism on the part of the PBA. They have objected to Douglas Weaving (head of the PBA) for supporting Torsney and the posting of \$40,000 bail for him by the PBA. They lay the blame of police brutality on white cops. "Black cops are not as trigger happy as white policemen and therefore you don't get cases like the Evans one." If that is true then someone better tell Fred Hampton, and other murdered martyrs of the Black liberation struggles of the 60's who were hounded, harassed, and even murdered by Black cops.

In the final analysis, Black cops (whether they are Afro-American, Haitian, West Indian, etc.) are also part of the state. They too will and have busted heads at demonstrations and picket lines, stop the working class and Afro-American movements from organizing, and will help try to smash all attempts to overthrow the bourgeoisie. Black cops will not think twice about pulling the trigger on another Black who is fighting in the interests of the working class and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They like all other police are there to maintain the profits, property, and interests of the capitalist class and enforce their exploitation and oppression of the masses.

The position pushed by the misleaders of the NAACP, local politicians, and some ministers, will lead us to unite with Black cops because they too see the racism. But this reasoning will only lead us down the wrong path. Instead of leading toward less brutality and exploitation it leads to more! Because it blurs all class contradiction. It makes police appear as friends due to skin color, not as part of the arm of the ruling class. This reasoning leads



Atlanta, Ga.

"EVERY STATE IN WHICH PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF LAND AND MEANS OF PRODUCTION EXISTS IN WHICH CAPITAL DOMINATES, HOWEVER, DEMOCRATIC, IS A CAPITALIST STATE, A MACHINE TO KEEP THE WORKING CLASS AND POOR PEASANTS IN SUBJUGATION..."

LENIN  
STATE AND REVOLUTION

IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, COPS BLACK OR WHITE, ARE ALSO PART OF THE STATE...WHETHER ONE SERVES THE INTERESTS OF THE OPPRESSOR RULING CLASS OR OPPRESSED WORKING CLASS AND NATIONALITIES DETERMINES WHO ARE ENEMIES AND WHO ARE FRIENDS.

to the demand for more Black cops which blurs the reason why cops are around in the first place--to serve and protect the interests of monopoly capitalism. It confuses who is friend and who is enemy -- and will finally aid the process of fascism by promoting illusions amongst the working class and oppressed national minorities, by disarming them politically and ideologically, and splitting the revolutionary unity of the working class and national movements.

TORSNEY: A PSYCHO, OR IS THE POLICE TRYING TO CREATE A BETTER IMAGE ?

With the recent police demonstrations in NYC, the bourgeoisie is talking about cleaning out the police dept. of all "psychoes, criminals, and the unfit." This is being done to tighten up the state apparatus and have a "better" police department that is more loyal to the interests of the monopoly capitalists. In the bourgeoisie media, questions are being raised about Torsney's mental health. This is done not only to aid the streamlining process, but to make the working class and oppressed nationalities

ties and national minorities believe that the shooting was just the action of one cop who was insane, and that the cops as an arm of the state had nothing to do with it. They want us to look up to the police department as the defenders of "law and order." They need us to believe this so they can better pave the way for tighter control of the working class.

Whether Torsney was a "psycho" or not is beside the point. The main thing is that what he did was a concentration of hundreds of years of police brutality inflicted upon the Afro-Americans by the bourgeoisie. The working class under the leadership of its vanguard Party must fight against police brutality, against all forms of class and national oppression. In order to lead the working class to the dictatorship we must bring the working class---through the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought---a conscious understanding of the bourgeois state and the necessity to overthrow it. It is necessary to expose all attempts to divide and dupe the working class. Only in this way can we fight against all police brutality, against all racism and national oppression and tear it out from its roots. ■

**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:

WORKERS VIEWPOINT ORGANIZATION

GPO Box 2256  
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SEIZING THE STREETS AROUND CITY HALL IN NEW YORK CITY...30,000 Chinese Americans, with multinational support march against police brutality and national oppression in May 1975. Slogans included, "Fight Discrimination and ALL Oppression," "Fight for Democratic Rights."





# CARTER CABINET WILL STEP-UP BOTH LIBERAL TRICKS & REPRESSION

Like the monster of a thousand faces, the ruling class must dig deeper into its trick bag of disguises each time another of their phoney masks is ripped away. Unable to stop the fusion of the spontaneous working class movement with the communist movement, incapable of halting the permanent economic and political crisis of capitalism, defeated around the world by the heroic struggles for national liberation, the bourgeoisie has been forced to devise new forms in their attempt to divert and disintegrate the mass movement, to delay their doom.

However, no matter how clever the disguise, the dialectics of the situation dictate: the more thorough the exposure. The more desperate the trick, the closer the day when no tricks will be enough to prevent the collapse of monopoly capitalism. This is the era of imperialism and the eve of proletarian revolution and there is no disguise clever enough, no form advanced enough, no trick good enough and no gun big enough to halt the working class' march to socialism and communism!

## CARTER: SLICKER DEFENDER OF CAPITALISM

In Jimmy Carter, the bourgeoisie picked someone slicker than Gerald Ford. Carter has better ability to change his forms quickly and as a result is a more advanced representative of the capitalists than Ford. As a more advanced representative, he is a more dangerous one as his mission for the bourgeoisie in the immediate period ahead is to actively prepare the conditions for fascism and world war. Populism, "anti-big-government", demagoguery, Mr. Peanut - these are the "new" faces of the bourgeoisie while underneath, the same brutal character with the club behind its back. (See Nov. Workers Viewpoint, Vol. 1, no. 7- "Elections Expose the Crisis of Bourgeois Democracy")

The dual tactics of the bourgeoisie - reform and repression - is clearly evident in the appointments to the Carter Cabinet. Carter, on the one hand, tries to shore up the image of liberal bourgeois democracy to deceive the working class and oppressed masses while making sure that United States Imperialism is able to crush the revolutionary movements of the working class, oppressed nationalities and national minorities, contend and prepare for war with Soviet Social-Imperialism who bully and oppress the oppressed nations and peoples of the Third World. One face, the "liberal", "progressive", face is evidenced by the selection of Andrew Young as U.N. Ambassador in an attempt to split the national liberation movements of Afro-Americans and Africans. (See article on Andrew Young, this issue.)

The other face is Griffin Bell, as Attorney General, a former judge notorious for his undisguised suppression of the struggles of Afro-American people.

Another face is Brezinski or Harold Brown, academic types who have made a living peddling their reactionary ideas and packaging their bankrupt positions in attractive phrases like "forced urbanization" for the mass incarceration of the Vietnamese people.

Still another face are traditional "conservatives" like Cyrus Vance and James Schlesinger who have been around in other cabinets for years. Or "liberals" like Theodore Sorenson, a "liberal" who liberally supported the imperialist aggression in Vietnam under Kennedy, etc., etc.

The ruling class unites around their principal interest- the exploitation and oppression of the working class - but they have contradictions among themselves. And just as the contradictions between the different imperialists are antagonistic (United States Imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism), so too are the contradictions between the different monopoly capitalist interests in the U.S.

Toward the working class struggle for socialism, monopoly capitalists are united. Forms and tactics of capitalism is secondary. Forms and tactics of bourgeois politics, like Lenin said, is like a marketplace where first of all, all sec-

tors of the bourgeoisie shop around and bicker to buy up their best representatives. The latest purchases provided the working class an opportunity to see the latest tactic to shore up the collapsing capitalist system in its final state of political, economic and cultural decay. And how each new exposure of each new trick brings that day closer and closer. Secondly, it also shows us contradictions among the monopoly capitalists. Just who are some of these new appointments? How have they served the ruling class in the past? How is Jimmy Carter further exposing himself as a faithful representative of monopoly capitalism by surrounding himself with these guard dogs? Let's look at some of these "new" faces.

### THE "CONSERVATIVE, TOUGH MASK"

A good example of this face is Zbigniew Brezinski for National Security Agency. Like Henry Kissinger before him, Brezinski, a professor at Columbia University, comes from the inner circles of the ruling class as an academic lackey who for years has been a protege of David Rockefeller. Brezinski plays a pivotal role in the Trilateral Commission, a "think tank", a central coalition of key monopoly capitalists from Japan, Western Europe and the U.S. set up in 1973 by Rockefeller to lead U.S. imperialism in the face of the worldwide revolutionary movements and fierce contention with Soviet Social-Imperialism.

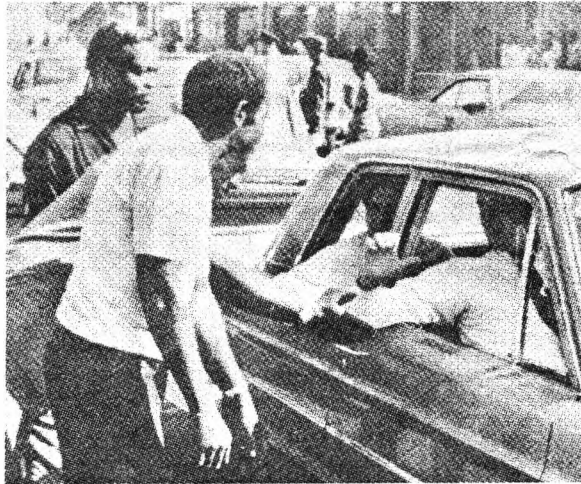
Thus in Brezinski and Brown (add Schlesinger to the list) the US bourgeoisie presents a "tough face" to revolution and Soviet Social-Imperialism.

On the domestic scene, Carter appointed Griffin Bell as Attorney General, in another futile attempt to crush the militancy of the Afro-American movement and the working class movement. As Lenin said, the bourgeoisie uses the dual tactics of the "priest and the hangman" to disintegrate the working class and national movements. Bell coming from one of the most powerful ruling class law firms in Georgia and for 15 years a Federal judge, literally a hangman, in form and in content. Not only is he a member of two discriminatory ruling class clubs in which no Afro-American or Jewish people or working people are allowed to join, but as a judge he has used the full power of the state apparatus in the Black Belt South to suppress or buy off the struggles of Afro-American people. And when he isn't sentencing people who dare to fight for their democratic rights and national liberation, he has been active in efforts to promote his own version of busing--yet another ruling class trick!

### THE "LIBERAL, FRIENDLY MASK"

Carter's appointments of Afro-Americans and women are examples of the sugar-coated bullets

## Trouble-Shooter for Imperialism



VANCE: EXPERIENCED TROUBLE-SHOOTER FOR U.S. IMPERIALISM. (top left) HE ATTEMPTS TO "COOL OUT" THE REVOLUTIONARY UPRISING OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE IN THE DETROIT URBAN REBELLION WHILE (top right) AT THE SAME TIME ATTEMPTS TO SMILE AWAY THE INEVITABLE TOTAL U.S. DEFEAT AND VICTORY OF THE HEROIC VIETNAMESE PEOPLE.

Traitor to the working class, UAW Leonard Woodcock also sits on the Trilateral Commission to advise how best to sell-out the working class side by side with U.S. imperialism's largest capitalists.

Carter and Mondale have been members of the Trilateral Commission long before they were even in the Presidential race.

Carter's use of many more academic and "think tanks" is a clear indication of the desperation of monopoly capitalism to save itself from inevitable destruction.

This practice was first used by Franklin D. Roosevelt and John Kennedy, both are more advanced representatives of the U.S. monopoly capitalists.

Already, one fourth of the staff of the Trilateral Commission and the Brookings Institute are mobilized to run the new administration and plot new policy.

Another "get tough" face is Harold Brown (Secretary of Defense). One of the chief architects of the doomed U.S. imperialist aggression against the heroic and victorious Vietnamese liberation struggle, Brown advocated the use of advanced technology in warfare. As Secretary of the Air Force under LBJ, Brown pushed for "saturation and carpet bombing of the countryside, forced urbanization of the Vietnamese masses and defoliation of the Vietnamese countryside."

that the bourgeoisie is using to frantically disintegrate the working class women's and national movements. Backed against the wall by the economic and political crisis, the rising revolutionary masses, and the fierce contention with Soviet Social-Imperialism, the bourgeoisie are forced to resort to further and more sophisticated tricks, giving the appearance of reform, while laying the groundwork for world war and fascism.

In Andrew Young's appointment as UN Ambassador, the monopoly capitalists, unable to crush the African peoples' struggle are now trying to sabotage it first. Pushing Young as a "friend of the African and Afro-American people" the US imperialists are attempting to counter the failure of their bullying "big-stick" approach of former Ambassador Moynihan with a "humane" image of Andrew Young. And at the same time helping to push Young as an example of Carter's "concern" for Afro-Americans. All the while it is the same imperialist plunder underneath the nice words, the same oppression and exploitation. (See Andrew Young article.)

In Juanita Kreps they are attempting through Carter to deceive the working women's movement. But who does she stand for? Kreps was a director of the N.Y. stock Exchange, a member of the board of directors of 4 major corporations, including J.C. Penneys, as well as a vice president of Duke University. Clearly her interests lie with monopoly capitalism and not with working women.



## WHAT IS TROUBLE SHOOTING ?

Trouble shooting has become a unique profession of the crisis-ridden capitalists. Trouble-shooting, in fact, has become a force of habit, a normal way to carry on business by the bourgeoisie today. The inherent nature of capitalism in its highest stage is the sudden flare-ups of economic and political crises world-wide. It's like a leaking bucket with holes all over and with the bottom falling out. Today, the liberation movement in the Mideast, tomorrow in southern Africa. One day the struggle of the Afro-American people flares up, and another there are massive wildcat strikes in the mines. One day the fights between Greece and Turkey threaten to break up NATO, tomorrow the Italian revisionist "Communist" Party threatens to join the cabinet to allow the Soviet Social-Imperialists to get the strategy and war plans of NATO. This goes on everyday.

Trouble-shooters are those fast-talking liars who can cheat, lie, and bluff, who make an art of evading principles, even in the crudest form of bourgeois "consistency."

The reason why these trouble-shooters became highly respected professionals of monopoly capitalism is precisely because capitalism in its highest stage of imperialism is full of contradictions both at home and abroad. And the professional bare-faced liars like Kissinger, Cyrus Vance, and Harriman are precisely those who are trained to delay what's inevitable, to divert capitalism temporarily from its doom by finding their way out of jammed situations. But these day to day crises are nothing but a prelude to their final crisis---the proletarian revolution. And these trouble-shooters like Vance are nothing but caretakers of the real trouble---monopoly capitalism.

The bourgeoisie has been using these women in a big publicity campaign in an attempt to deceive and disintegrate the working women's move-

ment, talking about what "soft, corporate career women can do". But working class women already know what "soft, corporate career women can do" -- serve the ruling class!

The working class can only get stronger and steeled in struggle by exposing these charlatans.

## VANCE, A TROUBLE SHOOTER

Another aspect of the "soft" image to the Carter Cabinet is the appointment of Cyrus Vance for Secretary of State. Known as a "liberal" trouble-shooter for the bourgeoisie, he was Deputy Secretary of Defense during the Vietnam war. This "liberal" representative of the monopoly capitalists was a supporter of the imperialist aggression in Indochina, was sent to Detroit during the 1967 upsurge of the Afro-American community to oversee the repression of the struggle. He is a key figure in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) in which the two superpowers are attempting to cover up their contention while they prepare for world war. A consistent "yes-man" lackey for US imperialism, even the bourgeois press considers him "a consensus man, waiting for positions and pressures to develop before taking a stand." In this context it is clear that for the ruling class, the role of this "liberal" trouble-shooter is to shoot anything that causes trouble for US imperialism!

Thus faced with and crumbling from its own inherent contradictions as well as the revolutionary movements of the working class and oppressed nationalities and national minorities on the one hand, and contention with Soviet Social-Imperialism to redivide the world on the other, the bourgeoisie is forced to further expose themselves and their tactics. While frantically and pragmatically showing the two faces of reform and repression depending on what situation they are caught in, the bourgeoisie further illustrate their own desperation and the dialectics

between revolution and world war, between reformism and fascism. As each layer of tricks is exposed, as each new face is unmasked in the heat of class struggle, they become another nail in the coffin of monopoly capitalism.

Part of the process of exposing these tricks is the exposure of the social props of the bourgeoisie (trade union bureaucrats, misleaders, poverty pimps, etc.) who push them. Some props like the revisionist "Communist" Party USA push them in an even slimier way. Like their Big Brother, Soviet Social-Imperialism -- under the signboard of socialist words, they work for monopoly capitalism in deeds. Peddling their "detente" garbage (in other words they push for continued superpower contention and collusion rather than for revolution) and their "peaceful transition" (or "the monopoly capitalists will gladly hand over state power without armed struggle") they will rant and rave about the "hawks" in the Carter cabinet like Brown and Griffin so that the deception of the "doves" will go unnoticed by the working class.

However, the more desperate the trick, the more thorough will be the exposure. When the working class has steeled itself in the struggle against class oppression, when the working class can no longer live in the old way and the bourgeoisie can no longer rule in the old way, the working class, under the leadership of genuine Communists, will be ready for the final onslaught against the bourgeoisie and will be ready for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat!

## BOURGEOISIE CHANGES IMAGE AT U.N. ANDREW YOUNG, NEW LACKEY

The trend of revolution in the world today is developing rapidly. All over the globe the developing countries of the Third World are delivering death blows to the two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social-imperialism. At the same time, wracked by grave political and economic crises brought about by the inherent contradictions of capitalism and aggravated by their defeats around the world, the superpowers are locked in a life and death struggle to redivide the world. As a result the trend toward world war is rising as well.

Faced with fighting off the revolutionary struggles around the world and fending off the Soviet social-imperialists in their struggle to redivide the world, the U.S. bourgeoisie is employing the tactic of covering the bloody claw with a velvet glove. That is, under the cover of "liberalism" and "humanitarianism," they have brought forth more advanced, more two-faced, and therefore more dangerous, representatives of their class to carry out the same reactionary foreign policy.

It is in this context that they have trotted out Andrew Young, a petty-bourgeois Afro-American and a long time careerist, to be their window dressing at the U.N. His appointment to be U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. is the attempt by the U.S. monopoly capitalists to crush the national liberation movements of the Third World countries with a liberal cover: by back-stabbing rather than the "simple" intimidation of former U.N. Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan (now a U.S. Senator).

### FAILURE OF "BIG STICK" TACTICS OF U.S. IMPERIALISM AT THE U.N.

The obvious "big stick" attacks of Moynihan against the Third World countries represented an open, aggressive tactic of bullying the developing countries. One needs only to remember his campaign for the Senate in which his war-mongering speeches, particularly against the struggle of the Palestinian people, were played as evidence of his "fighting" spirit, to get a clear picture of the stance that was taken at the U.N.

However, against this crude and desperate tactic, the peoples of the Third World only strengthened and intensified the struggle against imperialism. This was reflected in their strengthened unity on political, economic, and diplomatic matters at the U.N. Thus, to shore up the absolute failure of the "big stick" attacks of Moynihan, the bourgeoisie has switched back to another tactic and begun "speaking softly". Enter the smiling, "liberal," "friend of the African people" Andrew Young.

### WHY DOES THE BOURGEOISIE PICK YOUNG?

Along with his ability to project a "different" image at the U.N., Andrew Young comes with other "benefits." At the U.N. the U.S. bourgeoisie hopes to use him to exploit the fact that the Third World countries know that there is unity between their struggles against oppression and the struggles of oppressed nationalities and national minorities in the U.S. Andrew Young can be passed off as some kind of "link". At the same time, they can pimp off the glorious history of proletarian internationalist support which the Afro-American masses have shown for the revolutionary struggles of the African masses.

In addition, faced at home with the rising working class movement and its fusion with the communist movement as well as the merging of the revolutionary struggle of the Afro-American people with the fight of the U.S. working class to overthrow monopoly capitalism, the bourgeoisie hopes to show the Afro-American masses how "concerned" Carter is about them. The all-purpose Andrew Young - not only is he a "friend" of the African people, but a "friend" to the Afro-American people as well!

### ANDREW YOUNG: NO FRIEND OF AFRICAN OR AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE

But exactly what kind of "friend" is Andrew Young and to whom? In his role as the U.S. bourgeoisie's mouthpiece for imperialism at the U.N. Andrew Young talks about the elimination of "unconscious racism" in U.S. foreign policy. As if

the exploitation, brutality, oppression and racism of imperialism is unconscious! The racism of US foreign policy is part and parcel of imperialism's oppression of the masses. What kind of double talk is this? This talk, giving the appearance of concern and progressive thinking, covers the real contradictions.

Andrew Young says there can be no economic growth in the U.S. "until there is political stability around the world." There can be no "economic growth and political stability" in the world until monopoly capitalism and its lackeys like Andrew Young are destroyed forever! What Young means is that there can be no "economic growth and political stability" as long as the oppressed masses fight the superpowers' schemes to divide the world!

Unable to crush the heroic armed liberation struggles in southern Africa and facing the rising influence of Soviet social-imperialism in that area, the U.S. monopoly capitalists have been forced to change tactics and now support "majority rule," particularly in Zimbabwe. In line with this "new face" Young, in a careerist and splittist maneuver, brought to Atlanta two children whose father, Robert Sobukwe, is imprisoned in southern Africa for his activity as a leader in the Pan African Congress. Thus, under cover of "supporting" black African majority rule, the U.S. bourgeoisie, through Young, attempts to sabotage and split the liberation movement. This is superpower interference masquerading as "support" - following in the footsteps of the other superpower, the Soviet social-imperialists.

In fact, last year, Young went so far as to tell a South African ambassador to the U.N.: "I told him frankly, the only hope whites have in South Africa are people like Robert Sobukwe, who first of all, are great humanists...I said if you totally destroy people like that, you may be burning one of your last bridges."

But burning the oppressive bridges of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism is precisely what the masses of southern Africa are doing! This "human-

(continue on p. 34)



## Historical Lessons of Munich

# EXPOSE THE SUPERPOWERS' CONTENTION FOR WORLD HEGEMONY !

THIS IS THE FIFTH 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.

used diplomatic channels to inform Hitler secretly that it would do its utmost to get out of its obligation of fighting for Czechoslovakia, and that it would also not implement the Franco-Soviet Mutual Assistance Treaty signed in 1936. Chamberlain told reporters that "neither France nor England will send troops to help. The state of Czechoslovakia cannot exist in its present form. In the interest of peace, England agrees that the Sudeten area should be given to Germany." Following Chamberlain's instructions, the "Thames" paper published a series of editorials that undermined the position of Czechoslovakia. It demanded that the Czech government allows "self-determination" for its national minorities, "even if that implies separation from Czechoslovakia." It also proposed that the demands of the people of Sudetenland and other national minorities be settled by referenda. Shortly thereafter, Chamberlain sent big British capitalist Runciman, who was also a major member of the British-German Friendship Association, to Czechoslovakia so as to "conciliate" the relationship between the Czech government and Henlein. But, in fact, the primary purpose of Runciman's visit to Czechoslovakia was to apply pressure on the Czech government, and pave the way for giving the Sudeten region to Hitler.

Faced with fascist Germany's military threat and the continuing pressure from England and France demanding surrender, Czech president Benes was forced to present one proposal after another to the representatives of the Sudeten German Party. However, Henlein rejected all of these proposals upon Hitler's instructions. Benes was forced ultimately to give a sheet of blank paper to the representative of Henlein and said: "please write down all of your Party's demands concerning the Germanic national minorities, I promise you now that I will agree to all of them." This certainly surprised the other side, who just sat there and didn't know what to do. Benes simply took over the pen and said: "Tell me, I'll write them down." What was finally written was almost exactly the same as the program proposed by Henlein at his Party's Congress. When Benes sent this program to the "arbitrator" from England, he included a special note which stated that this final retreat was created by the direct pressure of the English diplomatic representative.

Hitler's aim was provocation, so obviously he would not be satisfied with the "general self-government" of the Sudeten area. On Sept. 7th, 1938, in accordance with Hitler's instructions, Henlein found some pretext to overturn his own program, which the other side already agreed to, and abruptly stopped the negotiations with the Benes government. On Sept. 10th, German Nazi chieftain Goering delivered a speech, clamoring that "a small area in Europa is torturing all of mankind...this pitiful and tiny nation is oppressing a civilized nation, behind it stands Moscow." On Sept. 12, Hitler himself came out to viciously attack and hurl abuses at the people of Czechoslovakia, claiming that if the Czech government did not accept all the demands of Germany, there would be an immediate danger of war. At the time of Hitler's speech, the Sudeten German Party was ordered to create disturbances and the German army was dispatched to the Czech border in large numbers.

Actually, Hitler had formulated the so-called "Green Plan" for the invasion of Czechoslovakia as early as May. Written at the beginning of the plan was: "It is my firm determination to carry out military action all across Czechoslovakia soon." The plan called for mobilization on Sept. 16 and invasion on Oct. 1st.

### The Great Treason of Munich

On Sept. 13, the day after Hitler gave his speech, France saw that Germany's invasion of Czechoslovakia was imminent. After a long debate, the French cabinet decided not to give Czechoslovakia military assistance when Germany actually invaded Czechoslovakia. That night, French Premier Daladier cabled British Prime Minister Chamberlain, urging him to go see Hitler immediately and try to "reach the best result possible" in the negotiations. Actually, Chamberlain did not need to be prompted, he was prepared long ago. At 11 PM that night, he sent

## Chapter Five:

# The Münich Conspiracy

### The Question of Czechoslovakia

After German fascism occupied Austria, Czechoslovakia became the next target for Hitler's further expansion.

Czechoslovakia was located to the east of Germany, there were 3,250,000 Germanic people living in its northwestern part, in an area called Sudetenland. After Hitler came to power, he organized a Sudeten German Party in that area through his agent Konrad Henlein. This party was in fact a "fifth column" of fascist Germany in Czechoslovakia, an extension of the Hitlerite Nazi Party. The German Foreign Ministry provided it with an activities fund of 15,000 Marks per month. In the spring of 1938, Henlein was called to Berlin after Germany occupied Austria. Hitler ordered him to continue to instigate incidents in Czechoslovakia, to continue to put forward demands that the Czech government could not accept. After he went home, he called a party congress in April. Under the signboard of "general self-government", a program was formulated with the actual demand of splitting this area off from Czechoslovakia. Since Germany's occupation of Austria, Czechoslovakia was already surrounded by Germany on 3 sides. Now, if these border areas, which are surrounded by high mountains and therefore constitute a natural barrier, were also absorbed into Germany, there was very little Czechoslovakia could use for military defence.

Under pressure from the people, the pro-U.S., France, and England government of the Czech capitalist class refused Henlein's demand for "general self-government" for the border regions. Hitler therefore, had to come out personally to back his lackey Henlein. He also ordered the convergence of German troops on the German-Czech border to act as a threat. In order to safeguard its inde-

pendence, the Czech government also carried out corresponding partial mobilization. The tension mounted.

Czechoslovakia had an alliance with France. Their Treaty of Alliance provided that France should provide support whenever the integrity and independence of Czechoslovakia was threatened. Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union also had a mutual assistance treaty, which provided that the Soviet Union should provide assistance to Czechoslovakia whenever Czechoslovakia was subjected to unprovoked attack. At the same time, it provided that this treaty would become effective only when France gave assistance to the side under attack. It can thus be seen that whether or not France fulfilled its treaty obligations was the key to whether or not the Czech-Soviet Treaty came into force. At that time, the Soviet Union declared formally that if France rose in defence of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union would unhesitatingly fulfill all obligations laid down in the Czech-S.U. Treaty.

At the end of April, French Premier Daladier and Foreign Minister Bonnet went to England to hold consultations with Chamberlain. The two governments, (England and France) considered that fascist Germany's demands for Czech territory was a necessary step for its eastward expansion. Chamberlain told Daladier that England would not fight for Czechoslovakia and urged France to submit to German fascism. France and England schemed to prevent the occurrence of a situation in which France and England would unite with the Soviet Union to impose limits on Germany. On the contrary, they would rather unite with Germany against the Soviet Union. For this purpose, England and France decided to give Sudetenland to Hitler as a gift to push Germany eastward against Soviet Union. After the French-British meeting, France



## PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM RESISTS FASCISM

an urgent message to Hitler: "The situation is getting more and more serious, I intend to come and see you immediately to find a peaceful solution. I am coming by plane, leaving tomorrow. Please inform me as to the soonest possible time and place for meeting. Please reply soon." The German Embassy in London already sent a cable to Hitler two hours before, stating that it was informed by the Press Secretariat of Chamberlain that he "is prepared to study Germany's various proposals, and will help to realize them, and also help to promote these proposals in public."

On Sept. 15, Chamberlain went to Berchtesgaden to talk with Hitler. As usual, Hitler first boasted about his "tremendous contributions" to the German people, to world peace and friendship between England and Germany. He then expressed his determination to "use all possible means to settle the intolerable situation in the Sudeten area in the shortest possible period." He also said that "it is no longer the question of self-government for the Sudeten German people, but that of Germany's annexation of this area." Then he asked Chamberlain, direct and to the point: "Does England agree to the annexation?" Chamberlain was prepared for Hitler's price hike, he therefore answered: for himself, he agrees in principle with the carving out of the Sudeten area from Czechoslovakia, however, he must report his own opinion to the English government, which must then approve the decision. After 3 hours of secret talks, Chamberlain received Hitler's "guarantee" that no military action would be taken before they meet again in a few days.

The next day, Chamberlain hurriedly returned to London from Germany. Runciman was also called back home from Prague. At the Cabinet meeting, Chamberlain told about Hitler's demand. Runciman advocated that the Sudetenland should be given to Germany immediately, and opposed a general referendum, on the grounds that this would only delay the settlement of the problem. The French Premier and Foreign Minister also hurried to London to consult with Chamberlain. At that point France faced a dilemma. On the one hand it did not want to go to war with fascist Germany over Czechoslovakia. On the other hand if France did not honor its treaty obligations and stood idly by when Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia, it would certainly lose "prestige"; and other small and medium-sized European countries that had treaty relations with France would think France not dependable and would thus drift away from its orbit. The purpose of the British-French meeting, in Chamberlain's words, "is guided by the hope of finding a way by which wars would not break out in Europe. That is, to find a way by which France would not be forced by its treaty obligation into automatically adopting action." The two countries quickly arrived at a joint proposal to be imposed on Czechoslovakia. It provided that "all regions in Sudetenland where the Germanic people constitute more than 50% of the population are to be directly transferred to Germany"; furthermore, England, France and Germany would jointly "guarantee" that Czechoslovakia's "new boundaries will not be unreasonably violated", and this "international guarantee" would replace the present treaties between Czechoslovakia and France and between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. This not only gave the Sudeten region to Germany as a gift but also allowed France to get out of the obligations under the Czech-France Treaty, and therefore made ineffective the Czech-Soviet Treaty.

England and France sent a note to Czechoslovakia on Sept. 19, demanding that the Czech government act according to the French-British proposal and stressing the need to reply in 3 days.

When news of the British-French proposal came out, it aroused great indignation among the Czech people. Although the Czech bourgeois government was not opposed to this proposal, but under the pressure of the people, it did not dare accept it immediately. The next day, it replied that it rejects this "proposal". The memorandum first of all pointed out that this proposal was formulated without consulting Czechoslovakia's opinion, and thus unacceptable. It pointed out: "Acceptance of this proposal is tantamount



THE LINCOLN BRIGADE: U.S. WORKERS VOLUNTEER TO GO FIGHT FASCISM IN SPAIN.

## WESTERN BOURGEOISIE NURTURES & APPEASES FASCISM AGAINST COMMUNISM & WORKING CLASS



CHAMBERLAIN ARRIVED AT MUNICH, GERMANY WITH HITLER.

to voluntarily and completely destroying one's own country in all aspects. Czechoslovakia's economy and transport will be completely destroyed and strategically it will be in a very serious situation. Sooner or later, Czechoslovakia will be totally dominated by Germany." The memo also reminded France of its treaty obligations and the dangerous position of France in Europe if Czechoslovakia was subdued.

Chamberlain flew into a rage when he saw the memo. The French and British governments unanimously decided to continue to apply pressure on Czechoslovakia, warning the Czech government that if it did not act according to the proposal, it could not expect any assistance from England and France. The British government arrogantly told Czechoslovakia: "The memo of the Czech government does not correspond at all with the dangerous situation which the proposal of France and England is aimed at preventing. In the view of the British government, if this memo is adopted, its publication will lead to immediate invasion by Germany. The British government, therefore, suggests the Czech government withdraw this memo and quickly adopt another decision according to the actual situation. If this memo is used as a basis, the British government cannot hope to achieve good results at its second meeting with Mr. Hitler. Then the Prime Minister will be forced to cancel the preparatory steps to be taken for this meeting. Therefore, the British government requests the Czech government quickly give this serious consideration before a situation is created for which the British government can no longer be responsible." On the verge of despair, the Czech government still hoped to hang onto France. It therefore immediately questioned the French government whether France was prepared to fulfill its treaty

obligations in case Germany invaded. France's reply was even more clear-cut: the Czech government must withdraw its note of refusal to accept the joint French-British proposal and that unless it is withdrawn and the joint proposal accepted, Czechoslovakia will have to fight Germany alone. The bourgeois Czech government finally gave in to the strong pressure of France and England, and accepted the joint proposal. On Sept. 21, the Czech government announced this and lamented: "We had no choice because we were dumped." Czech president Benes stated privately that "we were despicably betrayed."

With the joint proposal in his pocket, prepared to accept all of Hitler's demands made in the meeting at Berchtesgaden, Chamberlain went to the small city of Godesberg at the bank of the Rhine on Sept. 22 to meet with Hitler.

At the very beginning of the meeting, Chamberlain curried favor with Hitler by boasting about how he had won the British and French Cabinets and the Czech government to the "demands of the Führer" after "extremely difficult negotiations." He also put forward the detailed plan for realizing these demands.

Hitler asked: "Do I understand that the British, French and Czech governments have agreed to give the Sudeten region to Germany?"

Chamberlain proudly replied: "Yes."

"I'm very sorry," Hitler said, "due to the development of the situation in the last few days, this plan no longer has any value."

(continue on p. 24)



# STRATEGY & TACTICS: OL & RCP REVISE MARXISM

## On the International Situation

The October League's counter-revolutionary line in support of the Shah of Iran and its distortion of Chairman Mao's proletarian internationalist line is known to all. The OL cuts out two of the three principles of his line:

"[1] to develop relations of friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation among the countries in the socialist camp [this was written in 1963, before the break-up of the socialist camp -ed 7 in accordance with the principle of proletarian internationalism [2] to strive for peaceful co-existence on the basis of the Five Principles with countries having different social systems and oppose the imperialist policies of aggression and war [3] and to support and assist the revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and nations. These three aspects are inter-related and indivisible, and not a single one can be omitted."  
(General Line of the International Communist Movement, 1963, FLP)

The OL opportunistically interprets China's foreign policy as consisting only of the state-to-state component. And on one hand, by putting a news black out on accounts of the heroic Iranian people's struggles, and on the other hand by playing up Iran and China's state-to-state relations and the Shah of Iran, the OL is distorting Chairman Mao's line on Proletarian Internationalism.

In their recent pathetic "left" feint, the OL is trying hard to look "left" to cover its history of right opportunism. However, only assimilating half-digested bits and pieces of the Marxist line of the WVO, i.e. on the direction of the main blow, and by striking a pose and adopting a "staunch look" on the question of liberals and reformists, the OL in fact has only flipped into the marsh of Trotskyism. For example, in their December 13th issue of the Call, the OL got carried away with denunciations of the liberals, so carried away in fact that they even called Echeverria, the former President of Mexico, a "liberal" and a direction of main blow for the U.S. proletariat. Only vaguely mentioning something about U.S. imperialism having interests in Mexico, the December 13th Call went on to direct the main blow at liberals in Mexico:

"Liberals, represented by Echeverria and Lopez Portillo in this case, are seeking to cool the peasants' anger by parceling out a small fraction of the land, while beating and jailing peasant leaders... Tailing after the liberals, the revisionist Communist Party of Mexico has opposed the take overs... preaching that occupation of the land would only anger the liberal bourgeoisie..."  
(Call, Dec. 13, 1976, p. 8)

So dazzled are they with their "left" feint, the OL forgot, just forgot, the difference between the "liberal" imperialist, who is part of the monopoly capitalist class, like Kennedy and Poosevelt, of the oppressor country, and the "liberal" national bourgeoisie of the oppressed country, such as Echeverria of Mexico.

Just forgetting this "slight" difference, the renegade Klonsky slipped into the classical social-chauvinism of the renegade Kautsky-type. It is a straight-up Trotskyite line. But the OL has been so carried away with their philistine line, that they have recently been mouthing it as if it's something new! Unbelievable, isn't it. So now the OL vacillators ended up holding two incorrect lines at the same time. One- they placed 3rd World countries struggle against the Superpowers

above the Marxist-Leninist line of supporting "countries want independence, nations want liberation, and the people want revolution", for example, on the question of the Shah of Iran. And two, a Trotskyite line of treating the "liberal" imperialist on the same footing as the "liberal" national bourgeoisie, who oppress the people but also resist the Superpowers, like Echeverria.

What gives rise to this unheard of, unprincipled state of affairs?

The answer lies in the OL's thorough-going theoretical bankruptcy, which the WVO has pointed out for years. Comrades must remember that for years now the OL has confused the objective, or the target of proletarian strategy, and the "direction of the main blow."

In the May 1975 issue of the WVO Journal, #3, we pointed out that "the OL and Carl Davidson of the Guardian repeatedly interchange the term "direction of the main blow" (i.e. the false leaders of the working class, the social props of the bourgeoisie) and the "objective of the revolution" (p. 12) as well as the question of whether the united front is a strategy or tactic.

### OL, RCP DISTORT THE "DIRECTION OF THE MAIN BLOW"

What is the direction of the main blow and what is the content of the OL's "innovation" that Soviet Social-Imperialism is in fact the direction of main blow? What is the RCP's position on the direction of the main blow? And why is their position also incorrect and, in fact, a position permitting them to mutate, in the fashion of the notorious Guardian, away from the correct verdict on the nature and role of Soviet Social-Imperialism?

Lenin applied the content of the direction of main blow in the struggle against Czarism during the first stage, the bourgeois democratic stage of the Russian Revolution. In that struggle, Stalin summed up: "Direction of Main Blow: liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie, which was serving to win over the peasantry and liquidate the revolution by a compromise with Tsarism." (Foundations of Leninism, Stalin).

Lenin vividly described the class nature and class relations of the liberal bourgeoisie represented by the Cadets, and the motion of other classes in class struggle. For example, the Cadets were the social props in the first stage of revolution. On their class character, Lenin remarked:

"It is to the advantage of the Russian liberal to pose before the Russian readers as a representative of the whole 'democratic opposition' in general... when the Cadet looks to the right he draws distinct lines of 'class contradiction': here the nobility, there the big bourgeoisie. But the moment the liberal turns his glance to the left, he puts the word 'class contradiction' in ironical quotation marks. The class distinction disappears; the liberal, the capacity of a general 'democratic opposition, are supposed to represent the peasants, the workers and the urban democrats (urban petty bourgeoisie - ed) (Lenin, "Political Parties in the Five Years of the Third Duma")

"The liberals need voters, they need a crowd that would trust and follow them (in order to compel the Purishkeviches to make room), but they fear the political independence of the crowds."  
(Lenin, "Liberalism and Democracy")

As we can see here, Lenin's understanding of the social prop is based on class analysis, class struggle, and its motion. The OL, in copping to a correct line only in form, is copping only to the phrases and words, for example, as we illustrated before, using the term liberal bourgeoisie in both the U.S. and in Mexico (which is very dangerous) in the same way. This again, of course, is something these hopeless pedants like OL and Nicholas cannot help but practice that.

Using a similar methodology of grasping class analysis and changes in class relations, Lenin and Stalin summed up the role of the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries as the direction of the main blow during the 2nd stage of the Russian revolution. For they strove to put an end to the revolution by compromising with the imperialists because of their fear of the working class and its revolutionary alliance with the lower and middle peasantry.

After the Feb. 1917 bourgeois democratic revolution, Lenin put forth the thesis that the bourgeois democratic revolution cannot be consummated as in the old bourgeois democratic revolutions led by the bourgeoisie. Discarding right doctrinairism, Lenin took advantage of the fact that the bourgeoisie was not firmly in power, that political power was actually in the Soviets, and that the poor peasants were the direct reserves of the proletariat, not the bourgeoisie. He put forth the line that there is no great wall between the two revolutions and called for the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. A key to victory was his line of the direction of the main blow, exposing the line of the Socialist Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks and Anarchists step by step and showing that they ran counter to the interests of the working people. The Bolshevik Party carried on extensive political exposure work in the course of putting forward the positive program of the Bolsheviks, at the front and in the rear, and especially in the Soviets, winning over the majority in the Soviets, changing the balance (from less than 30% of the Soviets in the hands of the Bolsheviks and 70% in the hands of the Mensheviks and other opportunists, into a majority for the Bolsheviks) between the months of February and October, 1917.

The change of class relations in the brief few months resulted from the development of the Socialist Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, etc. as petty bourgeois parties into fully bourgeois parties which fought for the preservation and development of capitalism in Russia. This is basically the reason why the target and the direction of the main blow changed.

However, the OL mensheviks typically discard class analysis, class relations, and use their prejudices in developing strategy and tactics for the US proletariat. For instance, their line towards the NAACP as a direct reserve of the proletariat, their historical unity with Hosea Williams, Arnold Miller, Cesar Chavez and now Hays Holdstein, their support of the Busing plans and the ERA, Proposition 14, etc., all speak to the fact that they didn't and still can't understand the role of the labor aristocracy, seemingly militant misleaders, etc., who are actually the most effective social props of the bourgeoisie. Social props come from the labor aristocracy and the petty bourgeoisie. They are agents of the bourgeoisie inside the workers and national movements. This ignorance is deep and remains, despite the OL's pretensions that they now "hate" liberals. It is reflected in their usage of the term "liberal bourgeoisie". This terminology implies that the bourgeoisie is divided into "liberal" and "conservative" wings, not seeing that "liberal" or "conservative"



# IN COMMEMORATION OF FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF PUBLICATION OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S TWO POEMS

## Grasp Chairman Mao's Teachings Tightly

THIS IS THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE PUBLICATION OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S TWO POEMS:

"CHINGKANGSHAN REVISITED" AND "TWO BIRDS: A DIALOGUE," THESE TWO POEMS ARE A CLARION CALL TO THE PROLETARIAT INTERNATIONALLY AS WELL AS A SHARP POLEMIC AGAINST THE MODERN REVISIONISTS WHO HAVE ABANDONED THE CAUSE OF COMMUNISM. IT SHOWS TREMENDOUS CONFIDENCE IN THE PROLETARIAT IN ALL COUNTRIES AND THE PROSPECT OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION. ON SEPT. 9 OF LAST YEAR, CHAIRMAN MAO PASSED AWAY. WE ARE REPRINTING THESE TWO POEMS TO DEEPEN OUR STUDY OF HIS REVOLUTIONARY TEACHINGS AND RESOLVE TO PRACTISE AND CARRY OUT HIS TEACHINGS. WE RESOLVE ON THIS OCCASION TO REDOUBLE OUR EFFORTS TO FIGHT FOR THE CAUSE HE FOUGHT FOR ALL HIS LIFE - THE NOBLE CAUSE OF COMMUNISM. LONG LIVE INVINCIBLE MARXISM - LENINISM - MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT! LONG LIVE THE GREAT, GLORIOUS AND CORRECT COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA!

### Two Birds: A Dialogue

— to the tune of Nien Nu Chiao

Autumn 1965

*The roc wings fanwise,  
Soaring ninety thousand li  
And rousing a raging cyclone.  
The blue sky on his back, he looks down  
To survey man's world with its towns and cities.  
Gunfire licks the heavens,  
Shells pit the earth.  
A sparrow in his bush is scared stiff.  
"This is one hell of a mess!  
O I want to flit and fly away."*

*"Where, may I ask?"  
The sparrow replies,  
"To a jewelled palace in elfland's hills.  
Don't you know a triple pact was signed  
Under the bright autumn moon two years ago?  
There'll be plenty to eat,  
Potatoes piping hot  
With beef thrown in."\*  
"Stop your windy nonsense!  
Look you, the world is being turned upside down."*

\* This refers to "goulash."

### Chingkangshan Revisited

— to the tune of Shui Tiao Keh Tou

May 1965

*I have long aspired to reach for the clouds,  
Again I come from afar  
To climb Chingkangshan, our old haunt.  
Past scenes are transformed,  
Orioles sing, swallows swirl,  
Streams purl everywhere  
And the road mounts skyward.  
Once Huangyangchieh is passed  
No other perilous place calls for a glance.  
Wind and thunder are stirring,  
Flags and banners are flying  
Wherever men live.  
Thirty-eight years are fled  
With a mere snap of the fingers.  
We can clasp the moon in the Ninth Heaven  
And seize turtles deep down in the Five Seas:  
We'll return amid triumphant song and laughter.*

*Nothing is hard in this world  
If you dare to scale the heights.*

(cont. from last page)

are tactics of the bourgeoisie. Largely, finance capitalists in the US have no intrinsic interests in either "liberal" or "conservative" covers. They adopt now one, now another tactic, according to the need, according to the time and conditions. This is done, principally, to conform to the need to fool the workers and, secondarily, for infights within the bourgeoisie.

As Mr. Monopoly Capitalist himself, Nelson Rockefeller once frankly acknowledged,

"Such labels (conservative, liberal) are misleading, and out of date, in the context of the massive problems that we face. Rather I would say that today, we must be conservative in our loyalty to eternal truths that define nature, the freedom, the dignity of man... We must be liberal in our constant and tireless quest to find ever new ways to meet ever new threats to this freedom and dignity."  
(Unity, Freedom and Peace)

So it's clear that liberalism and conservatism are all tactics of the bour

geoisie, the real monopoly, finance capitalists, today. But our OL liberals, after over three years of our open polemics with them on this question (though seeming to have moved forward, at least in now adopting the term "direction of the main blow") still seems to be mentally and physically in 1905 Russia! For the "liberal bourgeoisie" then in Russia genuinely did represent a democratic force against the autocracy and feudalism. But the "liberal" bourgeoisie in this country is liberalism in quotation marks, nothing except some of the biggest finance capitalist who can afford the best "public relations" men

(continue on p. 31)



# NICHOLAUS VS OL

## A MENSHEVIK'S CRITICISM OF MENSHEVISM

The latest squabble erupting within the "unity trend" bears testament to the disgusting depths to which the OL has sunk. In the December 13 issue of The Call, in an article entitled, "Friends and Enemies of the Revolution," they continue their "left" feinting by blaming their historical, thoroughly right-opportunist (and thoroughly exposed) lines on Martin Nicholaus, a leading OL "theoretician" and former Central Committee member. The OL in another of their infamous about-faces, the "our line was never opportunist" it was the people we hung out with" explanation, is backtracking furiously, slipping around, hoping that people have short memories, on lines that have exposed by the WVO. The OL is even forced to adopt superficial aspects of the WVO line in their "polemic" with Nicholaus.

Just like their phoney "break" with the Guardian (see WV Journals Vol.2, No 1 and Vol2, No. 2), the OL hopes that by "breaking" with Nicholaus, they "break" with their own revisionsim. No such luck OL.

### OL HAS HISTORY OF NO SELF-CRITICISM

In WV Supplement, August, 1976, in "Once Again on OL," we stated:

" Nowhere has the OL ever done a thorough self-criticism for a single one of their blunders. Nowhere have they ever looked for the class and ideological basis of them and the method of rectification.

Their 'temporary leading body' and 'push the trade unions to the left' were such big, clumsy blunders that they were forced to call attention to them publically. In most cases, they have not even honestly pointed out their errors, not to mention thoroughly exposing and rectifying their roots. They have tried to get over by making the changes silently, hoping that nobody will notice, and by using strings of fake arguments and sophistry to cover up their rotten opportunist history. "

Now, the OL gives the "real reasons" for their opportunism. "Don't blame us for our belittlement of theory, our illusions of bourgeois democracy, "pushing trade unions to the left," our Menshevik, bottom-up approach to party building, etc.," shouts the OL. " WVO hasn't been exposing our lines, they were really only Martin Nicholaus' lines. "

The OL would like us to believe that they are genuinely "left" now. But if comrades would examine them more closely, they would find that the OL hasn't changed at all:

- They say that they now have no more illusions about the "liberal" bourgeoisie - yet they support the forced busing plan - the plan and line of the "liberal" bourgeoisie.

- They say that they are now opposed to Arnold Miller, a thoroughly exposed union misleader, but they are wagging their tails for another trade union misleader in the United Mine Workers, Hays Holdstein.

- They say that they now oppose Chavez but they are going all out for Proposition 14, a piece of sell-out legislation personally drafted and promoted by Chavez himself.

- They say that they want to build a party from the top down and even pretend to study One Step Forward, Two Steps Back in which every word is opposed to their Menshevik, "unity trend." But their party building plan remains identical -

A "coalition" Organizing Committee based on 8 general "principles of unity" and not even on a line of demarcation of the mutated OL line.

The members of the OC still have "one group-one vote" to decide the line reflecting their lowest common denominator approach deciding from the bottom up.

The OC is to write the draft program rather than the OL.

The OL still denies that they are fighting for the hegemony of their raggedy line for fear of "offending" the other OC members.

### NICHOLAUS WANTS TO RETURN TO NAKED RIGHT OPPORTUNISM

On the other hand, Martin Nicholaus, in his paper, Forward, amidst charges and countercharges of stolen money, poker games, expensive bourgeois restaurants that the OL Central Committee habituate, sexual jokes in the office, etc., longs to return to the "good old days" of the OL when they weren't confusing him with all their "left" feinting. Just like the August Twenty Ninth Movement (ATM) with its "old PRRWO" and "new PRRWO" formulation, Mr. Nicholaus must resort to a totally metaphysical approach on describing OL as two separate organizations, the "old" one and the "new" one.

while their are differences between the degeneration of PRRWO (from at one point relatively correct to a frenzied otzovist clique) and the degeneration of OL ( from a right opportunist tendency to the Khrushchovs of our movement ), neither ATM nor Mr. Nicholaus has a grasp of the process of political degeneration and the dialectics of the class struggle within communist organizations.

Mr. Nicholaus fondly recalls the OL "break" with the revisionist Guardian, their FightBack Conferences, their "fight" against RU's liquidation of the Afro-American national question (climaxed, of course, by the OL calling in the state against the Afro-American community in Boston - ed.), among other "bright spots". In other words, he wants the OL to "return" to the lines they held when they wanted to build the party out of the united front, when they replaced party building by tailing the mass movement, when they considered "ultra-leftism" the main danger in the communist movement, when they said that the right-opportunist "RC" P-RU was "ultra-left", when they tailed after the rest of the communist movement by "breaking" with the revisionist Guardian while at the same time bodily transferring the Guardian's editors and authors of their positions on reform, the trade union question, the women's question, as well as their petty-bourgeois ideological tendencies to the Call, when they helped the bourgeoisie usher in fascism by relying on the state and the "liberal" bourgeoisie in Boston, etc.

But these lines were exposed years ago, primarily by the WVO and the experiences of the workers themselves in the course of class struggle, i.e., Miller, Chavez, party building with no program or congress, etc.

As for other crude blunders of the OL, Nicholaus, a self-described "proof-reader" of the Call, wants no part of it either:

"Who promoted the erroneous line of helping to 'unparalyze' the liberals in Congress against the 'fascist tide' or 'fascist threat' during the Nixon impeachment days? Who promoted the policy of singing the praises of liberal labor bureaucrats such as Miller and Sadowlowski 'against the fascist labor front?' Who was the source of the federalist 'temporary leading body' schemes for building a party without a program or a congress? These gross right opportunist errors, together with others...originated with no other source than the top leading circle headed by M. Klonsky himself, and in particular their source is M. Klonsky himself. It was none other than the members of this same circle who fought for these right opportunist ideas, who figured out systems of rationalization for them and who spread them throughout the organization and movement." (Ibid)

Thus Mr. Nicholaus, in pleading to the movement the fact that he had nothing to do with these notorious lies (or that he wasn't in OL when they were developed) tries to evade responsibility for them.

He can only see the recent mutations, but is incapable of see them in the context of the entire opportunist history of OL, in which he played a major role.

Unable to understand that the historic unprincipledness of the OL must make them about-face as they stand exposed at every turn (because they are made of the same petty-bourgeois stuff), Mr. Nicholaus must then look for other, external rea-

sons for the "left" feinting. The only explanation he can then offer is that it must be the fault of those "hegemones" the WVO.

### OL - Forced to pimp off WVO's line

In fact, Nicholaus is not far off in "recognizing" that all opportunists will have to cop to WVO's line, at least in form. They will have to capitulate to its proven power, correctness, and its wide influence among honest elements and advanced workers. He writes:

"The particular case for which the new role (of the OL journal, Class Struggle-ed.) was designed, was another matter. The item in point was the article, 'On Building the Party Among the Masses,' by the League for Marxist Leninist Unity...As far as our movement is concerned, the line of this article is the line of Workers' Viewpoint...The reason why the LMLU's camouflaged version of the WVO line on party building enjoyed such powerful patronage soon became apparent. Not long after the publication of the LMLU article, the OL's top leadership appropriated the LMLU line lock, stock and barrel, and proposed it as its own line for adoption by the body empowered to make such decisions." (Ibid)

(continue on p. 30)



# RCP Discovers 'THEORY IN ITS OWN RIGHT'

Flipping and flopping, like dying fish on a beach, the opportunist forces of the October League and Revolutionary Union are inevitably inching their way toward one aspect or another of the correct Marxist line of the Workers Viewpoint Organization. Incapable of providing communist leadership to the workers' and national movements, the opportunists must look to the only organization that can provide that leadership and cop to the lines that WVO has held for years in struggle against them.

## RU "DISCOVERS" THEORY

One example of this trend is the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). In the latest Revolution, in an article entitled "Theoretical Struggle Crucial Part of Working Class Movement," the RCP, flipping from its practice-practice-practice line, the "fleshing out of our experience of the past few years," is now asserting the "crucial role" of theoretical struggle. However, even in asserting the crucial role of theory, the RCP once again betrays its bankrupt pragmatism and sophistry on this question.

Reminiscent of their "theory is principal in the brief period ahead" line when their pragmatic, empirical nature was exposed by the WVO (WVO Journal, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1974, "RU:Marxism or American Pragmatism"), the RCP states in their "new understanding:

"In fact, at the present time in this country, although dogmatism mainly characterizes a number of opportunist so-called "communist" groupings and although dogmatism has some influence within the Party itself, within the Party empiricism now represents a greater error than dogmatism." (our emphasis)

What is RCP talking about? First, what do they mean when they say "...with-in the Party empiricism now represents a greater danger than dogmatism?" Does that mean that empiricism wasn't the main deviation in the RCP when they babbled about the key link to building the party was in "summing up" the practical work? We remind RCP that in the June 1974 issue of Revolution, they said:

"A Party which in fact is only a paper party with no real concrete programme because such a programme can only be created by summing up practical work, which these dogmatists have no use for and little personal experience with" (our emphasis)

And again, in the July 1974 issue:

"They are trying to drag people back and obstruct the process of building a true vanguard Party that can lead the masses in revolution because it links theory with practice and is formed on the basis of learning from the advances that have been made and the experience that has been accumulated in the last period." (our emphasis)

Second, what do they mean when they say, "at the present time in this country" (sort of reminds you of the "brief period ahead", doesn't it?). In our analysis of the periods we have consistently pointed out that the main danger in the communist movement in the U.S. as a whole, historically and for the future, is the right empiricist, American pragmatist danger! In fact, RCP, the victory of the leading role of theory line of the second period (1972-1975) has already come and gone and exposed you! Tailing after the WVO isn't going to drag you out of the marsh, RCP, it only underlines how deeply into the marsh you've sunk.

## SOIL OF PRAGMATISM - RICH AND DEEP IN RCP

In fact, the RCP in the very next line contradicts their "present" line, when they state:

"...the history of the U.S. is one in which pragmatism...is deeply rooted and has been particularly promoted by the bourgeoisie and its 'philosophers,' " - like the RCP!

And here, too, the RCP in its sophistic and philistine wriggling cannot even understand how and where their empiricism comes from. They go on:

"Secondly, this tendency toward pragmatism...has some (!) soil to grow in our Party exactly because our Party, from its very foundation (!)...correctly laid stress (their emphasis) on the need to link up with and sink roots in the practical struggles of the working class and masses of people."

Where do you think this tendency comes from - RCP? Does it drop from the sky? You are correct when you say that empiricism and pragmatism has "soil" to grow in the RCP - deep, rich, fertile soil. The soil from which the bankrupt Party of the RCP was founded - on "summing up the advances of the last period!"

We stated in September, 1974:

"For the RU to elevate "experience" to the level of the 'key link' and the basis of the party program is to fall into the swamp of empirio-criticism. It is, in essence, to make relativism the basis of the theory of knowledge and the basis of our party program. That is exactly how the American pragmatist, in the disguise of a "Marxist," comes into the picture, i.e. the old debate between dialectical materialism and revisionism. In the final analysis, the point in question here is whether Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought is the basis of our party program, or "Experience" is the basis of our program."

## 'THEORY "IN ITS OWN RIGHT" ???

Further demoralizing their degeneration, the RCP then flips to abstract idealism, the other side of the coin of mechanical materialism. They state:

"This points to the need, especially great right now, of studying theory "in its own right"...While in such study, examples from the mass struggle, economic and political, against the ruling class can and should be brought out to illustrate (their emphasis) the points of theory being studied, this is not the same as studying theory with particular problems in mind, which has the opposite emphasis - concentrating on the particular problems and applying theory specifically to them in order to solve them. The fact that this latter method is, as stated, overall (their emphasis) the main way in which people's grasp of Marxism is deepened, does not eliminate the need to also pay serious attention to studying theory 'in its own right.'"

First, the RCP admits the narrowness of their scope, how they mangled and confused the notion of concrete with immediate, how they objectively implemented the bourgeois traitor's (Lin Piao) infamous formulation (study proceeds from the objective to the subjective and implementation proceeds from the subjective to the objective in using theory to 'sum-up' practice and 'formulate' policies and tactics), how the narrowness of the RCP was reflected in the narrowness of their cadre - things which we have been pointing to and exposing for years. This takes on particular historical significance as it was precisely the struggle between Marxism and American pragmatism (represented by the RU, among others)

that characterized the Second Period (1972-1975) in our struggle for the formation of the Party.

Coming fresh out of the practical struggles, with little theoretical training, with eclecticism still running rampant, the key link at that time to solve the burning questions (what is to be done) was to accept the necessity of the role of Marxist theory - as a guide, to our direction, our orientation, to lead the masses. There was universal agreement to deepen our roots among the masses. The question was how.

"Building the struggle, consciousness, and revolutionary unity of the working class and its leadership of the anti-imperialist united front" (as RU saw it) did not answer the question and in fact led away from the correct direction. In sum, it was the understanding that without Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought, the working class and the communist movement could not move forward - that was key. Now that the RCP, which realizes that it indeed has not moved forward and indeed has regressed, now suddenly "turns" to theory, only confirms the concreteness and correctness of our understanding of the Second Period. This is a historical refutation of the RU line as well as a strong refutation of opportunist ATM's line which says WVO's "three periods" is our "invention" (!!) RCP's inevitable road block on the question is living proof that the contradictions of the Second Period, and its resolution, is an objective necessity. RCP can not run away from it and certainly ATM can not either. ATM has to either face it or degenerate; there is no third course.

## RU NOW REDUCES 'THEORY' TO ABSTRACT GENERALITIES

So now the RCP has "found" another "place" for theory - "in its own right." The RCP "applies" theory to sum up immediate problems and "study it in its own right." What does the RCP mean by its "own right"?? Having, historically, no understanding of the role of theory, conveniently "forgetting" that all things proceed from the objective and the concrete, the RCP is reduced to demagoguery: "In its own right" means

"...a guide for the working class to grasp the laws governing the development of all things, in nature and society and to carry forward the world historical task of wiping out capitalism and achieving communism and advancing mankind's struggle against nature (for production) and its struggle to develop science (scientific experimentation) to a whole new state."

The RCP in its flip from their narrowest former understanding of theory, that it is only good to "serve our immediate experiences," now wants workers to understand the mysteries of the universe ("...laws governing the development of all things in nature and society...advancing mankind's (!!!) struggle against nature (for production) and its struggle to develop science (scientific experimentation), to a whole new state.")

The RCP, in its hopeless confusion between the concrete and the immediate and the practical, is reduced to truisms and completely general understandings. Marxism is a guide to action in the concrete, a guide to our thinking, a guide to our political line. RCP in running away from its thoroughly exposed line does a completely 180 degree turnaround.

No, RU. There is no such thing as theory "in its own right," no matter how you explain it. There is such a thing as proceeding from the general to the particular. However, general theory itself is highly concrete. Truth is always concrete. There is no such thing as proceeding from the abstract, for that would mean proceeding from the

(continue on p. 31)





# Two Roads

## Harriet Tubman - Nat Turner Liquidating Itself

The Harriet Tubman-Nat Turner Collective is a Boston based communist organization which emerged out of the Afro-American Liberation Movement. HT-NTC was initially formed by members and former members of the ALSC-Boston Chapter, the February First Movement, and "Struggle!" newspaper.

Our development was profoundly influenced by the emergence of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought as the dominant trend of the AALM in the struggle against bourgeois nationalist ideology. When HT was formed, we were not a communist organization. Our grasp of the basic principles of MLMTTT was very low. Vestiges of bourgeois nationalism were still strong. However, as we deepened our study and grasp of M-L theory, with the help of fraternal M-L organizations of the revolutionary wing (summer-fall '75) of the anti-revisionist communist movement, particularly the WVO, these initial difficulties were overcome. We became a communist organization in August '75 and are now multi-national.

The development of our organization, ideologically and politically, and the task of linking theory to practice was pushed forward tremendously by the intense struggle against the October League's thoroughly right opportunist line on the Bourgeoisie's Boston Busing Plan. Despite this work, our organization was characterized in the main by right deviations. In our desperate attempts to rid ourselves of right errors, using bourgeois methodology, we inevitably pushed ourselves into the left opportunist line of the PRRWO/RWL clique. Our main ideological deviations were then characterized as left dogmatism. Since the summer of 1976, we have intensified the two-line struggle internally and externally, with the aid of WVO comrades, and have broken with the bankrupt left opportunist line.

We view ourselves as part of the genuine M-L trend led by the correct line of the leading circle - the WVO - which has developed through 8 or 9 years of bitter though fruitful struggle in the communist movement for the highest possible ideological and political unity. In this struggle, genuine communists have sorted out the sham Marxists and unstable elements from the anti-revisionist communist movement.

With the realization of communism as our final goal, our "Northern Star," the central task of this movement, of the genuine M-L circles led by the WVO, is the formation of a genuine Communist Party on firm anti-revisionist ideological foundations, i.e. on the proletarian ideological plane. The WVO comrades state:

"In the era of imperialism, the eve of proletarian revolution, an era in which imperialism intensifies and exacerbates all of the basic contradiction in the world, when the victory of socialism is possible in one or a few countries, when the objective factor for revolution is ripe and the subjective factor is lagging,

the proletariat in imperialist countries must carry out immediate and universal preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat. First and foremost in this preparation is the formation of our genuine Communist Party, the principal task in the absence of such."  
(WVO newspaper, Nov. 1976, p. 1, original emphasis)

This party has the historic task of leading the U.S. proletariat in the smashing of the U.S. monopoly capitalist ruling class and its state machine, thus putting an end to the misery and exploitation of the masses of working and oppressed peoples in the U.S. Through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist construction, we will be performing our proletarian internationalist duty toward the complete emancipation of all oppressed peoples, helping to clear the way for humanity's onward march to communism.

### PERIODS, KEY LINK AND THE SORTING OUT PROCESS

What has been the history of the anti-revisionist communist movement? What is the correct way to interpret the 8 or 9 years of tortuous struggle, the many twists and turns, the sorting out of genuine and sham communists into definite trends based on ideological, political, and organizational lines?

"One aspect of strategic thinking of Communists on party building is the question of periods. It allows us to see what we have gone through and what is the next obstacle we must overcome in order to make the qualitative leap necessary to form the party.

"Every phase of its development (the communist movement - HT) is characterized by a principal contradiction. Class struggle in society must be reflected in the communist movement, concretely manifested and concentrated in the two line struggle between Marxism-Leninism and different shades and forms of opportunism. Each phase, therefore, is characterized by a line struggle, with a dominant line, whether correct or incorrect. Resolution of the principal contradiction that characterizes the movement as a whole, enables the Communist movement to "liquidate the old period" and surge forward."  
(WVO Journal #4, p. 93)

We feel that this is the correct M-L stand, method, and viewpoint on the question of periods which has been reaffirmed by the WVO comrades. In the past, we adhered to this methodology in words but opposed it in deeds and we will put forth a self-criticism of this incorrect line as we uphold the correct line.

The first period, the struggle against and defeat of eclectic theories, lasted from the mid-1960's to 1972. There had been several unsuccessful attempts to reconstitute the party by splinter groups such as the Progressive Labor Party and the Provisional Organizing

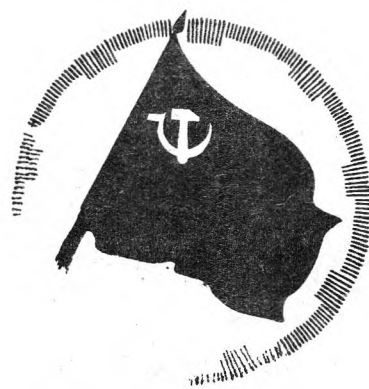
"IF THERE IS TO BE REVOLUTION,  
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PARTY. WITHOUT A REVOLUTIONARY  
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BUILT ON THE MARXIST-LENINIST  
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RUNNING DOGS."

Committee, after the total revisionist betrayal of the CPUSA in the late 1950's. This was a period when the spontaneous mass movements (particularly the national and student) were surging forward in the absence of a genuine communist party to meet and lead them to MLMTTT and to new offensive positions against the reactionary dual tactics of the bourgeoisie. This period was marked by the reaffirmation of some general standpoints of MLMTTT, the key link in opposition to the growth of many eclectic, petty-bourgeois theories of revolution such as Nkrumahism, Guevarism, Fanonism, "students" and "lumpen" as vanguard, Trotskyism, etc. As the POC and the PLP degenerated into Trotskyite sects, the Revolutionary Union played a leading role, particularly during the late 1960's in introducing and reaffirming certain MLMTTT principles to the advanced workers and elements who were coming forward rapidly.

The second period was characterized by the struggle against and the defeat of the pragmatist line of belittling the role of Marxist theory in the principal task of party building. In this period, 1972 to 1975, the RU turned from a leading role into its opposite. This period was one in which the mass movement began to ebb and it was necessary to sum up the experience of struggle in the old period using the theory of MLMTTT to develop the theoretical and ideological training of the advanced. However, the RU became the main proponent of the pragmatic, right opportunist "practice-practice-practice" line which downplayed the importance of party building and the role of M-L theory. This incorrect line developed into the dominant, leading line in the CM (Communist Movement) until it was beaten back by a developing revolutionary theory trend which correctly raised party building as central and the leading role of theory. This correct trend, made up of the WVO, PRRWO, Black Workers Congress (and the August



# To Party Building at Turner Collective (ML) to the WVO



dencies. As RU's practice-practice-practice line was defeated, the two line struggle over the question of building the party on the proletarian ideological plane and grasping the key link of political line became the next rigorous demand of the sorting out process. It was PRRWO's opportunist Menshevik line on organization which opened the flood-gate of opportunist backsliding by PRRWO on all major lines: it provided the conditions for the centrist opportunist line in RWL to consolidate into "left" opportunism and gain dominance; it provided the conditions to halt the principled merger of WVO and RWL within the Revolutionary Wing; it laid the basis for the split and degeneration of the Revolutionary Wing; as well as the rapid degeneration of the PRRWO/RWL "left" opportunist clique into a Trotskyite sect. The major line struggle waged and successfully completed against the PRRWO/RWL clique, primarily by the WVO, has deepened the ideological and political unity of the genuine M-L circles tremendously. This has pushed us ahead to the present period

The fourth and present period is one in which the formation of the proletariat's political party is nearer than ever before. It is characterized by the bolshevization of the organizational sphere of the Party, since it is in the main now a question of building up the Party among the advanced elements, particularly among the advanced workers. Since the WVO has developed as the only communist organization capable of founding the genuine Party of the U.S. proletariat, the key link or organizational sphere is now a major issue for the future party members as well as all the advanced elements around the Party and the U.S. proletariat. The struggle over the political and other line differences between the genuine communist circles in the revolutionary trend and the WVO, leading toward organizational liquidation (based on ideological and political unity to form the "great whole", i.e. building the party from the top-down approach with the WVO as the leading circle based on their correct and leading line) must vigorously and simultaneously proceed forward, though it is no longer the center of gravity, the key link, or principal contradiction, to build up the Party.

The BOC/CWC (M-L) comrades give a brilliant and concise explanation of the basis for our views on the development of the WVO as the center of gravity of the genuine party building motion (see "Two Roads to Party Building," WVO newspaper, Nov. 1976, p. 22). This analysis flies in the face of the sorted-out opportunists and revisionists, "left" and right, whose petty-bourgeois sense of "injury" makes them pour out cries of WVO being "hegemonic" and "intellectualistic" in their principled party building approach; it drives those unstable elements, who try to artificially separate the leading line from the leading circle (i.e. "WVO has the leading line, but there is no leading circle now," etc.), to take a definite stand with the proletariat or with the opportunists - either build the party out of the genuine M-L trend led by the WVO or joining the sham opportunist and revisionist trends!

#### HT SELF-CRITICISM ON PERIODS

Our organization's grasp of this correct stand, method and viewpoint on the question of periods is very important at this time. We must be extremely

self-critical for upholding a rigid and dogmatic view, using an idealist methodology on this question. Our former view of periods was that each phase, each two-line struggle proceeded within a very rigid and predetermined framework: "ideological," "political" and "organizational" periods. Lagging behind the objective conditions, we objectively stated our actions from a priori positions and concepts rather than understanding reality from the stand, method, and viewpoint of MLMTT, in order to change it. We committed a priorist and rationalist errors as a result. The rigid "3-period" formulation denies the fact that MLMTT has not been and could not be fully retrieved in one all encompassing period in which "ideology is key link." In each successive period of the CM, Marxist-Leninist ideology is reaffirmed in different spheres (i.e. political, organizational, military, cultural, etc.) as they are won away from the bourgeoisie by the proletariat and its party. Also in our haste to abandon the dialectical materialist method on this question, we negated the entire second period struggle against RU's pragmatic, right opportunist line, and we missed the essence of struggle to develop the revolutionary theory trend and the Revolutionary Wing!

In studying Engel's criticism of Durhing (Anti-Duhring), our Chinese comrades assert that:

"A priorism is an idealist theory of knowledge. The materialist theory of reflection holds that ideas are the reflection of objective reality, that all true knowledge originates from experience. So there is no knowledge prior to experience. Yet a priorism holds that the rational includes some "gifted concept", "self-understood reason", "born principles" or logical categories, that it does not arise from experience but is innate in the mind, and that starting from these principles or categories, one can get real knowledge through logical deduction. A priorists do not admit the dependence of conceptual knowledge upon perceptual knowledge, but think that the former is independent; they oppose proceeding from practical experience, but stand for proceeding from practical experience, but stand for proceeding from the rational. They do not proceed from facts to concepts but vice versa."  
("Study Philosophy," p. 3)

The basis of these errors stems from some petty-bourgeois student social basis in our organization. A major condition for the hegemony of this incorrect line was the brief growth and spread of the "left" opportunist poison of the PRRWO/RWL clique and our liberalism in taking up the necessary theoretical tasks of exposing their line.

#### THE SORTING OUT PROCESS CONTINUES - ATM'S OPPORTUNIST MANEUVERS

We have seen what the past 8 or 9 years has meant for the ideological and political development of the genuine M-L trend. But what of the present-day flag-bearers of opportunism and revisionism who have been sorted out in the development of the communist movement? The WVO comrades correctly uncover this process:

"Individuals and organizations are sorted out over concrete questions of the key link in any particular party building period. They also are sorted out when they are not advanced elements or are incapable of withstanding the necessary hardships to move forward in any phase of the cm."

29th Movement - ATM) in the main, developed in 1974 (in fundamental opposition to the RU, as well as the OL, I Wor Kuen, "C" L, and the Guardian renegades) and united around the leading role of theory, party building as central task, Bolshevik criticism-self criticism, and waging open polemics. This revolutionary theory trend crystallized into the Revolution Wing of the CM (WVO, PRRWO, ATM, RWL) in the fall of 1975 around definite principles of unity:

"... (1) propaganda as our chief form of activity, (2) focus on winning advanced workers, (3) Marxist-Leninist analysis of fusion, advanced workers, periods, key link, (4) factory nuclei as our main form of organization, (5) political line as key link, (6) necessity to grasp nationally specific forms of revisionism, (7) attitude toward criticism, self-criticism, (8) upholding the leading role of M-L theory and party building as the central task, and (9) waging open polemics."  
(Workers Viewpoint newspaper, Aug. 1976, p. 7)

This drawing of absolute lines of demarcation between the revolutionary and opportunist wings brought the second period to an end.

The third period began in 1975 as the mass movements began to swell. Political line became the key link, i.e. those questions most clearly related to the state and the seizure of state power by the U.S. proletariat and its party, the concentrated expression of which would be the party's political program. Even in the struggle against RU's pragmatism, differences which were secondary at the time developed within the revolutionary theory trend over questions of political line. The WVO comrades struggled openly against PRRWO's "left" ten-



# TWO ROADS..

(continued from p. 21)

This process has been the death knell for the revisionist RCP/RU, the right opportunist OL, ATM, MLOC, etc. as well as the politically "dead" PRRWO/RWL clique on the "left". WVO's major polemic in the second period against the RU, "Marxism or American Pragmatism?" (Sept. 1974) was a milestone in the exposure of RU/RCP's anti-proletarian stand. Today, the main danger in the CM, the OL, on the brink of forming their revisionist party, has shown that the struggle against right opportunism and revisionism is a protracted one, an integral part of building the party on the proletarian ideological plane (i.e. developing and enriching MLMTTT in the course of criticizing revisionism, establishing and consolidating the Dictatorship of the Proletariat (DOP), and realizing the final goal of communism). The genuine M-L forces, led by the WVO, have grasped firmly this fact - "OL: A Most Dangerous Revisionist Trend," "The Boston Forced Busing Plan: The Dialectics of Bourgeois Formal Democracy and Fascism," May 1975; "Slipping and Sliding: OL, The Most Dangerous Revisionist Trend in the Communist Movement and Their Call for the Party," March 1976; and "Once Again on OL," Aug. 1976 (WVO); "The October League and the Boston Crisis: Deepen the Criticism," fall 1975 (HT). The BOC/CWC comrades have pinpointed the pattern of MLOC's opportunist maneuvers to look "profound" and "theoretical" to the communist movement and to the advanced: "MLOC: Intriguing and Conspiring for a Revisionist Clique," (WVO newspaper, Nov. 1976).

The struggle against the ATM opportunists has just recently begun to deepen. Our view that ATM is a sham right opportunist organization is based on our opposition to their insistence to hold onto bourgeois nationalist, reformist and centrist lines. Lenin taught that "Opportunism would not be opportunism if it were able to put things clearly and straightforward." Underlying all the diffuse and vague formulations about the "main" contradiction and the "principal" contradiction in the U.S. (Revolutionary Cause #1 and #2) ATM objectively holds that the principal contradiction in the U.S. is between the oppressed nations within her boundaries and U.S. imperialism. In analyzing workers' struggles, etc. ATM has consistently raised the National Question above the question of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. ATM has developed a whole system of views on this question, from finding great-nation chauvinism under every rock and bottle-cap (even falsely accusing the WVO comrades of chauvinism, distorting WVO's analysis of the progressive role played by the Young Lords Party/PRRWO in the first period - see Revolutionary Cause #7) to their current formulation about the "economic, political and social privileges" of white workers. The ATM opportunist leadership writes:

"With the tremendous superprofits stolen from oppressed peoples throughout the world as well as from the oppressed peoples here, the U.S. bourgeoisie has been able to establish a system of social, economic, and political privileges which divides the oppressor nation (Anglo-American) proletariat from those of the oppressed nations and peoples. Recognizing the distinction between the oppressor nation and oppressed is the consistent stand of the proletariat -- not in order to divide, but in order to unite, their class." (Revolutionary Cause, #7, p. 2, emphasis in original)

Does ATM refer here to the privileged, upper stratum of the U.S. working class, the labor aristocracy, which is consciously bribed by the U.S. monopoly capitalists? We think not! ATM develops their revisionist line further:

"This class (the U.S. working class - HT) is not united - there exists many divisions within it (national divisions, age divisions, skill and unskilled divisions, divisions of the sexes, etc.). But none of these divisions is as

sharp, as deeply rooted historically or as crucial to the ruling class as the national divisions. For this reason they (the bourgeoisie - HT) have developed a system of political, social and economic privileges for the workers of the oppressor nation (a system based on the denial of political, social and economic equality to the oppressed nationality workers). Combined with this (our emphasis - HT) is the presence within the working class of a labor aristocracy and a set of social props whose function is to develop

monopoly position over the world's resources to bribe or raise the entire class to some "privileged" status, as did England between 1848 and 1868. In 1916, Lenin stated:

"The monopoly of modern finance capital is being frantically challenged; the era of imperialist wars has begun. It was possible in those days to bribe and corrupt the working class of one country for decades. This is now improbable, if not impossible. But on the other hand, every imperialist "Great"



and maintain the divisions within the class - mainly through the spread of the poisonous ideology of national chauvinism, racism, and reformism." (Revolutionary Cause, #8, p. 3)

Comrades and friends, ATM liquidates the struggle for the rights under bourgeois democracy which the white sector of the working class has gained through the struggle of the entire class; democratic rights that have been denied the oppressed nationalities due to national oppression and which the entire class must fight for in a revolutionary way. ATM would have us believe that the denial of voting rights to the oppressed nationalities, particularly the Afro-American nation, in the last decade and "freedom from the discriminatory hiring practices, etc." are part of this all encompassing system of privileges that have been "developed" for white workers by the bourgeoisie! Upon obviously getting hit on their incorrect line, ATM continues to wriggle:

"We do NOT (original emphasis) hold that there is a broad sector of the proletariat that is bribed. But we maintain that the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations must not be blurred over.

"To do so is to liquidate both the national question and the task of placing before the class the principled basis of unity of all nationalities. The workers of the oppressed nation are not bribed but they do enjoy political and social (as well as often times economic) privileges not accorded to oppressed nationality workers. This can be the right to speak their native tongue, English, whereas in the Southwest Chicanos cannot speak their own Spanish language.

"It may take the form of freedom of discriminatory hiring practices, etc. Remember, comrades, Black Americans were still struggling to cast a simple vote at the poles. So privileges objectively exist." (Revolutionary Cause (RC) p. 8, original emphasis)

What sophistry! There is no basis for this system of "economic, political and social privileges" for white workers. The U.S. bourgeoisie does not enjoy a

Power can and does bribe smaller strata (than in England 1848-68) of the "labor aristocracy." (Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism," LCW, vol. 23, p. 116)

This is even clearer today. All the basic contradictions in the world are sharpening, as the rivalry between the two superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, on the one hand, and the contradictions between imperialism/social-imperialism and oppressed nations and peoples on the other push toward their inevitable resolution: either world war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent world war. Therefore, this question becomes one of the struggle against national oppression of oppressed nationality workers instead of the struggle against "privileges" of the oppressor nation workers! The material basis of national oppression is the all encompassing exploitation of the oppressed nationalities in the U.S. by the imperialist bourgeoisie: their labor-power, land, raw materials, economy and the suppression of their languages, national culture and democratic rights under bourgeois democracy in order to deepen this economic exploitation. This reduces domestic competition by the national bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations and attempts to blunt the revolutionary fervor of the national movements as a whole. The super-profits drawn from the cheaper labor and raw materials goes to benefit only the imperialist bourgeoisie and the labor aristocracy, the privileged upper stratum of the proletariat. The lower starvation level wages forced upon the oppressed nationalities allows the imperialists to drive down the wages of the entire class. In addition, the imperialist bourgeoisie attempts to whip up national chauvinism among its "own" workers, using this ideology to give the illusion that white workers do indeed have a stake in maintaining their "privileged" status. This also feeds narrow nationalist reaction among the oppressed nationalities - we have ample proof of this splitting tactic through the bourgeoisie's busing plan.

So who "blurs over" the "distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations"? Who liquidates "both the national question and the task of placing before the class the principled basis of unity of all nationalities"? It is ATM! ATM's opportunist leadership does not bother to make a clear distinction between



# TWO ROADS..

their line and the nationally specific, revisionist "white skin privilege" line in the U.S. The logical conclusion of ATM's line is that white workers must give up their "privileges" in order to "unite" with oppressed nationality workers and the chauvinism of the white workers becomes the "direction of the main blow"!

"What we must do is show ALL workers their common class interest in destroying any and all systems of privilege. We cannot do this by pretending such a system does not exist (a fact which every class-conscious oppressed nationality worker would find very interesting), but rather than breaking it down by struggling for such things as preferential hiring, preferential promotion, equality of language and training, etc." (RC, #9, p. 8)

This thoroughly opportunist line does not unite the working class - it further divides it and "breaks it down"!

ATM's consolidation around a deep-rooted bourgeois nationalist line is fed by their thoroughly reformist and tailist line. This is manifested in their support for the bourgeoisie's busing plans and the ERA. This support for and dependence on bourgeois subterfuges, which aid in the development of fascism, shows ATM's inability to grasp the reactionary political nature of bourgeois democracy and its deceptive use of subterfuges in this period of capitalism to split the class, as opposed to the proletarian revolutionary struggle for genuine reforms that strengthen the "independence, class consciousness and fighting efficiency of the proletariat." This right opportunist line objectively warps ATM's views of proletarian tactics in struggling for the DOP. We refer comrades to WVO's article on the revolutionary struggle for "equal rights" and the exposure of the Boston Busing Plan, in the Nov. 1976 issue of their newspaper, to study ATM's profound petty-bourgeois longing for the old period of rising capitalism, when the bourgeois democratic revolution (smashing feudalism) still brought reforms that were favorable to the working class and the peasantry. ATM's thoroughly reformist and bourgeois nationalist line diverts the struggle of the proletariat away from the bourgeoisie and leads them to vicious infights among oppressor and oppressed nationality workers, telling them to look to the "liberal" bourgeoisie to solve the problems which the bourgeoisie itself has created and will continue to do so to preserve itself.

ATM has also taken an unprincipled centrist position on the third period struggle against the PRRWO/RWL "left" opportunists. They explain PRRWO's degeneration with a metaphysical, idealist analysis of the "new" PRRWO versus the "old" PRRWO (i.e. different organizations). See RC #7-9. Despite ATM's history in the development of the Revolutionary Wing, they now deny that the Revolutionary Wing ever existed! They dismiss their view of it as a "left" sectarian, subjective and idealist view" and an "overestimation" of the "development of the subjective factor" in the CM during that time (RC #7, p. 9). In our opinion this idealist, vulgar materialist methodology still dominates ATM. In their view of periods of the CM, the rigid 3-period framework: ideological, political, and organizational they see a "revolutionary trend" developing only in one straight, ascending line upward - no twists, no turns!

"But when we are speaking of the communist movement over the last 10 years, we do not use such a phenomenon (the development of a "wing" -HT). What we in fact had were two trends in their development, one trend characterized by economism, chauvinism and a contempt for theory, the other characterized by upholding the leading role of theory as a guide to revolutionary practice." (RC #7, p. 9)

Our earlier self-criticism on this question stands as a full criticism of this bankrupt methodology.

Based on these errors and ATM's vicious use of slander, guilt by association and distortion against WVO, which have no substantiation, we view ATM as a definite right opportunist trend against which the criticism must be deepened.

## BUILDING THE PARTY ON THE PROLETARIAN IDEOLOGICAL PLANE

The emphasis on building the party on the proletarian ideological plane has assumed fundamental importance for the genuine M-L trend in the U.S., due to the many unsuccessful attempts to build and consolidate a genuine communist party to lead the U.S. proletariat historically. The theoretical and practical tasks involved in strengthening party building ideologically has been a fundamental line of demarcation between the genuine M-L party building approach led by the WVO and those of the opportunists trends, such as the OL, which is building its revisionist club not "on the proletarian ideological plane, but right here in the U.S.!" (OL leadership's remark at Sept. 1976 forum in Boston.) The development of modern revisionism in opposition to MLMTTT, the seizure of state power by the revisionists in the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries, etc. and the revisionist betrayal of numerous parties in the capitalist countries has raised the international significance of this aspect of party building.

Building the party on the proletarian ideological plane refers to the character of the party and what sort of party we want to build. In grasping the key



link in this period, the organizational sphere, we must remember that it is only by grasping ideological building well, studying MLMTTT and criticizing revisionism - our "long term task to strengthen party building ideologically," can we chart the correct orientation for organizational building. Chairman Mao stressed that:

"We have many comrades who are still not very clear on the difference between the proletariat and the petty-bourgeoisie. There are many Party members who have joined the Communist Party organizationally but have not yet joined the Party wholly or at all ideologically... To put things in order organizationally requires our first doing so ideologically, our launching a struggle of proletarian ideology against non-proletarian ideology." ("Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," Selected Readings, p. 282)

Under Chairman Mao's revolutionary

line, the CPC has developed three great traditions that have historically guided the strengthening of the CPC ideologically, politically, and organizationally. They are "The style of integrating theory with practice, maintaining close ties with the masses and practicing criticism and self-criticism." (Basic Understanding of the CPC, p. 103). These three great traditions along with the five criteria for membership in the CPC are as the WVO comrades state, "universal criteria which we communists in the U.S. must also adopt in building the party ideologically." (WVO Journal #4, p. 36). These five criteria are: (1) to conscientiously study MLMTTT 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; and (5) be bold in making criticism and self-criticism.

Once again on the relationship between building the party on the proletarian ideological plane and tackling the questions in the organizational sphere as the key link, our Chinese comrades explain that if the relationship between the two is not handled well and if organizational building departs from the correct ideological and political line, from its command and guidance, then sectarianism and the mountain strong-hold mentality will inevitably prevail. In point of fact, there has never been any purely organizational building that departs from a definite ideological and political line.

Comrades and friends!

We must grasp this lesson well in order to correctly build and consolidate the genuine M-L party of the U.S. proletariat! The view of the HT-NTC, M-L is that the formation of the party is a settled question based on the development of, and our unity with, the correct and leading line of the leading circle - the WVO, we must establish and consolidate the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, in order to smash the rule and resistance of the bourgeoisie, and firmly keep to our basic orientation - the realization of communism!

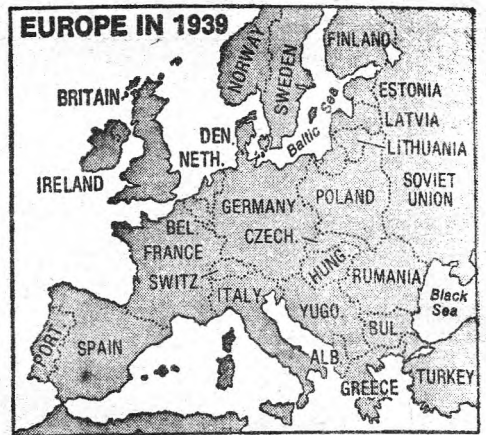
**BUILD THE PARTY ON THE PROLETARIAN IDEOLOGICAL PLANE! GRASP THE ORGANIZATIONAL SPHERE AS THE KEY LINK!!**

**FORWARD TO THE FOUNDING PARTY CONGRESS!!**

**IMMEDIATE AND UNIVERSAL PREPARATION FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!! KEEP TO OUR BASIC ORIENTATION - THE FINAL GOAL OF COMMUNISM!!**



# History Lesson : Munich 1938 ... Helsinki Pact 1975



(continued from p. 15)

This shocked Chamberlain. He did not know what to do with Hitler's "price hikes." He servilely asked: "Shouldn't my work for the past 5 days be praised? I have reason to state that the Führer has already gotten all he demanded." What Hitler demanded was more than the areas in which the Germanic people constituted the majority, he also wanted the areas in which they were in the minority. He insisted that Czechoslovakia immediately withdraw the whole administrative and military-police apparatus from the Sudeten areas which he considered to be occupied by the Germanic people. These regions were to be given to the German Army. He also produced a map which delineated the "new boundaries" of Czechoslovakia. He gave this map to Chamberlain and demanded the complete and thorough resolution of this question by Oct. 1. He also wanted Czechoslovakia to carve out some other territories to Poland and Hungary. Chamberlain promised to hand over the memorandum with Hitler's demands and the attached map to the Czech government, and expressed his willingness to make all efforts in getting this memorandum accepted. He repeatedly asked Hitler not to resort to the use of arms until a reply was received from the Czech government.

Although England and France had decided to give the Sudeten region to Germany, they had still another goal which they wanted to realize. That is, through the offering of this "gift", they had hoped to collude further with Germany and make Germany come out unequivocally against the Soviet Union. To this end they wanted to hold an international conference, which would exclude the Soviet Union, to handle the technical aspects of the transfer and carry out behind-the-scene deals. After his second meeting with Hitler, Chamberlain on the one hand informed the Czech government of Hitler's demands and on the other hand actively prepared for the convening of a conference with England, France, Germany and Italy as the participants. Chamberlain cabled Mussolini, requesting him to urge Hitler to accept the plan of convening a 4-power conference. At the same time, he wrote Hitler: "I am convinced you won't have to fight a war or wait before getting all the primary things that you

wanted. If you are willing, I am prepared to come immediately to Berlin to discuss with you and the representatives of Czechoslovakia, France and Italy the various arrangements concerning the transfer. I am convinced we'll be able to reach agreement within a week."

On Sept. 29, Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain and Daladier met in Munich. Actually there was no new substantive things for them to discuss. This meeting was only to formally adopt the deal long ago accepted by all, which was simply to satisfy every single one of Hitler's demands. At the conference, Mussolini raised a written proposal which was actually drafted by Goering and approved by Hitler. Mussolini did not receive this proposal until he was boarding the train for Munich. Even the wording of this proposal was similar to the demands made by Hitler at Berchtesgaden. Yet, Daladier lauded this as "a proposal with the spirit of objectivity and realism by the Italian leader." Chamberlain also expressed that he "welcomes the proposal of the Italian leader." This proposal became the basic clause of the Munich Agreement.

At this meeting, England and France colluded with Germany and Italy to oppose the Soviet Union, excluding the Soviet Union representative from the meeting. They even closed the door on the object of their partitioning plan -- the representatives of Czechoslovakia were also excluded from the meeting. Two Czech representatives appeared on the first day of the meeting but were led into an adjoining room to await the outcome of the meeting. The meeting continued until 1 AM the next day, when the 4 Powers signed the Munich Agreement. According to this agreement, Czechoslovakia's Sudetenland went to Germany. It also stipulated that Germany was to enter that area on Oct. 1st, and to complete the occupation by Oct. 10th. It was only after the conclusion of the meeting that an aide of Chamberlain informed the Czech representatives about the main points of the 4-Power Agreement, and handed them a map of Czechoslovakia's immediate withdrawal from the Sudeten area.

In the morning, Chamberlain once again sought to meet with Hitler. He proposed to discuss the question of how to "strengthen the peace in Europe" and the "settlement of the Russian question". Then, Chamberlain produced a draft declaration, asking Hitler to co-sign it. This declaration stated: "We, the German Führer and Chancellor and the British Prime Minister, have had a further meeting today and are agreed in recognizing that the question of Anglo-German relations is of the first importance for the two countries and for Europe. We regard the agreement signed last night and the Anglo-German Naval Agreement as symbolic of the desire of our two peoples never to go to war with one another again. We are resolved that the method of consultation shall be the method adopted to deal with any other questions that may concern our two countries, and we are determined to continue our efforts to remove possible sources of difference and thus to contribute to assure the peace of Europe." This in actuality was a mutual non-aggression declaration between the two countries. Hitler signed it immediately. Chamberlain was most satisfied, and expressed his "warm thanks" over and over again.

Thereafter, on Dec. 6th, Germany signed a declaration with France also. It declared: "It is the common view of the French and German governments that good-neighborliness between France and Germany is one of the most important prerequisites to the maintenance of world peace. The two governments will strive to maintain such relations between them." "The two countries will never again have disputes of a territorial nature. The present boundary between the two countries are the final, recognized boundaries. Whatever the special relations the two countries have with a third power, both sides will carry out liaison on all questions concerning the two countries. If, in the future, these questions cause a complicated situation internationally, the two sides will carry out consultations." This also, in fact was a mutual non-aggression declaration between France and Germany.

Through the Munich Agreement, France and England offered the territory of Czechoslovakia to fascist Germany in exchange for these two sheets of "mutual non-aggression" declarations. They thought by doing so, an Anti-Soviet "Holy Alliance", which the Western imperialist countries had hoped for since 1918, could be established, and thus lure away Germany, a source of trouble, from themselves to open up the gateway eastward to an invasion of the Soviet Union. Western imperialism "offered various areas of Czechoslovakia to the Germans as the price for having the Germans start the war against the Soviet Union." (Report of Stalin to the 18th Party Congress.)

CHILDREN OF GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS MARCHED AS PROLETARIAN SUCCESSORS FOR RESISTANCE AND REVOLUTION.





## Assisting Hitler to Avert Coup

During the days of Hitler's preparations for the invasion of Czechoslovakia, a profound crisis existed deep within the German Fascist ruling clique.

In May of 1938, when Hitler was formulating his "green plan" of wiping out Czechoslovakia, some high military officers in the German General Command disagreed with his plan. In their view, Germany at that time was not ready militarily for a large-scale war. They sent a memorandum to Hitler pointing out that: the morale of the German armed forces was low, that they were "unreliable politically," there was a shortage of commanders, and that there were many weaknesses on the western defence line; that without any outside assistance, the tiny Czechoslovakian forces fighting by themselves will still be able to resist for three months; and if Czechoslovakia got assistance, Germany had no ability to fight on two fronts. 80% of German officers were certain that defeat would be unavoidable. Hitler was outraged. He reaffirmed his determination to "settle the Czech problem by force" to the senior officers during an inspection of troops. Germany's Army Commander was thus forced to resign.

Some senior officers of the German armed forces quickly combined to form a secret organization against Hitler. They planned to arrest Hitler when he gave the final order for invasion against Czechoslovakia, and to charge him with the crime of bringing Germany into a great European war. They secretly sent an emissary to London on Aug. 18 to inform the British government that Hitler had decided to invade Czechoslovakia, and that most of the generals were against him and were preparing to take action. Any continued appeasement of Hitler by France and England would undermine the plan against Hitler. If France and England would declare publicly that if Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia, they would not stand idly by, then the German generals would rise to put a stop to Hitler. However, Chamberlain totally ignored this request and continued to encourage Hitler, ordering his ambassador in Germany to prepare secretly for "personal contacts" with Hitler. The anti-Hitler secret organization in Fascist Germany saw that no result came of the first contact, so on Aug. 21 they again sent a secret emissary to England to inform them that Hitler decided to invade Czechoslovakia at the end of September, that "if another country can adopt strong actions to force Hitler into giving up his present plans at the last moment, he will surely fall after being dealt such a blow." Similarly, if "England and France interfere immediately once a war is started, Hitler will also fall." However, no result came out of this second contact, either. On Sept. 2, the head of this secret organization, the new Chief of General Staff of the Army Halder, sent his personal emissary to England for a third contact, but was again pushed aside by Chamberlain. The fourth time, the secret organization, through its people in the German Foreign Ministry, made contact with the British Foreign Ministry. They straightforwardly told British Foreign Minister Halifax that Hitler had already planned to order a general mobilization on Sept. 16th, and to invade Czechoslovakia at the latest by Oct. first. The German army was prepared to act when Hitler gave the order for invasion. If France and England adopted a firm attitude, their action against Hitler would definitely succeed. However, Chamberlain was still indifferent and continued with his evil deeds of betraying Czechoslovakia.

The anti-Hitler group still believed at that time that France and England would not stand idly by if Germany invaded Czechoslovakia, and they therefore decided to act on Sept. 29, occupy the various ministries by armed forces, arrest Hitler and put him to trial. When Halder was about to give the order to carry out the plan on Sept. 28, he received news that Chamberlain and Daladier had agreed to go to Munich to "seek peace." This indicated Hitler need not use war to occupy Czechoslovakia, forcing Halder to withdraw the plan. Thereafter, France and England's great betrayal at Munich helped Hitler realize his plot of occupying Czechoslovakia,



CHAMBERLAIN AND HIS CABINET'S SMILES OF APPEASEMENT--LED TO WORLD WAR II. KISSENGER'S SMILE OF APPEASEMENT--AFTER THE HELSINKI PACT, THE MUNICH OF 1975.



also bringing about the collapse of the conspiratorial activities of Halder and others against Hitler. The criminal deeds of Chamberlain, Daladier, and others helped Hitler avert a coup.

## U.S. Imperialism Aids Conspiracy

Although the U.S. did not send representatives to participate directly in the Munich Conference, it did however actively work behind the scenes.

After Hitler came to power, U.S. President Roosevelt proposed a plan of "appeasing" the Fascist countries. He proposed the revision of the boundaries of the Eastern European countries, revision of the treaty concluded after the First World War, sacrificing the interests of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and other countries in exchange for collusion among the U.S., England, France, and Fascist Germany, Fascist Italy, pushing Germany and Italy to expand eastward, so as to establish a so-called "New World Order." Former President Hoover also clamored that "Neither Germany nor any other Fascist country wants to fight a war with the western forces of democracy, so long as the democratic forces do not obstruct the eastward advanced of Fascism." and that the conflict between Germany and the Soviet Union will "naturally be beneficial to the entire western world."

On the day that Chamberlain first met with Hitler, U.S. Secretary of State Hull declared publicly: "All countries greatly concerned about the maintenance of peace would naturally watch the historic meeting taking place today between the British Prime Minister and the German Premier with the greatest of interests." When the schemes of the Munich conference were being prepared, Roosevelt cabled Mussolini, asking him to "continue to make efforts in reaching agreement on the present problems by negotiations or any means of appeasement other than the use of force." At the same time, he called upon Hitler to immediately participate in an international meeting with the other countries involved in the Czech "dispute", stressing the necessity of using "consultations as the only means" to resolve the "dispute". After the signing of the Munich Agreement, Hull said: "It is difficult to say whether the measures adopted by the (U.S.) President have produced this result. It is, however, unquestionable that these measures had a significant effect." He quoted the congratulatory message sent by the king of England to Roosevelt to prove the great role played by the U.S. in the conclusion of the Munich Agreement. It stated: "I happily admit the fact that I warmly welcomed your intervention in the recent crisis. I do not doubt in the least such intervention had a powerful effect on the maintenance of peace." Hull believed that the signing of the Munich Agreement was "most heartening to the entire world". In order to urge Chamberlain to intensify collusion with fascist Germany after the conclusion of the Munich Agreement, Roosevelt sent a message to Chamberlain on Oct. 5th: "I agree entirely

with your wishes and believe that the greatest possibility now exists for the establishment of a new order.... Now, you have established personal contact with Hitler. I know you will often discuss the various problems to be settled for the establishment of this new order." There is no doubt, U.S. imperialism was an abettor of the Munich conspiracy.

## Partitioning Czechoslovakia

The Munich Agreement provided for the establishment of an "International Committee" to help the carving up of Czechoslovakia. All the things that Chamberlain and Daladier forgot to give German fascism at Munich were granted one by one in accordance with the demands of Hitler by this "International Committee". It forced Czechoslovakia to give Germany 11,000 sq. miles of land. Czech President Benes was thrown out upon the request of Hitler, to be replaced by a pro-fascist government. With the support of Hitler, Poland and Hungary used the threat of armed force to demand the partitioning of Czech territories. Poland grabbed approximately 600 sq. miles. Hungary got a much larger piece, about 7500 sq. miles. In this way, Czechoslovakia was cut to bits and pieces, close to national ruin.

Hitler was not satisfied with getting the Sudeten region and dismembering Czechoslovakia. He decided long ago to "completely destroy" Czechoslovakia. Even before the completion of German occupation of the Sudeten region, Hitler ordered the German armed forces to "make war preparations", "to finish off the remains of Czechoslovakia."

Thereafter, Hitler instigated Slovakia to split off from Czechoslovakia. Under the direction of Germany, on March 14, 1939, Slovakia pronounced its "declaration of independence", declaring its independence from the Republic of Czechoslovakia, becoming an "independent country" under the protection of Germany. On March 15th, Czech President and Foreign Minister were called to Berlin. Hitler ordered them to sign the treaty annihilating the state of Czechoslovakia. At the same time, German troops crossed the new boundaries provided for by the Munich Agreement, making a sudden attack on Czechoslovakia from several directions, and occupied its capital. Czechoslovakia was drawn into German territory as an administrative unit, with the name of "Bohemia and Moravia protectorate". Thus all of Czechoslovakia fell into Hitler's paws.

At the signing of the Munich Agreement, England and France had declared that they  
(continue on p. 33)

**NEXT ISSUE :**  
**The Conclusion**



# WORKING WOMEN..

(continued from p. 9)

back into the home and out of social production. The drawing of women into industry has been the historically progressive role of capitalism, in the relation of women to society." (WVO newspaper, Vol. 1, No. 1)

## EXPOSE THE CAPITALIST CONCEPT OF "PROTECTIVE LEGISLATION"

"Working women...are the greatest reserve of the working class. This reserve constitutes a good half of the population. The fate of the proletarian movement, the victory or defeat of the proletarian revolution, the victory or defeat of the proletarian power depends on whether or not the reserve of women will be for or against the working class...Working women are not only reserves, however. They can and must become - if the working class carries out a correct policy - a real army of the working class, operating against the bourgeoisie." ("Women's Question")

The proletariat, with its vanguard communist party, must fight against all forms of women's oppression, win over the masses of working oppressed women towards our goal to overthrow the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and fight for communism.

In our ERA article, we said, "Protective legislation is the hard won gain of working women through the decades." This is incorrect, based on our weakness on the women's question, male chauvinism within the organization, and lack of concrete investigation into protective legislation. The concept of protective legislation, as defined and used by the capitalists, is a sham, a ruse by the bourgeoisie to split the working class. When so-called protective legislation such as shorter working days, rest periods, on the job seating, etc. were demanded by all workers, women and men. But the bourgeoisie uses male supremacist ideas that women must be "protected" because of their child-bearing role, gave these demands only to women. The intent of the bourgeoisie, as always, was to divide the class, to blame women workers for taking jobs of men, and receiving special privileges.

So-called protective legislation was also used to further exploit and oppress the working class, under the guise of protecting women workers. In 1912, the textile mills in Lawrence, Mass. went on strike after a law was passed reducing the work week from 60 to 54 hours. This so-called protective legislation was used to reduce wages of all workers to conform to the new 54-hour regulation for women and children.

The second type of legislation that we talked about restricted the types of jobs women could take. This type of legislation was used to keep women confined to particular jobs, and limit their number in the work force. There were restrictions on lifting heavy weights, maximum hours, prohibition of work in certain industries, night work in certain industries, etc. These, too, are based on male supremacist ideas that women are physically weaker, and that women have to be "protected" because of their child-bearing role.

Take the example of excluding women from jobs because they cannot lift over 35 lbs. Ability to lift weights is based not on sex, but on your physical condition. In general, under this type of society, women are usually confined to the home and domestic labor, or menial and light jobs in industry and office work. Due to these circumstances, women are unable to get as much physical exercise as men; therefore, physically they are weaker. Women

are not naturally weaker! In socialist countries, women work in all industries.

In our struggle, we must remember that legislation and laws, even in cases that they do benefit women workers, are often not enforced and remain just on the books, for we cannot expect the capitalist class to consistently enforce legislation in the interest of women workers. So while we must do propaganda and agitation around this legislation and expose some of its sham character and their lack of enforcement, the direct struggle for these laws should not be the main thrust of our struggle.

Communists must take up the task of winning the advanced women workers to communism, actively build factory nuclei, build the rank and file movement around it through the advanced. Communists must do propaganda and agitation to develop communist leadership of the working women's movement, to promote the revolutionary role of the working women and communists such as Harriet Tubman, Clara Zetkin and their exemplary struggles. While capitalists create some conditions for the first time in history for women to take part in production on a large social scale, and while we must fight for the enforcement of this equal rights, in itself it is not the solution. We must take up the fight for equal rights and special demands of women workers in a revolutionary way, as Lenin put it, go beyond the bounds of legality, in the process educate the working women for the preparation of the working class' overthrow of capitalism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the only correct way to fight for our positive and immediate day to day demands. Only under the dictatorship of the proletariat can there be sufficient material condition for the final emancipation of working class women.

## THE POSITIVE AND PARTIAL DEMANDS OF OUR STRUGGLE

In our partial demands, we must demand paid maternity leave rather than as a "disability". We must fight for

# DEATH PENALTY

(continued from p. 27)

potent petty bourgeois, hoping for the impossible, for a way to end the class struggle without revolution. This permeates the "C"P's whole outlook and defines its attitude toward the death penalty. It treats the death penalty as a "moral" question, and tells us we should be outraged at its use. It refers to the fact that the bourgeoisie uses the death penalty against the working class and oppressed nationalities and national minorities, but like the OL, only to whip up petty-bourgeois guilt and "feeling sorry." (See article on OL, WV Vol II, No. 5, Death Penalty OL's "2 aspects theory"...)

But the working class must focus its outrage at the system of monopoly capitalism! Nowhere does the "C"P grasp how the death penalty is itself a tool in the class struggle and that it is used by the bourgeoisie to try to frighten the masses away from revolution.

## GENUINE COMMUNISTS MUST EXPOSE THE CLASS CHARACTER OF THE DEATH PENALTY

As genuine communists, it is necessary to provide ideological and political leadership to the struggle of the masses of people around the death penalty. It is necessary to do propaganda about the character of the death penalty under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie - the tool of the bourgeoisie aimed at the rising resistance of the working class. We must fight the death penalty as a tool of the bourgeoisie and even if the ruling class does step up the use of the death penalty, it will only increase the struggle and create new martyrs who will inspire to fight even harder. The death penalty must be put into the context of the Afro-American National Question,

equal pay for equal work. We must fight for free daycare, as a demand which would allow more women to work as a part of the industrial work force and organization, rather than be confined to household drudgery. The genuine demands of women that we must fight for must help develop the political consciousness of women.

"The emancipation of women will only be possible when women can take part in production on a large social scale, and domestic work no longer claims anything but an insignificant amount of her time. (Engels, "The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and State)

## CONCLUSION

The recent Supreme Court decision against the General Electric women workers' demand for pregnancy benefits, further exposes that the bourgeoisie and all its institutions do not represent the interests of the working class. It helps the working class to further shatter their illusions of bourgeois democracy. It further exposes the vacillations of the petty-bourgeoisie who cry at disbelief that this "fair and just" court could pass down this decision, and then push a campaign to appeal to Congress - another representative of the bourgeoisie - to pass legislation to protect women's rights.

Communists must take up the task in the immediate and universal preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat, to use this decision to carry out propaganda and agitation, win over the broad masses of working women, and link the struggle against women's oppression to the overall class struggle against the bourgeoisie. ■

THE FIGHT AGAINST WOMEN'S OPPRESSION IS A FIGHT OF AND FOR THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS!

FIGHT FOR THE SPECIAL RIGHTS OF WOMEN! EXPOSE THE SUPREME COURT'S DECISION.

PREPARE FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT! FIGHT FOR COMMUNISM!

## 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.

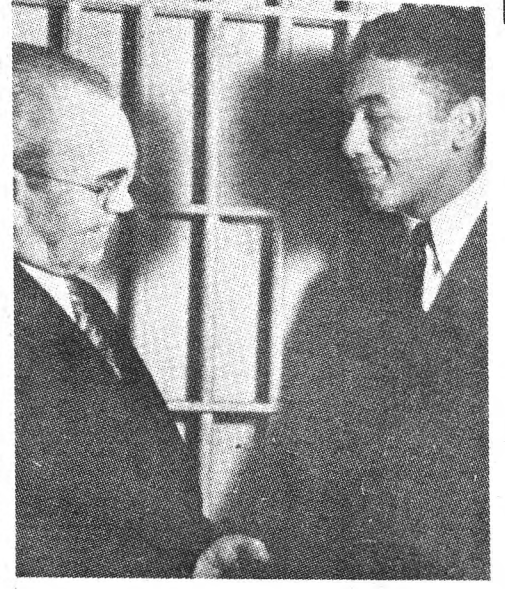
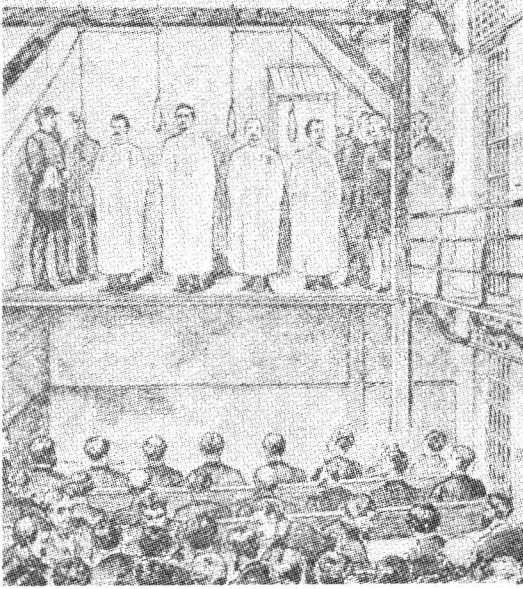
We ask comrades and friends around the country to send us letters, criticisms, reports on struggles, etc., on our articles and other issues in the communist and workers' movements, the international and national situations, the national movements, working women's movements, etc. This correspondence will 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.  
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raising the demand for self-determination up to and including secession, thereby unleashing the revolutionary potential of the national movement. And in the course of these struggles, seek out and win the advanced, furthering fusion of our emerging party with the working class, moving forward the preparation for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat for reaching the noble goal of communism. ■



# WORKING CLASS NOT INTIMIDATED



THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS AND OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES AND NATIONAL MINORITIES WILL NEVER CEASE DEALING DEATH BLOWS TO EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION DESPITE THE BRUTAL ATTACKS OF THE BOURGEOISIE. ABOVE (from left to right) THE CASES OF THE HAYMARKET FRAMEUP, THE ROSENBERGS AND ANGELO HERNDON.

(continued from p. 5)

eralism" has paved the way for the development of the repressive police apparatus of the state.

North Carolina was the origin of the civil rights sit-ins, and the scene of many militant struggles in the last two decades. In the most militant period of the sixties the reformist leadership in the state combined with the "liberal" wing of the bourgeoisie to push a series of reforms. Jesse Jackson, today the sell-out leader of Chicago's Operation PUSH, became leader of the state's student movement at this time. He founded the Youth Educational Services, funded by the Ford Foundation. This grant was obtained through the "graces" of N.C.'s anti-labor governor, Terry Sanford. The result was to channel much of N.C.'s militant civil rights leadership into reformist, electoral work, paid for by the Ford Foundation. As a result of this "successful" experiment by the bourgeoisie, the Y.E.S., as part of the larger N.C. Fund, became the pilot for the development of the OEO anti-poverty programs across the U.S.

Poverty programs were the reformist tactic of counter-insurgency used by the monopoly capitalists against the Black Liberation Movement. What looked like progressive changes for the Black community were in fact tricks designed to break up militant struggles. The poverty programs proceeded to hire the most militant community leaders, place them on federal payrolls, and make their incomes subject to the approval of the federal government.

These agencies tied up some of the best leadership in the Black community. It wasted all their energy in the endless tasks of making the inadequate system of social services work and focused all their attention on shuttling people to clinics, doing welfare grievances, etc. Militancy was channelled into "constructive" outlets—constructive from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie.

Today, N.C. is indeed the most repressive state with more than one half of the Death Row inmates in the U.S. and the largest percentage of prisoners of any state. Butner, N.C. is the scene for experimental "behavior modification" such as lobotomies, etc.

## REVISIONISM TRIES TO HIDE THE DUAL TACTICS OF THE BOURGEOISIE

Reforming the death penalty is a classical example of the dual tactics of the bourgeoisie, how the capitalists artfully combine their two systems of rule: outright repression and the "more crafty" policy of reforms. As in Lenin's time, "a part of the workers and a part of their representatives at times allow themselves to be deceived by seeming concessions. The revisionists declare that the doctrine of class struggle is "antiquated" or begin to conduct a policy which is in

fact a renunciation of the class struggle." (LCW 16:351) The "C" PUSA, long ago degenerated into consolidated supporters of bourgeois rule. Today, in vying for the leadership of the national movements by organizing the NAARPR (National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression), promotes relying on the bourgeois state, promotes the absurd tactics of "writing your congressmen to free all political prisoners!" But in relying on the state they prettify bourgeois rule, aid the bourgeoisie by spreading illusions of peaceful transformation to socialism. In this way they serve to disarm the working class ideologically and politically to prevent revolution and pave the way for fascism.

The "C" PUSA does not point out these dual tactics of the bourgeoisie because it has become itself, a bourgeois party that has betrayed the working class. In the 1930's and 40's the CP led the working class and national movements. But with its abandonment of the revolutionary struggle for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, for the self-determination of the Black Belt South, the "C" PUSA turned into its opposite -- into a party defending the interests of the ruling class and an enemy of the working class. With the development of the working class movement, in the past few years, the "C" P is trying to return to a position of leadership of the movement to better serve its monopoly capitalist masters.

In seeking leadership of the Afro-American national movement, the "C" PUSA tries to harken back to the Civil Rights Movement to draw legitimacy and strength. They promote their main misleaders as "civil rights leaders" and try to recapture the images and rhetoric of the earlier struggles. But by promoting faith in the bourgeois state and the method of non-violence, the "C" P tries to drag the movement back to earlier, more primitive period. The masses of people are clearer today about the capitalist state, yet the "C" P obscures this understanding, confuses workers, thereby enslaving the class further to the bourgeoisie.

The "C" PUSA and Angela Davis utilize the Afro-American people's genuine opposition to national oppression, manifested in their support for Angela Davis' fight against the state's attempt to frame her. But as the counter-revolutionary line of the "C" PUSA is becoming more and more exposed in the Afro-American national movement, Angela Davis is less and less a symbol of the fight against national oppression, and more and more another petty-bourgeois "celebrity".

This "Diana Ross/Jane Fonda" of the Black Liberation Movement, calls on people to write their congressman to free political prisoners, and speaks of fighting for a "free and secure" life without mentioning once the necessity of fighting against monopoly capitalism and for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The reason political prisoners are put in jail in the first place is because they are doing just that - struggling against

capitalism; for as long as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie exists, there can be no "freedom" or "security" for the working class and oppressed nationalities and national minorities. Rather than promote revolutionary struggle as the way to free all political prisoners, she and the "C" P focus only on the cases of the Charlotte 3 and the Wilmington 10, and call for a tourist boycott of N.C. and sit-ins at the state legislature instead. They promote preachers to the leadership of the anti-repression struggles and they emphasize the struggle against the death penalty as a "moral struggle", completely ignoring the question as a class question and the death penalty as an aspect of bourgeois rule. Instead of relying on the strength and militancy of the oppressed masses, the "C" P tries to lead the movement against political repression into the blind alley of reliance on petty bourgeois misleaders (ministers and lawyers).

The revisionists do not point out the growing danger of fascism in the U.S. and how reformism feeds fascism. The "C" P is reformism feeding fascism. Angela Davis calls N.C. the "root" of fascism in the U.S., and that, "we must stop it here if all are to be free." But in the dialectics of fascism and reform, Angela the reformist and the rest of the revisionist "C" P play the roles of fascism's attendants, guarding its advance, attempting to shackle the working class from smashing it by keeping the working class from revolutionary struggle.

The "C" P also betrays the national liberation movement by limiting the struggle to the narrowest legalism. The "C" P, through the Alliance states:

"We think that the evidence shows that both the activity which leads to disproportionate numbers of Blacks being accused of capital crimes and the administration of capital punishment which results in a disproportionate number of Black inmates on death row are both rooted in racial discrimination. The only way in which the matter can be equitably solved is by abolishing this form of punishment entirely."  
(Alliance flyer, 9/6/76)

The revisionists never show how national oppression can be ended only by struggling for socialist revolution, the right to self-determination for the Afro-American Nation in the Black Belt South up to and including the right of secession and for socialist revolution. They never show how national oppression is rooted in the capitalist system. Instead the revisionists promote theories of peaceful integration under capitalism.

The views of the "C" P on these questions make it not only unable to fight repression, but also turn it into a tool to promote the repressive apparatus. The "C" P's whole outlook is that of the im-

(continue on p. 26)



# OIL WORKERS..

(continued from p. 3)

number of items that would be most acceptable to the oil monopolists. For example, while we demand that the monopoly capitalists pay full costs of medical benefits, the NOBP has us paying part of our health coverage when our health is constantly eroded by unsafe equipment, noxious fumes and frequent accidents. While we demand adequate retirement benefits and pension, the NOBP calls for gradual phasing out of the social security from pensions paid by the company.

- Our contract demands are:
1. Closed shop - one industrial union!
  2. Equal rights for oppressed nationality and national minority workers.
  3. Fight for trade union democracy, right to strike on grievance!
  4. No forced overtime!
  5. Guaranteed health and safety!
  6. No cutbacks in workforce, hire more workers!
  7. Full retirement benefits!
  8. Full medical and dental coverage paid by the company!
  9. \$2 across-the-board wage increase!
  10. One year contract so we can demand straight wage increases every year as our real wage is eaten up by inflation and taxes!

### GROSPIRON USES TACTICS OF LIBERALISM

In the recent presidential elections, Grospiron supported the Carter/Mondale ticket. Along with the whole pack of trade union misleaders, (e.g. George Meany of AFL-CIO, Woodcock of UAW, Abel of USW, Chavez of UFW, Davis of 1199), he took an active role pushing the vote out and registering workers.

Grospiron endorsed this bourgeois Democratic Party platform which included the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, also known as the Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act of 1976. The bill calls for "assistance and cooperation of industry, agriculture, labor and State and local governments...in a manner calculated to foster and promote free competitive enterprise and the general welfare." This is impossible. How can industry and labor "cooperate" when their interests are diametrically opposed? How can capitalism promote both "free competitive enterprise" and the "general welfare" when capitalism exists only so long as it can exploit the working class?

The trade union misleaders, including Al Grospiron, push the illusion that we can fight unemployment, not by relying on our own class strength, but by relying on the bourgeoisie to grant us favors. They try to hide the fact that the bourgeois state serves the bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie democracy is just a shell for a capitalist dictatorship. These liberal misleaders serve reaction all the way down the line. For us, there is no choice but between revolution and a fascist rule in the future. There is no in between! Unemployment can never be resolved under capitalism for it is an inevitable part of it. There must always be a definite reserve of free hands, a condition which allows the exploitation of wage labor to arise. These traitors don't fight unemployment; they fight in the interests of the bourgeoisie.

While selling us out, the misleaders are so afraid of us getting wise to what they're doing that they keep us uninformed. The OCAW contract was up on the 7th, but most of us didn't even know if we were going on strike, or even what was being negotiated up until the contract expired! On the other hand, the companies lost no time in preparing. In some plants, guard houses were put on roofs, and laundry machines were brought into the plant (so scabs can live-in for a long period of time) to prepare for possible strikes. By keeping us uninformed and unprepared, the sell-out misleaders are doing their best to help the monopoly capitalists.

We must expose and isolate these social props for what they are! Traitors! Bring the trade unions under the revolutionary leadership of communists and the rank and file, and fight for trade union democracy!

### LEARN FROM THE SHELL OIL WORKERS' STRUGGLE IN 1973 AND THE TEXAS UNION OIL WORKERS IN 1976

Spontaneously, the working class is resisting the increasing capitalist oppression. These sudden flareups are increasing and reflect the instability of the imperialist system which is most inflammable.

Within the last decade, one of the most heroic struggle of oil workers was the strike of 5,000 Shell Oil workers who left the noise, dust, and fumes of refineries across the country in June 1973, to protest the horrendous health and safety conditions in the plant.

Prompted by the death of a co-worker in a Martinez refinery by a heater explosion, the strike lasted six months during which the Shell workers built widespread support of their strike by speaking all over the country about refinery conditions. This initiated a boycott of Shell products and gained the support of workers from other industries. The United Farmworkers, who identified their struggle against the deadly pesticides with the struggle of the Shell Oil workers marched on the picket lines in proletarian solidarity with the demands of the strike. Cab drivers nationwide refused to buy Shell gasoline.

The strike indeed reflects the entire economic and political situation which is most inflammable in this era of finance capitalism and gives rise to sudden flareups such as these revolutionary responses against day to day exploitation.

Recently, on Aug. 4, all 750 workers of the Union Oil Co. at Beaumont, Texas immediately responded to the attacks by the monopoly capitalists' divide and rule scheme by downing tools and hitting the picket lines. What began as a walkout of 15 electrical workers over the company's hiring of outside contractors to do the company's electrical work, soon spread to a plant-wide wildcat strike against the splitting tactics of the monopoly capitalists to divide union workers from non-union ones.

Threatened by the powerful solidarity of the working class, standing firm and united against the company, the monopoly capitalists used a court restraining order in an attempt to break our strike and suppress the militancy of our class. Although our brothers and sisters at Beaumont went back to work a few days later, our class has shaken the monopoly capitalists' rule over us and has given them a taste of our strength and determination in our upcoming battles.

It is clear that in our struggle to win our just demands we must rely on our own strength, on organizing ourselves under the leadership of communists and advanced workers. A nationwide strike of all oil workers will be a heavy blow to the capitalist class and will paralyze the U.S. economy. We know there can never be any peace between those who control and own everything from our jobs, to the government, police, courts, etc. and we who have nothing but our labor power to sell. Therefore, when we strike against all the oil monopolies we show who the real master are.

### ONLY THE PARTY CAN LEAD US TO VICTORY

But to guide these spontaneous struggles, flareups and successfully overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, the working class needs its own party, a genuine anti-revisionist communist party. Guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the theory and tactics, the science of the proletarian revolution, communists and advanced workers will lead our working class brothers and sisters for the immediate and universal

preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat for the cause of communism.

The Workers Viewpoint Organization is the only organization, steeled and strengthened in the struggle over the past 8 years against all shades of opportunism, that can build the genuine party that we need today. Strengthened ideologically in the struggle against opportunism, politically sound with the broad scope of the struggles of the entire working class and oppressed people, and capable of transforming our day to day struggle into a concentrated struggle for political power, our organization, by applying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete conditions in the U.S., is the only organization that can chart the course of class struggle against the bourgeoisie, on to revolutionary socialism and communism for the U.S. proletariat!

CLOSED SHOP - ONE INDUSTRIAL UNION!

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES UNITE!  
END THE CRIMINAL RULE OF U.S. MONOPOLY CAPITALIST CLASS! FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!

ALL OIL WORKERS UNITE - FIGHT FOR AN INDUSTRY-WIDE STRIKE TO WIN!

EXPOSE AND KICK OUT GROSPIRON AND ALL UNION MISLEADERS - MAKE OUR UNION A REVOLUTIONARY FIGHTING ORGANIZATION!

ARAB AND U.S. PEOPLE UNITE TO OPPOSE SUPERPOWER MEDDLING AND HEGEMONISM, FIGHT THE DANGER OF WORLD WAR!

FORWARD TO THE FOUNDING PARTY CONGRESS!

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# PUERTO RICO: Expose U.S. Imperialists' Scheme of Annexation

(continued from p. 1)

The real demand of the Puerto Rican masses is "FREE PUERTO RICO NOW!" by throwing U.S. imperialism out. A favorite bourgeois democratic tactic is the "free election" which is another deceptive means used by the bourgeoisie to impose their will upon the people. Lenin showed this clearly in his Theses on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat at the First Congress of the Communist International, March 4, 1919:

"The capitalists have always used the term 'freedom' to mean freedom for the rich to get richer and for the workers to starve to death. In capitalist usage, freedom of the press means freedom of the rich to bribe the press, freedom to use their wealth to shape and fabricate so-called public opinion." (LCW, Vol. 28) (Emphasis added)

Furthermore, the imperialists use a plebiscite to serve their claim that they "support" the right of self-determination for the Puerto Rican people. But the way they support it is in a formal and judicial way, in the sense of numbers (the number of votes cast in a "free election"). That's why they have to create public opinion to justify their claim. And even this they often can't carry out consistently.

This is clearly shown in the Vietnamese experience: in 1954 when there was supposed to be an election sponsored by the UN, the US imperialists moved in to sabotage it and put in their puppet, Diem because they knew the outcome would be for unification. From then on till their defeat by the heroic Vietnamese people, with their lackeys in power, the US imperialists have organized elections in the name of freedom of choice but the outcomes are all pre-determined.

Lenin also pointed out:

"That a section of the exploited from the least advanced middle-peasant, artisan and similar groups of the population may, and indeed does, follow the exploiters has been proved by all revolutions..." (The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky, LCW, Vol. 28. Emphasis original.)

Similarly, today there may be some people who are deceived by the tricks of the bourgeoisie and believe that commonwealth is the best solution and that this is an opinion held by many Puerto Rican people. But the people of an oppressed nation, especially the revolutionary masses of workers and peasants and even petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie irrepressibly desire and fight for independence and national liberation.

## CONTENTION FOR HEGEMONY IN THE CARIBBEAN

While both US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism are the main enemies of the proletariat and oppressed people and nations of the world, Soviet social-imperialism is the more dangerous, because it is the rising superpower, more aggressive and is hidden under the respected banner of socialism. In Latin America and particularly in the Caribbean, the Soviet social-imperialists try to spread their sinister influence in sneaky as well as blatant ways. The revisionist "CP"SU uses the status of its neo-colony, Cuba, as a third world country and its "socialist" appearance to do the dirty work for them. Through Cuba, they hope to lure Caribbean countries like Jamaica and Guyana into the Soviet social-imperialist orbit. But the Jamaican and Guyanese people will see through such tricks and resist both superpowers. The Soviet social-imperialists also openly made an arms deal with Peru.

These new tsars also attempt to militarily encircle Latin America from the

north, east and south to further their expansion. In the north, by increasing the arming of their toehold in the Caribbean, which they have controlled since early 60's, they are trying to make it play a full role as a military base there. In the east, Soviet social-imperialists are threatening Latin America from their foothold in southern Africa following their intervention in Angola. In the south, the Soviet Union is active in the Antarctic, particularly on Ross Island, not far from the southern tip of South America, where it is building bases and labs for the purpose of espionage.

Soviet revisionist expansion in the Caribbean poses an immediate threat to US imperialism which has more than 6 billion US dollars invested in the region. To hold on to its position in Latin America, the US has been increasing investments in the continent as a means of further controlling the economies of Latin American countries, while trying to paper over its contradictions with them by promising to "improve relations" and "strengthen cooperation". Militarily, US imperialism has approached South American countries about the establishment of a south Atlantic treaty organization, stepping up its military activity to protect its own vested interests.



THE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALIST DUTY OF THE MULTINATIONAL US PROLETARIAT, WHICH INCLUDES THE PUERTO RICAN NATIONAL MINORITY IS TO MAKE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN THE US AND GIVE DIRECT SUPPORT TO THE MOVEMENT TO FREE PUERTO RICO NOW

The Soviet social-imperialists hope to exploit the just aspirations of the Puerto Rican people for independence for their own end -- contention with US imperialism for dominance in the Caribbean. This is the main reason why the US capitalists are forced to "take the initiative" in proposing statehood for Puerto Rico. But the people of Puerto Rico have a long and heroic history of struggle against imperialist domination and for independence and national liberation. In this era of imperialism, the eve of proletarian revolution, the correct strategy for the struggle of all oppressed nations against imperialism, hegemonism and all reaction through to the end is the New Democratic Revolution and socialist revolution.

But "the fight against imperialism is a sham and humbug unless it is inseparably bound up with the fight against opportunism." (Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism)

## PSP - PETTY BOURGEOIS SOCIALISM

Within the Puerto Rican national movement, a most dangerous opportunist is the revisionist PSP (Puerto Rican Socialist Party). The Soviet social-imperialists are able to hide their imperialist essence, through PSP, with their signboard of "socialism" and "friend and ally of oppressed people of the world". PSP therefore tails after the revisionist line of the "CP"SU -- supporting the Soviet Union, which means supporting an imperialist power; supporting Cuba's relationship to Soviet Union which means supporting neo-colonialism; and most dangerous of all, supporting "detente" which disarms the masses concerning the contention between the 2 superpowers which will lead to a world war.

PSP's revisionism shows in their illusion about bourgeois democracy by their support for Congressman Herman Badillo, a community misleader from Bronx, NY. Badillo is a liberal politician who pretends to speak for the Puerto Rican national minority since he is the only "voting member" in the US Congress. This is how he promotes illusions about bourgeois democracy, and holds back the revolutionary struggle of the Puerto Rican masses. Also Badillo is one of the few prominent Puerto Ricans who actively campaigned for Carter. And Carter will be the one to carry out US imperialism's attempt to annex Puerto Rico. So while they are calling for independence for Puerto Rico, PSP's support for Badillo in fact makes them a partner to the statehood scheme.

PSP's petty bourgeois nationalism leads them to the anti-Marxist position that the Puerto Rican national minority in the US cannot be a part of the multinational US working class, and that their main responsibility is to liberate Puerto Rico rather than making proletarian revolution in the US. This is the petty bourgeois nationalist upside-down view of seeing the correct relation between national oppression and class oppression.

The proletarian internationalist duty of the multinational US working class, which includes the Puerto Rican national minority in the US is to make socialist revolution and at the same time directly support the liberation struggle of Puerto Rico.

## LINK THE MOVEMENT TO FREE PUERTO RICO TO PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IN THE US

In the current world situation where US imperialism is not the only imperialist power around, to fight only US imperialism is to open the door wide and capitulate to the Soviet Union. Without a thoroughgoing struggle against both superpowers, even if Puerto Rico gains independence from US imperialism, it will run the risk of becoming a neo-colony of Soviet social-imperialism, like Cuba, and others, such as the subjugated Eastern European countries of the Second World.

The struggle for the liberation of Puerto Rico must be carried out by the revolutionary masses of Puerto Rico under the leadership of a true Marxist-Leninist Party. The Party of the US proletariat must support it just as we supported the Indochinese, the Palestinian and African peoples' struggles. We must take up this just and revolutionary cause as our demand. Furthermore, we must support it in such a way that,

"...these demands must be formulated and put through in a revolutionary and not a reformist manner, going beyond the bounds of bourgeois legality, breaking them down, going beyond speeches in parliament and verbal protest, and drawing the masses into decisive action, extending and intensifying the struggle for every fundamental democratic demand up to a direct proletarian onslaught on the bourgeoisie, i.e., up to the socialist revolution that expropriates the bourgeoisie. The socialist revolution may flare up not only through some big strike, street demonstration or hunger riot or a military insurrection or colonial revolt, but also ... in connection with a referendum on the secession of an oppressed nation, etc." ("The Socialist Revolution and the Struggle for Democracy", The Socialist Revolution and the Right of Nations to Self-Determination (Theses) LCW Vol. 22)

EXPOSE THE SINISTER SCHEME OF ANNEXATION BY THE US IMPERIALISTS--THE PLEBISCITE FOR STATEHOOD!

WORKERS OF PUERTO RICO AND U.S., UNITE!

BOTH SUPERPOWERS, HANDS OFF PUERTO RICO!

FREE PUERTO RICO NOW!



# MENSHEVIKS...

(continued from p. 18)

## THERE IS NO "NEW" OL

Our differences with the OL on their Menshevik party building line are well known, including their "new" approach. It is no different from their "old" approach, as Mr. Nicholas seems to believe.

"The OL's call to form a party without a program, congress or central committee and democratic centralism, was no small slip. It was their pure, autonomous, petty-bourgeois spirit. Although the OL attempts to give the impression of having changed their line and orientation towards party building from that of a Menshevik bottom-up approach to a Leninist top-down approach, it is impossible...The OL, rather than call on groups to liquidate themselves based on the line of the leading representative of the "unity" trend, instead attempts to reconcile certain groups, individuals, persons, and bodies. ("Once Again on OL." WV Supplement, Aug. 1976)

"The OL claims that the OC is not their front. This shows their spinelessness again. The OC should openly be 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 the 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 became 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 characterizes all revisionists, Trotskyites, and police agents in the communist movement." (Page 12, WORKERS VIEWPOINT, Sept/Oct 1976)

The "left" feinting of the OL to cover its muddy tracks has been exposed in its

relation to the consistent-right opportunism of the past. Mr. Nicholas ought to know that because that was exactly what we laid out in exposing the OL's "break" with the revisionist Guardian which he thinks was so "revolutionary."

## A MENSHEVIK CRITICISM OF MENSHEVISM

Revealing his own ideological poverty, Mr. Nicholas then states the problem of OL's party building scheme was in its chronology (!). For Mr. Nicholas, party building is not a question of principle, but rather just an "order of progression." He states:

"The Klonsky circle's order of progression toward its founding congress has followed a rather different chronology (from the Leninist method of party building). After a false step (the 'temporary leading body' proposal for founding a party without a congress and without a program) at the start, corrected in appearances in March, 1976, the Klonsky circle convened the Organizing Committee in May, and set plans full steam ahead for the founding congress, prior to (emphasis original) the publication of the October League's draft program... On this point of party building procedure, it is the critics of the Klonsky circle - regardless of their own definite lines - who stand on the ground of Leninism and the Klonsky circle that stands on the ground of opportunism." (Ibid)

Party building is a question of "chronology, progressions, and procedure?!" And that a criticism of "procedure" regardless of the line on party building is "standing on the ground of Leninism?!" Mr. Nicholas has reduced Marxism-Leninism to a time-table. How can you separate the line on party building and any criticism of "procedure?" How can you separate the line on party building with Leninism? The line on party building is what determines whether one stands "on the grounds of Leninism!" Not an isolated criticism of "procedure!" This is, of course, a Menshevik criticism of Menshevism. This is the lowest, crudest, form of philistinism. It is the line of crude, consistent revisionism "struggling" against OL's crude, eclectic revisionism.

Comrades, this is the mud revenging on the marsh.

## OL NAKED IN ITS ECLECTICISM

In fact OL's eclecticism is so obvious that even a low life like Nicholas can recognize it! He writes:

"It (the OL-ed.) lacks any integrity, comprehensive, ideas of its own, and is forced to buy, beg, borrow and steal the work of others. It consistently follows the method of making decisions, drawing lines and whipping up campaigns first, and trying to conduct study and theoretical work only afterward, with the inevitable results. Every polemic...Klonskyism produces is a new certificate of its own poverty." (Ibid)

Klonskyism, however, has been summed up by the WVO. In our August, 1976 Supplement, in the article, "Once Again on OL," we said:

"Klonsky revisionism is the Khrushchov revisionism in our movement, the OL Klonskyism. The WVO over the years has pointed out this representative of modern revisionism in our movement has ignored theory and strive not to achieve their aims in open polemics, but by gradual, imperceptible, and unpunishable corruption."

Just like the OL who must cop to our line to cut Nicholas, Nicholas must pimp off the power and correctness of our line to cut the OL.

In sum, this is the level to which the OL and philistine Nicholas have

sunk. It is instructive to read these tragi-comic disputes within the "unity trend" to concretely see the degree to which both have degenerated and to see as well the low forms which are in the "leadership" of the OL. The historical ideological and political bankruptcy of the organization has reached full flower. In the middle of OL's sham party motion, we witness the inevitable bourgeois politicking and maneuvering of different circles clinging to their circle spirit ("powerful patronage"), the slipping and sliding, cover-ups and intrigues ("Three or four individuals...covering up for each other's mistakes."), the hysterical searching for something on which they can blame the OL's political degeneration.

This "line struggle" between the consistent Oler, Martin Nicholau, confused by the "left" feinting, yearning to "return to the old days" when OL was naked in its right opportunism, and the "new look" OL, desperately trying to strike an orthodox pose while firmly rooted in its past rightism and reformism, is the latest stink to come up out of the marsh.

## THE CORRECTNESS OF IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL LINE DECIDES EVERYTHING

Pretending that "both" OL's haven't already been exposed as one and the same, Nicholas and the OL try to find some pseudo line of demarcation. The Marxist-Leninist line of the WVO is cutting these opportunists both ways as they both attempt to adopt the lines of the WVO but are unable to grasp it.

The inevitable mutations of the opportunists toward the line of WVO is a testament to its strength and confirms the correctness of Chairman Mao's teaching that "the correctness or incorrectness of ideological and political line decides everything."

Like the RCP (see article on RCP's latest "discovery"), stagnating, drowning in their own backwardness, the social democratic liberals of the OL are grasping for some kind of life line. But lacking the life line of MLMTT, their doom is assured. Thus we witness the "old" reformists getting "reformed" out of the OL, and the "new" OL, dizzy from repeated exposures of its sham "left" feinting, just plain fainting, in the heat of class struggle.

On the other hand, the WVO, grasping the science of MLMTT, fusing with the working class movement, is growing stronger daily - readying ourselves to lead the proletariat in its final assault on the crumbling walls of monopoly capitalism for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the noble cause of Communism.

## FORWARD to the PARTY CONGRESS!!

# Address

Effective immediately. Please address all letters, orders and other correspondence to:

**Workers  
Viewpoint  
Organization**

**GPO Box 2256  
N.Y., N.Y. 10001**



# RCP..

(continued from p. 19)

subjective to the objective.

You are now flipping. And flip you must. Theory guides practice means highly concrete and specific theory concerning major issues, issues which affect our basic orientation, issues where the overall situation is at stake internationally and nationally, issues concerning the line of the international communist movement, issues which affect our day to day work and, in fact, often give it basic content. For example, the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat itself highly concrete. The major issues of the international communist movement are highly concrete and are most significant to our own struggle here. To understand the experience of the proletariat in all countries is indispensable for us to make preparations for the dictatorship of the proletariat here.

But you pragmatists don't see it as useful for your everyday struggle, so you abandon theory or else treat it as abstractions. There is no such large law and theory so general that by studying it we will know "all laws" of "mankind's struggle against nature", etc. This will surely lead to scholasticism, intellectualism, and self-cultivation.

This "discovery" of theory "in its own right" is nothing but a flip so that you can take the narrowest scope of your cadre to the "mysteries of the universe" and away from your political bankruptcy caused by your belittling of theory, "to guide your struggle in the last few years." It is caused by your consistent bourgeois stand in making self-criticism to rectify what once was rectifiable.

We laid out in WV Journal #4:

"RCP has historically belittled the first thing Chairman Mao laid out about the mass line, namely, the necessity to link the 'general' -- the theory and larger historical experience -- with the concrete conditions here and our particular experience. We must link the particular demands of the masses with the larger laws of MLMTT. If we belittle the general -- theory -- we will inevitably fall into tailism and revisionism."

The RCP now "sees" the general and then divorces it from the concrete conditions internationally and nationally! Then after all this slipping and sliding reversing themselves, acting as though their historical belittlement of theory never existed, their sophistry and complete lack of self-criticism, the RCP then quotes Mao:

"Marxism-Leninism is a science, and science means honest, solid knowledge; there is no room for playing tricks. Let us, then, be honest."

"LET US BE HONEST, RCP"

The truth is, the RCP, running dry and running scared, is attempting to liquidate its history by covering itself with superficial understandings of the correct line of the leading circle: WVO. And in the process exposing themselves even further.

Thus, the RCP, stagnating in its pragmatism, haunted by its bankrupt lines, demoralized by its failure to fuse with the working class movement, has "discovered" theory "in its own right." However its flipping around has only confirmed the correctness of our Marxist-Leninist line and orientation. The Party is strengthened by the struggle against these opportunists and the working class moves ahead more determined toward proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the Proletariat as these dried "beached fish" are relegated to the garbage heap of history.

FORWARD TO THE FOUNDING PARTY CONGRESS!  
THE PARTY OF THE U.S. PROLETARIAT IS  
NEARER THAN EVER BEFORE!

# Int'l Sit: OL & RCP..

(cont. from p.17)

bourgeois ideologists, and "liberal" think tankers to scheme and plan for the bourgeoisie on how best to exploit and deceive the working class. Even so, their liberal tactics inevitably are accompanied by increased repression. But the OL is still stuck in 1905 Russia by thinking that they are really a "liberal" bourgeoisie, sections of the monopoly capitalists who are the democratic opposition to the "conservative" bourgeoisie. OL "Klonskyism" is a belief that there are intrinsic interests for a section of the bourgeoisie to be "liberal" and intrinsic interests for a section of the bourgeoisie to be "conservative". This is a petty bourgeois frame of mind, a petty bourgeois prejudice and pious wish. No amount of "left" feinting by the OL can feint away their petty bourgeois democratic class outlook. However, when they do feint, this rightist outlook gives rise to a peculiar "left" trotskyite deviation and social chauvinism. In regard to the issue of Mexico's struggle for independence against US Imperialism, "where is the OL at now?". They are on the side of the US Imperialists, both "liberals" and "conservatives"!!!

## THE OL'S FLIP IS NOW AIMING THE DIRECTION OF THE MAIN BLOW AT ECHEVERRIA

The OL's direction of the main blow against Echeverria not only suffers from social chauvinism, but Trotskyism, because objectively they don't recognize the existence of imperialism and the second period in the national question, where generally national liberation movements and countries want independence, weaken the grip of imperialism, and particularly the superpowers, and objectively act in the interests of the proletariat.

## CHAIRMAN MAO'S TEACHINGS ON STRATEGY AND TACTICS IN RELATION TO NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE

On this point Chairman Mao, in his writings concerning the New Democratic revolution, is very clear. He said that the direction of the main blow in China, an oppressed country, must be aimed at the main enemy. That was the content of one of the ten major line struggles, the line struggle waged against Wang Ming, who dogmatically applied this "direction of main blow" at the middle forces and ended up serving the imperialists and the compradore KMT.

Why? Because in China and other semi-feudal, semi-colonial countries, the national bourgeoisie, unlike the imperialist bourgeoisie, is politically, ideologically, and economically flabby. The bourgeoisie is divided into the compradore and national bourgeoisie. The compradore bourgeoisie (and its political party, if it exists) is part of the target of the revolution (part of the three great mountains: imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism). The basis for the political, economic, and ideological flabbiness of the national bourgeoisie is primarily imperialist plunder and secondarily the stagnant inertia of feudalism. For these reasons, they have a dual character, vacillating between the forces of imperialism and the forces of revolution. They try to seek an impossible middle road - the free development of capitalism in their country. For similar reasons, they have no mass influence and lack the deceptive quality of misleaders and props in advanced capitalist countries.

The compradore bourgeoisie and feudal regimes are readily exposed for their outright national betrayal and because of their direct repressive method of rule (as distinct from rule through bourgeois democracy). There is no fertile ground for breeding reformists and social democrats that might come forward in the course of revolution, no broad material basis for nurturing reformism, no superprofits to bribe a strata of 'labor aristocracy' in the same way the imperialist bourgeoisie do at 'home.

In Third World countries, the imperialists do not necessarily use social props to maintain their repressive rule and deflect the blows of the revolutionary forces; they usually rely on military props, direct military repression to maintain state power.

We pointed this out in the Sept.-Oct. issue of the WVO newspaper that:

"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, 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. (WVO newspaper, p. 24-5, Sept. Oct. 1976)

This is something that neither OL nor the RCP can understand, being theoretically bankrupt and dishonest and unwilling to understand the real content of the concept 'direction of the main blow' as to why, how, and under what concrete conditions of time and place it was formulated and applied.

## RCP'S VIEW ON DIRECTION OF THE MAIN BLOW

While the OL flips from liquidating the direction of main blow (i.e. historically, their line that liberals and militant trade union misleaders are direct reserves of the proletariat, rather than the direction of the main blow) to their "everything is liberal" line, the RCP, to their "credit", still stubbornly holds onto their consistently opportunist line that Stalin was wrong on the question of the direction of main blow. They claim special knowledge that "the Chinese disagree with the concept of the direction of main blow."

## RCP: STALIN'S LINE ON DIRECTION OF THE MAIN BLOW

Both these two points are pure demagoguery, typical RU style. Both the two points RCP makes are, in fact, lies,

(continue on p. 32)



# Int'l Sit: OL & RCP REVISE MARXISM..

(continued from p. 31)

simply their own fabrication. On the first point, that the direction of main blow is only Stalin's line, is a lie. It was Lenin, in the main, who led the October Revolution. And Stalin summed it up. The content of the Leninist line on the direction of main blow (whether he called it that or not is not important) is evident in his own writings. The quotes by Lenin we gave before on the Cadets illustrate that he in fact generalized that concept and applied it to the advanced capitalist countries in the West. For example, in his famous "Theses on Comintern Fundamental Tasks," he used the content of the very same concept of the "direction of main blow" in relation to the question of "What immediate and universal preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat should consist in," he said that:

"Owing to the extreme intensification of the struggle, all groups, parties, and leaders in the working class movement who have fully or partly adopted the stand of reformism, of the 'Centre', etc. inevitably side with the bourgeoisie or join the waverers, or else (what is the most dangerous of all) (our emphasis) land in the ranks of the unreliable friends of the victorious proletariat. Hence, preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat calls, not only for an intensification of the struggle against reformist '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 unwaveringly 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. This struggle is such that at any moment it may - and actually does, as experience has shown - substitute criticism with weapons for the weapon of criticism. Any inconsistency or weakness in exposing those who show themselves to the reformist or 'Centrists' means directly increasing the danger or the power of the proletariat being overthrown by the bourgeoisie, which tomorrow will utilize for the counter-revolution that which short-sighted people today see merely as 'theoretical differences.'" (Lenin, Theses on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International, 1920, LCW, Vol.32)

This thesis was written for the Second Congress of the Communist International, and he was addressing this point to the delegates of advanced capitalist countries at that time. So RCP certainly cannot attribute this concept as a Stalin's line or as a "mistake" of Stalin."

A reversal of the verdict on this question will lead to wholesale repudiation of Stalin's leadership and thus the Comintern's line during the entire period between Lenin's death and the Second World War. It will lead to a reversal of Comintern's line in advanced capitalist countries, particularly Stalin's and Comintern's correct line towards the betrayal of the Social Democratic Parties, and it would lead us to close our eyes to the concrete history of how wretched revisionists ushered in Fascism in Austria, Germany, and Italy. RU's attack on Stalin on this question would in fact open the flood gates for Trotskyism, for Trotsky had the same disagreement with Stalin and Lenin on this question.

## DEVIATION MADE IN CHINESE REVOLUTION

Were there ever mistakes made on this question? Certainly there were. All Marxist concepts and generalizations can lead to errors if they are taken only literally and not by their spirit and content. Errors can be made by applying them outside the

context of concrete time, place, and conditions. For example, the Chinese Trotskyite-turned-revisionist Wang Ming dogmatically applied this line and caused great set-backs to the Chinese revolution. His line of hitting the middle forces did not recognize that there are middle forces and middle forces, intermediate strata and intermediate strata. There can be different classes which play different roles in different revolutions based on their own concrete conditions.

This is precisely because he doesn't use class analysis and doesn't understand imperialism and the colonial question. Instead, he used the formula.

Did Chairman Mao, in the name of the inapplicability of this or that historical experience of China, ever deny its applicability in other countries where the conditions are different? Never!

RCP's "source" on this question is nothing but a Chinese pamphlet, "The Historical Experience of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," published in 1956.

This point was laid out in this pamphlet:

"But there are two ways of studying them, the Marxist way and the doctrinaire way. Some people treat Stalin's writings in a doctrinaire manner, with the result that they cannot analyse and see what is correct and what is not correct - and even what is correct they treat as a panacea and apply indiscriminately; inevitably they make mistakes. For instance, Stalin put forward a formula that in different revolutionary periods, the main blow should be so directed as to isolate the middle of the road social and political forces of the time. This formula of Stalin's should be treated according to circumstances and from a critical, Marxist point of view. In certain circumstances it may be correct to isolate the middle forces, but it is not correct to isolate them under all circumstances. Our experience / note they qualify it as their own experience / teaches us that the main blow of the revolution should be directed at the chief enemy to isolate them, while as for the middle forces, a policy of both uniting with them and struggling against them should be adopted, so that they are at least neutralized; and, as circumstances permit, efforts should be made to shift them from their position of neutrality to one of alliance with us...when some of our comrades crudely applied this formula of Stalin's to China's revolution by turning their main attack on the middle forces, singling them out as the most dangerous enemy, the result was that, instead of isolating the real enemy, we isolated ourselves ...the middle forces in question consisted of the national bourgeoisie, the democratic parties and groups, and democrats without party affiliation...The invariable fact is: doctrinairism is appreciated only by the mentally lazy; it brings nothing but harm to the revolution, to the people, and to Marxism-Leninism. To enhance the initiative of the masses, to stimulate their dynamic creative spirit, and to promote rapid development of practical and theoretical work, it is still necessary, right now, to destroy blind faith in dogma."

It is necessary to quote this source, since it's not widely available and our "theoreticians" in RCP would always distort this "rare" source in any way they can to gain

points in their "polemics" in a serious matter as this.

Certainly on this concept of the direction of the main blow, the RCP is doing exactly the opposite of what the Chinese comrades advised, namely, not to adopt mechanically what's applicable or not applicable in one country to another. The direction of main blow is not applicable in China, as the Chinese comrades cautiously said: "Our experience teaches" us that. But they are, as all genuine communists, cautious in not denying its applicability in other countries. As they said, "This formula of Stalin's should be treated according to circumstances and from a critical, Marxist point of view. In certain circumstances, it may be correct..." This the RCP conveniently neglects. And instead they boast that it is generally not applicable at all. Not in the U.S. or any where else. Aren't these RCP "theoreticians" exactly like those the Chinese comrades described as "mentally lazy"? Those that would transplant the experience in China to the U.S., while negating it's applicability in Russia and other advanced capitalist countries? This point needs no more elaboration.

## "ROLL ON AND ROLL OVER": RCP'S OWN VERSION OF THE DIRECTION OF THE MAIN BLOW

In practice, however, these "mentally lazy" pragmatic "theoreticians" are in fact quite creative. And, of course, this seemingly staunch "roll on and roll over" line actually liquidates political exposure, political education of the working class on the political role of the trade union misleaders as well as preparing the masses for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Their opportunist line of "roll on and roll over" the trade union hacks reveals the depths of RCP's thoroughly pragmatic outlook and vulgar materialist understanding of strategy and tactics. Their pragmatic line liquidates the necessity to do meticulous political and ideological work among the masses to expose the real ties that the trade union misleaders have with the state in misleading the masses and deflecting our blows against the bourgeoisie.

The RCP liquidates the need to do thorough political education in the thick of class struggle, to win over and lead those that are confused or are temporarily misled by the social props. Their line does not prepare the masses in each struggle and each strike to steel ourselves against the different varieties of the bourgeoisie's "sugar coated bullets" and tricks. Their line reveals no Marxist Leninist understanding of the role that misleaders play in propping up the bourgeoisie and no strategic outlook on the question. Instead, their line pragmatically worships the masses in motion. Without years of thoroughgoing, meticulous exposure work, the masses will not know under which flag to march to the revolution and will not be ideologically and politically prepared for bringing about and exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat.

BOTH SUPERPOWERS ARE THE TARGETS OF REVOLUTION: U.S. IMPERIALISM IS MORE EXPOSED; SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM IS MORE HIDDEN AND DANGEROUS

On the international situation, this same line, which in essence does not distinguish, as what Malcolm X once put it, the difference between the "wolf and the fox," shows that the RCP does not and can not tell the difference between U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social-Imperialism. Flowing from this line, they don't distinguish Soviet Social-Imperialism (which is more sinister, more dangerous, since it flies the



# Int'l Sit: OL & RCP..

flag of "socialism," than the U.S. imperialists, which is most thoroughly exposed in the last two, three decades) in comparison to the Soviet Social-Imperialists (which is only beginning to be exposed to the people of the world).

This line of not distinguishing the "wolf from the fox" is essentially the line that does not view the Soviet Social-Imperialists as the most dangerous (in the sense of the most treacherous and the most deceptive, the hidden danger to many) of the two main enemies of the people of the world - the Two Superpowers.

It is not accident, then, that the pragmatist RU only sees Soviet Social-Imperialism as a main danger to China, and not to the people of the world in all continents, in all corners of the world. Because they see danger only as a direct physical threat, so they view Soviet Social-Imperialism as only the main danger to China, since the Soviet Union is right next to China. In any case, certainly the RCP is inching its way, in the manner of the Guardian in the last few years, to reverse the verdict on the role and nature of the Soviet Social-Imperialists. This line certainly can justify this.

## AVAKIAN, WORD MAGICIAN: "FIGHT APPEASEMENT"?

In the RCP's recent international conference, in which the RCP was attempting to apply the line of "winning over the middle forces", but in fact conciliated to all forms of opportunism, Avakian demagogically tried to muddle the question of the "main danger" and justify the RCP's emerging centrist line on this question of Soviet Social-Imperialism by posing the point this way:

"...what does it mean for U.S. revolutionaries, the working class and people in the U.S. to so-call 'fight appeasement' and fight against a section of the ruling class that carries out so-called 'appeasement policies,' the way it is being raised by some like Hinton and the OL and others like today. It means urging our own imperialists to be more vigorous in carrying out their own imperialist aims and intentions for domination, exploitation and oppression." (Revolution, Dec.1976)

Now, forces like the OL, as we pointed out earlier, certainly don't know what they are talking about. And we also disagree with Hinton's 'neutralizing U.S. imperialism' line. But the point is precisely that the Soviet Social-Imperialists are the main danger and therefore their detente scheme, as well as the appeasement line of some U.S. monopoly interests, must be exposed. Exposure of detente and appeasement is extremely important. Chairman Mao formulated the line to expose appeasement and detente, to educate the people of the world, in order to prepare the people, to alert the people so they can turn world war around to revolution in as many countries as possible. These are some reasons why we must expose detente and appeasement - as it is the fastest, most deceptive and quickest way to world war. The demagogy of the RCP is, by playing with semantics, changes the term "exposure of appeasement" to "fight appeasement."

RCP, in debating the OL, is actually looking for a bogus target to hit. In debating the spineless OL, the RU tries to make themselves look good. But they are just opportunist twins that complement each other so well!!

Avakian, by demagogically toying with sophistry, by twisting words and playing with semantics, by changing "exposure of appeasement" to "fight appeasement," objectively makes people think that raising vigilance on appeasement and detente is actually holding the line of siding with one imperialist to fight another. This is, of course, totally sham. There is no such thing as "fight appeasement." Appeasement itself is a dangerous line, which feeds the other imperialist's appetite, provoking its wild ambitions.

The main thing is whether communists recognize and expose the danger of the appeasement line. Whether we realize that the Soviet Social-Imperialists are more dangerous in the sense of being younger, leaner, more disguised, sinister than the U.S. imperialists. Based on that, there is the need to make that distinction to warn the working class and other oppressed people and countries of the world. In refusing to make such a distinction, the RCP inevitably aids the Soviet Social-Imperialism and do great harm to the US proletariat as well as peoples around the world struggling against the Superpowers.

## PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION & the RENEGADE KLONSKY

Another gem that OL peddles is that Soviet Social-Imperialism is the "direction of main blow." So dazzled are they with their latest "discovery" of the concept of the main blow, they are becoming creative. What is the implication of stating that the Soviet Social-Imperialists are the direction of the main blow? The first implication is that Soviet Social-Imperialism is not the objective or the target of the proletarian strategy to defeat both superpowers to push revolution forward. The second implication of the OL's line is that Soviet Social-Imperialism is actually the social prop of the U.S. imperialists, for the direction of main blow is aimed at the social props, the props that support or compromise with the target of our strategy. This "creative" line of the OL then inevitably leads to a Kautskyite "ultra-imperialism" line that imperialism is a "preferred policy", which alternates according to the sensibilities of the imperialists, therefore that the inter-imperialist contradiction is not inevitable and is in fact reconcilable, that Soviet Social-Imperialism can compromise or support U.S. imperialism. Therefore collusion is their nature and not contention. No. Mr. Klonsky, you are as creative as Mr. Kautsky! Soviet Social-Imperialism cannot prop up or support U.S. Imperialism any more than a killer fox can "support" a killer wolf! To say that they can co-exist or that one supports the other is nothing but the ultra-imperialist line of the revisionist Second International.

The proletariat's line is to treat both superpowers as the target of our strategy. For the U.S. proletariat it is our duty to directly fight U.S. Imperialism. For the proletariat in the Soviet Union and other countries that the Soviet Social-Imperialist occupy, it is their duty to directly fight and defeat them. However, it is the duty of the proletariat and oppressed masses in all countries to expose the role of the SSI, the more dangerous, the more sinister, of the two superpowers. This is a proletarian internationalist duty of the U.S. proletariat in order to support the working class and people of the Soviet Union and the countries that SSI occupies.

It is necessary for the political education of the U.S. proletariat. As the danger of world war grows, due to the superpowers' contention, it is also necessary for us to support national liberation struggles correctly (for example, Angola, Chile). Most important of all, it is necessary for us to make immediate preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the noble goal of communism.

The fight against imperialism is a sham and a humbug unless it is bound up with the fight against opportunism!

Defeat both superpowers! ■

## MUNICH..

(continued from p. 25)

would "guarantee" the "new boundaries" of Czechoslovakia. However, before the ink was dry on the Munich Agreement, German fascism flagrantly occupied all of Czechoslovakia, and England and France simply turned a blind eye on it. Chamberlain unabashedly tried to defend the action by claiming that due to the fact that on March 14, Slovakia became "independent", "this pronouncement put an end to the state whose boundaries we have undertaken to guarantee, due to internal division. Therefore the British government considered itself no longer bound by any of the restrictions under this obligation." Chamberlain even refused to criticize Hitler for being perfidious. He said: "I often hear people spreading the condemnation of perfidiousness. In my view, these statements do not seem to have sufficient basis, therefore I will not support any condemnation of this sort. Three days later, the British and French governments were forced to send a weak "protest" to Germany under the pressure of great indignation of their peoples, even that was nothing but a formality. ■



## SELF-CRITICISM

In Vol. I, No. 7 of the WVO newspaper p. 9, we characterized the bourgeois reform tactic not only as the "priest", "biscuit" or "carrot", but also as "bribe": "The bourgeoisie is increasingly unable to bribe the working class." (p. 9) Though talking about the bourgeois dual tactic of reform and repression, this concept "bribe" is incorrectly used. Lenin used "bribe" in a precise, scientific way to refer to the labor aristocracy of the working class. With the development of imperialism, the bourgeoisie was able to rip off superprofits from oppressed people in Third World countries and use this superprofits to bribe a small section of the working class in the imperialist country and turn it into the labor aristocracy. This aristocracy, these "labor lieutenants" are agents of the bourgeoisie within the working class. Part of this bribed labor aristocracy is the trade union misleaders who are slimy traitors to the working class and, in our strategy and tactics, also part of the direction of main blow.

The WVO's political line is in consistent, diametrical opposition to the "white-skin privilege" revisionist line which sees all white workers as bribed and objectively treats all white workers as the direction of main blow.

Our error above -- use of "bribe" along with the correct characterization of the bourgeois "reform" tactic -- is based on loose usage of terms. We must grasp not only the content of our analysis but also understand that the presentation of the question must itself be scientific. If not checked in time, the presentation of the question can react on and distort the content. This relates to incorrect styles of work from the past student movement, reflecting a social basis which still affects the WVO today.



(continued from p. 8)

## MINI-STATE

that position. And vice-versa, the superpowers gain from that disassociation in that it strengthens and facilitates their ability to divide and rule the Arab nations. This in turn allows them to continue to carve out their respective spheres of influence.

This is the so-called compromise of the mini-state. It does nothing but compromise the interests of the Palestinian and Arab people to the interests of the imperialists!

These tricks and last ditch "solutions" only serve to further illustrate the decline of the imperialists. This is the era of imperialism - the eve of proletarian revolution. This is the great period in history when COUNTRIES WANT INDEPENDENCE, NATIONS WANT LIBERATION, AND THE PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION!

This is a period when on all fronts the Third World has become the main force against imperialism, dealing death blows to its stinking carcass. This is the condition for the Palestinian peoples' struggle. And it is an excellent condition!

### "CP"USA HELPS SUPERPOWERS

In the light of this excellent condition, how do we, as communists, view the question of national liberation struggles in general? Do we, as the so-called "Communist" Party of the US for example, see it as a question of "peace?" Do we, as they have historically done, push it as a question of "peace in the Middle East?" **NO!**

What can "peace in the Middle East" based on the mini-state mean except the "peaceful" enslavement of the Palestinian and Arab people? What can this "peace" mean except the further confinement of the Palestinians in refugee camps? What can this "peace" mean other than the naked domination by the super-

powers and the denial of the Palestinian homeland? What chauvinism! What unheard of opportunism! What treachery! This is the same snake in the grass betrayal as the Soviet social-imperialists. This is socialism in words and imperialism in deeds - and not even socialist words at that! This is imperialist "peace."

Real peace comes after the destruction of imperialism. Genuine communists support the real peace that comes after the destruction of imperialism through revolutionary war. Genuine communists are staunch supporters of all anti-imperialist struggles, whether they are led by feudal kings, national bourgeoisie, or the proletariat. As long as they weaken imperialism, in the long run, they hurt all reactionary bourgeoisie.

For that reason we unite with all who can be united to defeat the main enemy, imperialism and colonialism, one by one in national liberation struggles. At the same time however, working class and peasantry, under the leadership of Marxist-Leninists, must maintain strict independence and initiative in these united front situations. Chairman Mao states 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."

### DUAL CHARACTER OF NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE IN ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLES

Life has confirmed this truth and has presented us important lessons. The situation in Lebanon is a good example.

Why did Syria, a country which historically opposed the imperialists, reverse its role and clearly serve the interests of the superpowers (both supplied them arms as well) and Zionists, by backing the reactionary Phalangist troops against the progressive Moslems and Palestinian forces? The main reason, of course, is the instigation and exploitation of the situation by the superpowers. However it also indicates the dual character of the national bourgeoisie in anti-imperialist struggles. Under certain conditions, when they are weak and imperialism is threatening their national interest, they will fight along side the masses to defend their national interests. Under other conditions, when the masses, under the leadership of Communists, grow strong and threaten the national bourgeoisie's future rule, they will reverse themselves and unite with imperialists. Thus both the external instigation of the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists as well as the role of the national bourgeoisie reveal the basic features of the situation in Lebanon.

### VICTORY OF PALESTINIAN PEOPLE OVER IMPERIALISM IS INEVITABLE

The revolutionary conditions for the struggle of the Palestinian people for their historic homeland are excellent. Their long and courageous history of struggle have steeled their determination and shown clearly that their cause is just. They have the support of the vast majority of the world's people and they will surely be victorious. Their struggle will further weaken imperialism and push world history forward.

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES AND NATIONS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

LONG LIVE PALESTINE!

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE AND THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES AGAINST IMPERIALISM!

(continued from p. 13)

## Lackey Young

istic" concern is nothing more than a way for U.S. imperialism to keep those "bridges" up.

"The imperialists make trouble, fail, make trouble and fail again until their doom. But the working class, the masses of oppressed people fight, fail, and fight again til inevitable victory!"

Clearly, the "friend of the African people" is more the friend of imperialism. Whose friend calls for U.S. imperialism to get their claws into the oil of the South China Sea by attempting to divide Vietnam and China? Andrew Young, friend of U.S. imperialism.

And what about Andrew Young, "friend of Afro-Americans"? As the revolutionary movement of Afro-Americans steadily rises against the attacks of the U.S. bourgeoisie, Andrew Young worked tirelessly to derail it by being one of the prime supporters of Jimmy Carter - another slick representative of the bourgeoisie. The same bourgeoisie trying desparately to crush the Afro-American struggle, the same bourgeoisie attempting to split the working class through tricks that whip up racial antagonism, the same bourgeoisie attempting to crush the national liberation struggles of the African people! So much for the "friend" of the Afro-American people.

In sum, the more the U.S. bourgeoisie changes its tactics, the more "advanced" representatives of its class it puts forth in the U.N. to hoodwink the African people like Andrew Young, the more devious the trick, the more thorough the exposure. Even the bourgeoisie realizes the flimsiness of their deception. The New York Times states: "Even American officials here recognize that unless Mr. Young can produce a more sympathetic tone and substance in his policy statements, the new delegate could face a let down far deeper than would have followed the same policy utterances from a white American."

The inevitable collapse of U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism cannot be avoided for all the tricks in the world! ■

(continued from p. 7)

## B'klyn College

is far more significant than our shortcomings at this time in applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, mass line, criticism/self-criticism, and the unleashing as well as the defense of the masses' initiative and enthusiasm. The fact that the proletariat, led by its vanguard Party, applies this scientific methodology, alone seals the fate of the bourgeoisie and various assorted opportunists in their attempt to split, divert, and derail the struggle of the masses. It alone will lead us to victory.

As the headquarters of the proletariat, WVO will continue to bolsheize ourselves and will turn the three great traditions of the Communist Party of China into traditions of the Party of the US proletariat, to struggle to foster them into a force of habit among ourselves as well as the masses. The recent struggle at Brooklyn College is another front that provides us with an excellent opportunity to learn from our deviations, to rectify it in the course of struggle and provide better guidance and leadership in the future struggles that will unfold.

The future is bright! As Chairman Mao has taught us that "the correctness or incorrectness of ideological and political line decides everything." As we continue to bolsheize sphere after sphere, the WVO, the foundation of the Proletarian Party of a New Type in the US, will be able to provide even better leadership in all fronts of struggle. In the youth/student area, under the leadership of WVO, the youth/student movement will advance wave upon wave to defy and destroy all ghosts and demons standing in their way towards the dictatorship of the proletariat for the goal of Communism. The youth/student movement is increasingly fused with the working class movement, the class which is the leading force in our common struggle for socialist revolution! Revolutionary youth and students, taking a firm stand with the working class as in the struggle at Brooklyn College prove that indeed, the tide of socialist revolution is irreversible!

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