

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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25 CENTS

"We Won't Take the Rap for Carter's Wage Cap"

Wage Controls Part of Permanent Capitalist Crisis



WASH., D.C., Jan. 25—"Public and Private, Unite to Fight Wage Controls!" chanted more than 100 spirited government workers and supporters from the Trade Union Educational League, D.C. chapter and Workers Viewpoint Organization as they marched down Independence Avenue. Curious and interested onlookers (mostly government workers themselves) peered from glass windows and stared from the sidewalks of the huge complex of the Department of HEW (Health, Education and Welfare) and Department of Treasury buildings. An NBC TV news crew and reporters from several local radio stations ran to keep up with the quick pace of the militant and determined marchers to get it down on tape and film. Demonstrations are a daily occurrence in D.C., but government workers demonstrating on their lunch hour is definitely rare.

Local 41 of the American Federal Government Employees union (AFGE)

Continued on page 8

"Government Workers Fight Back, Join the Counter-attack!"

IRAN: "Leaders, Leaders, Give Us Arms!"

"Death to Bakhtiar!" Each day hundreds are shot down in the streets as Bakhtiar resists the inevitable end of his rule. But protecting what's left of the Shah's dynasty can only hasten his downfall. Nothing can stop the Iranian people from turning back now. The thousands that have risen up, arming themselves with whatever they can find against Bakhtiar's military, are demanding, "Leaders! Leaders! Give us arms!" And now that Ayotollah Khomeini has returned to Iran, this cry is even more urgent.

What began on January 17th as one of the biggest demonstrations in

Continued on page 10



The Iranian people are determined to decide their own destiny, free from super-power, U.S. and Soviet Union, meddling.

INSIDE

- Continue the Revolutionary Tradition of Malcolm X p. 5
- Kampuchea: Brezhnev—Bear-Faced Liar (of the "Socialist" Kind) p. 6
- Study Notes: What Is To Be Done?, Chapter I. p. 16
- Imperialist Bloodsucker Drops Dead p. 2
- British Workers Strike Down Wage Controls. p. 9
- Letters: Dear Reader Responses p. 3
- Sports—Apartheid Must Be Knocked Out Cold! p. 13

KAMPUCHEA WILL WIN!

... p. 6

A 'Rock' Drops — One Less Bullet

Nelson Rockefeller, the Butcher of Attica, the son of the Butcher of Ludlow, and the grandson of the old scoundrel himself, John D. Rockefeller, is dead. But the syrupy praise gushing from scores of politicians during his funeral stands in stark contrast to yet another Rockefeller funeral, set in another time and another place.

In 1915, erupting like a raging, thundering volcano of fury, the workers in this country forced a frightened John D. Rockefeller to delay 6 full months before attempting to bury the body of his wife, Laura Celestia Spelman Rockefeller. Though he owned outright 2% of the entire worth of the entire country (\$1 billion out of a \$50 billion gross national product), his blue blood ran cold from fear of the workers' wrath, forcing him to barricade his wife's body with barbed wire and to protect it with a 24-hour armed guard between March and August, 1915.

64 years ago, you couldn't bury a Rockefeller without raising a groundswell of workers' protest and screams for his blood. But today, a Rockefeller is buried with all the fancy trimmings. What happened in those 64 years?

Rockefeller, an Imperialist

64 years ago, John D. Rockefeller protected his 90% control of the nation's oil refining from the fury of the masses with naked force and massacres. In 1915, Rockefeller called out his own private army and the Colorado state militia to crush a workers' strike at his Colorado Fuel And Iron Company. Within minutes, eleven children, two women, and scores of workers were machine-gunned in cold blood or burned to death as tent camps for the workers were gutted with fire. When stories of the "roasted children" at the "Ludlow massacre" broke around the country, thousands of workers burned for revenge and yearned to put a bullet through his skull.

Stunned by the outpouring of pro-



test and reeling from strikes and demonstrations, the Rockefellers painfully learned what other monopoly capitalists, like the larger Morgan empire, had learned earlier. They learned to use reform and repression, the imperialist dual tactics, to maintain their rule by disintegrating and crushing resistance. These sinister tactics worked well enough that, decades later, Nelson Rockefeller could become a "liberal" Republican, using think-tanks like the Trilateral Commission, the Rand Corporation, Brookings Institute, etc., to plot the most cunning use of reform and repression.

To give the ugly, stinking face of imperialism a face-lift, Rockefeller sunk over a billion dollars to erase the blood-stained image of these vampires. Top public relations men, like Ivy Lee, Francis Jamieson, and William Ruder (of Ruder and Finn, Inc.), were hired over the years to paper over the stark images of the women and children gunned down by Rockefeller's private army at Ludlow and to replace them with harmless jingles like "put a tiger in your tank" and "you have a friend at Chase."

The CIA and Imperialist Tactics

When the 5 male Rockefeller grandchildren were young, so the story goes, John D. Rockefeller gave each child a surprise Christmas present. He gave each a continent. David got Europe (where he still exerts enormous influence through his control of Chase Manhattan Bank, Citibank, Chemical Bank, and First National Bank of Chicago). John D. Rockefeller III got Asia (where he got booted out by the people and plotted his revenge by helping to formulate the vicious "containment of China" policy). Lawrence and Winthrop divided up Australia and Africa (where they have been largely iced out by revolutionary peoples' wars). And Nelson got Latin America.

Nelson learned the advanced tricks of imperialism during his apprenticeship in Latin America. Before he turned 30, his father gave him control over Standard Oil's vast Venezuelan holdings, Creole Petroleum. Between 1939 and 1940, he got a family friend, President Roosevelt, to set up an agency, the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (CIAA—commonly called the "Rockefeller Office") to co-ordinate anti-Nazi propaganda and to crush revolutionary activities in Latin America. The CIAA or Rockefeller Office, the fore-runner of the modern CIA, used \$140 million in federal funds to set up a secret network of flunkies, stooges, and puppets in the U.S. and Latin America. By its own account, the Rockefeller Office controlled about 75% of all the news in Latin America. For example, in Brazil, a Rockefeller man, George Gallup (before he set up his own Gallup Poll) was hired to gauge the effect of Rockefeller propaganda on the Brazilian masses. 13,000 editors and "opinion leaders" were selected to co-ordinate media and propaganda in Latin America. While workers and peasants were being gunned down in the streets like in Ludlow, Colorado,

Continued on page 22

Breaking the Chains!

SAN DIEGO BUS DRIVERS BEAT BACK POLITICIANS

San Diego Bus Drivers Local 1309 won two rounds in U.S. District court against the local politicians and directors of the city-owned bus company. The court decision forced the company to binding arbitration and to keep the present contract until a final decision is reached. Mayor Pete Wilson and the City Council insist that takebacks, including giving up the cost of living clause and taking a decrease in hourly wages, are required by Proposition 13-induced shortage of funds. As one driver said, "if we're forced to take the \$.60 cut and lose half of my benefits, then I may as well go on welfare."

There is no shortage of money in the city coffers but Wilson and Co. want to use it to build a monorail to Tijuana to encourage tourism. Now the city council is planning to cut lines by the end of January, and by almost one-half by the summer, in an effort to force the drivers to accept the takebacks rather than be laid off, and to set the public against the drivers. But the workers are getting clearer on the interests of the local politicians, and the communities clearer on their unity with the workers.

FASH STRIKE ENDS

On Jan. 20, the Fraternal Association of Steel Haulers (FASH), an organization of truck owner-operators, ended their strike after a nine-week shutdown. Reacting to Teamsters bureaucrats' sellouts, their main demand is to be exempted from the anti-trust laws so they can collectively bargain with the carriers, separate from the Teamsters. Under threat by a Federal district judge to jail the leaders and heavily fine the organization, they voted to go back to work and fight for the jobs of about 200 drivers fired during the strike.

BUS DRIVERS WON'T GO UNDER!

In Charlotte, North Carolina, bus drivers - members of UTU, Local 1215 - have been on strike since the beginning of Dec. In the words of the men, "it could go forever."

The men were unionized before the bus line began to go under. The line was taken over by the City of Charlotte, therefore making them organized city workers under a contract in a "right to work" state. The reason for the strike is that the City is trying to force them to be under a contract they fought for two years ago. The City gave them a .25/hour raise and wants to take away .40/hour in benefits. The bus drivers know "other city workers through-



out the state are looking to see what happens to us," and spirits are high.

CETA JOBS ATTACKED

One effect of Carter's "lean and austere" federal budget is a massive cut in federally funded jobs under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). (from 700,000 to 467,000 jobs) In New York City this means more than 7,000 workers laid off by Oct. 1. These workers are 60% black and Latin, more than half women, 30% former welfare recipients, and 25% veterans. Within a week City Hall found a rally protesting the cuts on its front steps.

HARVESTING AUTOMATION OPPOSED

A group of lawyers in Los Angeles filed a suit against the University of California to stop the university's development of harvesting machinery designed to increase agricultural productivity. Between 1963 and 1970, machines developed by the school took over harvesting of practically all processed tomatoes. (Tomatoes are the biggest agricultural product in dollar volume.) In this period, the California output jumped 51%, the number of workers producing the tomatoes dropped 60% to less than 18,000, and prices increased faster than any other vegetable. The suit accuses some Board of Regents members and officials of illegal conflict of interest because of their ties to the farming monopolies. It calls for a permanent fund for retraining and relief of farmworkers whose jobs are replaced by the machinery.

SAVE ST. MARY'S!

The Chicago City College has closed down the adult alternative school, St. Mary's, and has notified its 300 students that they have to go elsewhere. Immediately students, teachers, and community groups, including the African Liberation Support Committee, put out a call for a broad coalition to fight to save St. Mary's and to struggle for the right of all national minorities to a decent education. It's no accident that St. Mary's was chosen since it has deep ties with the community and tries to teach the true history of struggle of the Afro-American people against oppression.

FROM THE MASSES TO THE MASSES

Our Readers Speak Out!

"dear reader" Responses

This issue we are printing two readers' responses to the "dear readers" questionnaire.

1) What was your favorite article in the last six months and why?

— Mass line article in October 1978 paper ("ALSC-NSC Meets: Sharp Line, Strong Leadership," p. 3) and the follow up article in Nov. 1978, reprint from *WV Journal No. 6* ("Sum Up, Study and Self-Criticism on the Mass Line Question," p. 9). I attended the NSC meeting in New York, and was very excited by the discussion and analysis of the mass line campaign. The October article summed up the meeting in very clear and readable terms. We studied it in the ALSC meetings, and I feel it helped push forward our work here tremendously.

E.F.

— Karen Silkwood article ("The Murder of Karen Silkwood", Nov. 1978, p. 7) Through becoming personally involved in her life and fight, exposure and hatred of the bourgeoisie has a really big impact. Excellent way of raising anti-nuke movement, through this one person. Really concretizes and particularizes capitalism, and taps the concern workers and oppressed have for other oppressed, as well as tapping the fighting spirit we have.

S.L.

2) What articles (trade union, national movement, international situation, letters column, etc.) do you usually read first? Which articles do you read last or never and why? Which kind would you like to see more?

I usually read articles about important topical or popular events that are very much in the news. In December, I read the Guyana Jonestown article ("Peoples Temple—Why?", p. 7) and Vietnam Kampuchea article ("Soviets Whip Up Vietnamese Invasion of Kampuchea," p. 12) first. I depend on WVO to provide the most thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis of the major events in the world, and I am usually confused by the descriptions put out by the bourgeois press. In November, the first articles I read were about Iran and Nicaragua, and Tupelo.

Other articles I tend to read first are the popular culture articles, such as the Animal House review ("Animal House—Cynicism Uncaged," Dec. 1978, p. 21) and "The Buddy Holly Story", (Sept. 1978, p. 14). Two articles I thought were very good (because of interesting content and good writing style) were "The Murder of Karen Silkwood" (Nov. 1978, p. 7) and "A Killing at the Races" (Nov. 1978, p. 21).

After the topical articles, I tend to read the shorts ("World in Struggle", etc.) and the letters to get a sense of what the movement is in general throughout the country and world, and to see where other readers are at in their struggles.

Articles I tend to read later, when I can sit and study them, are the deeper analytical reviews, such as Mass Line, WVO's participation in campaigns (African Liberation Day) and conferences (ALSC, TUEL, Northeast Coalition), and articles on Marxist theory ("Restoration of Capitalism in the U.S.S.R.", Oct., Nov., Dec., 1978, which is very good).

Articles I tend to read last are those about trade union struggles and analysis of political economy. In part, I read these last because I don't have a good

grasp of these issues and struggles; and also I haven't found these articles very readable. Some exceptions have been articles written by workers themselves (Coal Miner's series, "Sbicca Workers" (Oct. 1978), "We're Not Safeway's Robots!" (Nov. 1978), and "San Diego Shipyard Workers" (Dec. 1978)).

The articles I have the most problem reading, but which I feel a great need to understand, are those about political economy. I read the two articles in the November issue on wage controls and the coming recession in 1979 ("Wage Controls Aim at Stronger Unions", p. 1 and "Bourgeois Economists Admit the Coming of Recession in 1979, p. 8) four times and I still don't understand what causes inflation. *Time Magazine* had a review of the recession in their Dec. 23 issue that I found much more readable and under-



OCAW Organizer Blew Open Nuclear Coverup THE MURDER OF KAREN SILKWOOD

They found her body at the bottom of a shallow, muddy stream. She was crushed under the twisted metal and wreckage of her car. She was driving alone down Highway 74, when a car suddenly appeared in the distance and rammed her Honda from the rear again and again, which overrode out of control, crashed through the guard railing, careened 200 feet down an embankment, rebounded once a cabinet fell and finally skidded into a muddy stream.

She was driving secretly to the hidden In in Oklahoma City to meet a spouse. She was carrying enough documents on nuclear accidents, cover-ups, and plutonium spills to blow the nuclear power program wide open. She had assembled enough damning material to break headlines throughout the country. But the wreckage was picked clean, no documents were ever found on her body. Instead, they found that her whole body was intensely radioactive. Someone had been trying to poison her. A few days later, the Oklahoma police issued a report stating that the more fibers energy at the wheel.

Karen Silkwood Was A Fighter
Karen Silkwood was a fighter. Bold, always active, and just downed, she wanted to start a new life. She was 28 when she joined the nuclear industry owned by the Ken-McGee Corporation in Cimarron, Oklahoma. But it was only a few weeks before she was spotted and chased by Ken-McGee's mobile army of assassins and spies.

In the time leading to 1970, Ken-McGee swindled Nevada Indians into signing crude uranium contracts. Shiprock, New Mexico, paying as little as 10¢ per pound for uranium ore, while the Indians' American diet of cancer, and 21 were left dying. Ken-McGee refused to pay one penny more for the dead and dying workers.

Ken-McGee stood to clear millions in profits by making its radioactive deadly plutonium fuel rods for heavy nuclear power plants. With millions of dollars in state, Ken-McGee didn't give a damn about the lives of a few hundred plutonium workers and Nevada Indians. As soon as Ken-McGee's Chairman plant opened, a wave of deaths and crippling accidents caused by defective equipment and plutonium fires cut down scores of workers at the plant.

Karen was furious when workers told her about the radiation hazards and accidents, about how 22 workers were poisoned in January 1971 with lethal plutonium oxide that leaked out of defective equipment, or of the "Fuchsin" in October 1970 who were contaminated with radiation from a waste container left open for three days.

Then a 15-year water broke out at the plant, led by OCAW (Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International) Union. In order to buy up the union, Ken-McGee hired hordes of snags without training them for handling plutonium. Without adequate training, many of the snags caused themselves accidents with plutonium. But what did Ken-McGee care if even snags got cancer from plutonium spill?

Karen Carries on Her Fight
Through the Union
Karen made up her mind to carry on her fight through the union. Local 5283 of OCAW. Right from the start, she won the support of workers because of her fighting spirit. No supervisor could ever get her down or threaten to quit or quit the workers through speed-ups without Karen hating her way right into the boss's office and storming over radiation in the union contract. When she spoke, she spoke for the 115 workers at Ken-McGee.

In July 1974, another plutonium accident sent Karen dead into the air. Karen was caught suddenly without a respirator and she inhaled the potentially lethal dust. Karen was one of the 73 Ken-McGee workers who suffered from possible permanent lung damage. But she wasn't afraid. She didn't back down, she became even more determined and fought to carry the struggle through the union. Within one month, she won so much respect from her fellow workers that she got elected to one of three seats on the union's steering committee.

Within a year, Karen became one of the best troubleshooters OCAW ever had. Her real strength as a troubleshooter was in her determination to the workers and her unflinching support of their demands for better wages and safety conditions. And when she was sent to Washington, D.C. in September 26, 1974, with the OCAW International, she agreed to do undercover work for OCAW to collect a massive file on Ken-McGee and other nuclear contractors which would wipe up the whole nuclear industry apart.

Karen Was the Link Between Workers and Environmentalists
Ken-McGee executed Karen. And the FBI dropped her. She was a double threat to the nuclear industry and the Atomic Energy Commission because of her ties with both the workers and the growing anti-nuclear movement. The FBI knew that if the working class movement and the nuclear movement ever united against the nuclear industry, \$100 billion in nuclear investments wouldn't be worth a fig. The link between these two spontaneous movements had to be smashed. And Karen Silkwood was that link. But so far, even harassment by the local police, the FBI and Ken-McGee's thugs couldn't break her.

Then on November 5, 1974, as she secretly walked by some radiation counters, they went crazy and burst out of control. Somehow, she had been exposed to huge doses of plutonium. She nervously showered and changed clothes, but again and again the radiation counter needles went off the scale. And finally, on a third day, the needles still registered a massive radiation count. To Karen, it suddenly became clear. Some snags had spotted her. They knew she was amassing an explosive file on the nuclear industry. Someone was trying to kill her. That night, Karen tried for the first time and began to shake badly. She expected harassment, but she never thought they would go that far. But she couldn't stop now. The next day, she again returned into the boss's office and demanded a full investigation of her contamination. Finally, a team of inspectors swooped on her apartment house, covered her with special sensitive gloves, respirators, and masks. Within seconds, the eight counters told the whole story: her apartment house was flooded with plutonium dust. The radiation count was so high that they had to dump all of her furniture into 58.

which is good. But in this regard, the style must be improved. The short article on credit card spending in Nov. 1978 is a positive example ("Why are People Wearing Out Their Credit Cards," p. 31).

There are two other major issues that I wish WVO will discuss in greater detail. These are the current political events occurring within China, and how to deal with opportunist forces in the U.S. that are constantly disrupting the working class movement, such as the Revolutionary Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, etc.

On the issue of the opportunists, I feel it would be helpful if *Workers Viewpoint* explained a bit about the origins and ideologies of these other forces. As a member of ALSC, we have to deal with trots and revisionists and pimps like the RCP all the time now as they jump on the Africa bandwagon. While it was good how *Workers Viewpoint* reviewed the Northeast and Midwest Africa-divestment conferences in October and November, these articles did not describe in detail the nature of the struggles with the trots and RCP, except in most general terms. For example, why don't the trots support specific liberation movements? What is Trotsky's concept of "permanent revolution," and how does it reflect their outlook. A friend of mine in the ALSC who has had a lot more experience in political work than me, explained how in essence the trots don't rely on the masses, but only on a core of "revolutionaries". They jump into any movement (single spark) hoping for a spontaneous outbreak to kick off the world revolution, so in the end they, the chosen few, can take control or leadership. This helped me understand why trots and revisionists drop in and out of struggles, while we plod through months of the tedious, but necessary build-up, only to see these scum appear again at the next demo. I know that in the past the Workers Viewpoint Organization dealt in detail with these groups like the October League and RCP. It would be helpful to us in the "new generation" to also understand them, particularly in the context of the mass work like ALSC.

E.F.

Continued on page 19

WVO CALLS FOR LETTERS

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

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

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

Crack in the Wall of "Right-to-Work" South

Strike Launched at Newport News Yards

Workers of the country's largest shipyard—Newport News Shipyard and Dry Dock Company—walked off the job on January 31 in a major test of organizing in the heart of "Right-to-Work" Virginia. Represented by United Steelworker Local 8888, the workers are striking for union recognition. One thousand pickets rallied at dawn at the gates. Besides the majority of workers who stayed out on strikes, thousands more were persuaded to support the action by the militant picket line.

A year ago last month, 13,000 of the yard's 15,500 hourly workers signed up with the steelworkers. This ended 40 years of peaceful marriage between the company and the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association, a company union in the yard since the 30's.

The shipyard is a subsidiary of Tenneco Inc. It works on high-security nuclear-powered vessels for the Navy. In one year, it reaped in \$786 million in sales alone. Spoiled for years by the comfortable relationship with the PSA and protected by the right-to-work laws in Virginia, it decided to test the union's

case and refused to negotiate a contract.

For a year the company and the PSA has tied the case up in court. The company challenged that the National Labor Relations Board, which supervised the elections, was not impartial. 11 months after the vote, in December '78, the board finally threw the claim out and ordered negotiations to start. The company's appeal is due in March. Before it hears the final decision, the company flatly refused to sit face-to-face with the union.

In Virginia, more people work for the shipyard than any company other than the government. Its payroll pumps about \$500 million into Virginia's economy. Virginia, a right-to-work state has only 13.5% of its workforce organized. The strike is one of the biggest in the state's history. If the workers win, it could have wide-ranging implications for Virginia and the whole right-to-work South.

Virginia's national guard, state and local police are all on alert. The guard has a "contingency plan" to keep the yard open if there is "trouble". All it

needs is an okay from the governor, John Dalton. On the first morning of the strike, 80 riot cops with police dogs were called in by the governor to try to enforce the right to scab.

The workers' original overwhelming

vote represented a victory for the steelworkers. It now must pass yet another test in winning the strike. \$90 million of the union's strike support fund is open to the strikers, with benefits \$30 per week. ■

Keep the Hospitals Open—They're for People, Not Profit



Doctors picketed Harlem Hospital in a one-day strike protesting New York City's latest health care cuts of 50% by 1982.

Pa. Miners Strike Upholds Nat'l Contract

WESTERN PENN.—In the mountains of central Pennsylvania and in the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) District 2, the great coal strike of 1978 continues to burn as 90 members of Local 1880 fight to get North Cambria Fuel Co. to sign the national contract. Although not a member of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), North Cambria, a strip mining operation, promised to sign the contract last month and the men returned to work. After six weeks of stalling and still no contract, the picket signs went back up. They've been out now for almost a year.

Pennsylvania miners showed their militancy by voting down the final national contract even after 110 days on strike last year, some districts by 2-to-1 margins. Since then no International organizers have been assigned to District 2, but still in late May all mines in District 2 were closed by pickets in support of the brothers of Local 1880. In October the picket signs went up again all through the mountains, leading to a rally of 600 miners in Ebensburg, PA. Over 300 miners headed east down Route 22 in Blairsville, where North Cambria has been loading non-union coal. The court injunction limiting the number of pickets to three had been violated 100 times over and the scabs who had been bringing in non-union coal didn't work this day. Many of Local 1880's members face court hearings, fines and possibly jail. Fourteen more miners from other locals in District 2 have just been subpoenaed. Knowing that the strong union men of Local 1880 are determined to stay out, North Cambria and the courts are hoping that they can intimidate other min-

ers from supporting them.

Under the latest contract, the company must pay into the pension fund for every ton of coal mined. The contract also prohibits non-union coal being shipped through North Cambria facilities unless North Cambria pays the royalties on the coal mined by its non-union competitors. In order to compete with other larger strip mine operators, North Cambria wants to set up its own pension fund or get rid of the union altogether. Caught in the tightening grip of the economic crisis of capitalism, they are trying to make the men of Local 1880 pay for it. Most of the non-union coal in District 2 (the heart of Pennsylvania strip mining) isn't deep mined but strip mined. And those union operators in District 2 are looking at the outcome of this strike. If Local 1880 goes under, they'll try the same thing three years from now.

The strike is very important to the future of District 2, the largest district in Pennsylvania. And these kinds of struggles can affect the future of the entire union. In the last five years the percentage of union-produced coal in District 2 has dropped from around 70% to under 50%, roughly the same as the national figures. Unable to bust the UMWA during the last strike, the U.S. bourgeoisie is stepping up efforts to boost production of non-union coal out west, attack organizing efforts in the No. 1 coal producing state of Kentucky (the Stearns strike) and bust smaller locals of the UMWA in the organized coal fields—like in District 4 of southwestern Pennsylvania where three strip mine operators refused to sign the 1978 contract. ■

NEW YORK, N.Y.—On 135th Street in front of Harlem Hospital, picketers carried signs like "Koch's Kuts Kill!" As young doctors and interns chanted, they were joined by workers and nurses. At eight New York City hospitals, the doctors were out on a one-day strike protesting the city's latest proposed health cuts of 50% by 1982, beginning with as much as 10% by this July. The Committee of Interns and Residents (CIR), the doctors' bargaining unit, organized the one-day action and they accused Mayor Koch of siding with the private and voluntary (non-profit) hospitals over the health and lives of the poor, minorities, and working class patients of the city hospital system. As doctors, they see the critically understaffed hospitals, the outdated equipment, the lack of medicine and supplies. As interns, they work 96 hours a week for an annual salary of \$14,000.

The government, from the federal level on down, makes cuts in hospital care as part of their program for fighting inflation. Between 1966 and 1971, N.Y. state's contribution to health care alone in NYC doubled from \$292.3 million to \$678.1 million. In 1979, N.Y. city's health budget is \$2.8 billion or 20% of the annual expense budget. New York's daily costs per patient rose 14.2% per year between 1965 and 1970. Much of this inflation is due to guaranteed income in the form of Medicaid and Medi-

care which has been a bonanza in profit to hospitals, drug companies, hospital supply companies, insurances like Blue Cross and other health related industries.

Though the government is pumping billions of dollars into health care, patients get worse care than ever. In one NYC hospital, hospitalization costs have skyrocketed from \$75/day five years ago to \$235/day today. The government makes the heaviest cuts on the public hospitals, small proprietary (profit-making) and voluntary (non-profit) hospitals while major hospitals are barely cut at all, so profits will continue to benefit the large hospitals.

One thing these cuts will do is to allow the "private" hospitals to fill their beds at the expense of those who would otherwise go to public hospitals. But most people who don't have medical insurance and can't afford to go to private hospitals will definitely suffer. For one thing, municipal hospitals are the only ones with nearly enough facilities to take care of emergencies and outpatient-walk in patients with relatively minor illnesses that can be taken care of without hospitalization. These are the more typical of patients. Closing down 50% of the municipal hospitals will severely hurt the 1.4 million workers and poor in the city who either don't have a private doctor or can't afford private doctors and hospitals and are not eligible for Medicaid. ■

Continue the Revolutionary Tradition of Malcolm X

This is the fourteenth year since the U.S. bourgeoisie murdered Malcolm X in cold blood. Every year his stature grows among the Afro-American people and revolutionary people around the world. His silence now speaks louder than his words. His voice still makes reactionaries around the world tremble. To this day his records are banned in South Africa. The U.S. bourgeoisie is trying with all their might to degrade his revolutionary tradition to that of "legal opposition" not much different from the Civil Rights leaders whose vacillation and capitulation to the bourgeoisie he exposed at every point. They are trying to kill his revolutionary spirit with "respectability," kill his revolutionary tradition with "popularity." That is how today, the most despicable bourgeois reform can be peddled in Malcolm's name.

National oppression is intensified all the way down the line. Legalized police murder of unprecedented viciousness and scale in recent years have brought several Black United Fronts into being; the demand for justice and land in the Black Belt South has been raised from tiny Whitakers, North Carolina to Tupelo, Mississippi.

A young Afro-American woman, Wilma Jean Stephaney was pushed to the brink by the conditions surrounding her and defended her home and her children by any means necessary.

There is great disorder in the world. The brothers and sisters of the People's Temple were searching for a weapon to struggle, 900 of them made the ultimate sacrifice for the cause they believed in.

This year our commemoration of Malcolm X is more important than ever before precisely because the upsurge in the Afro-American movement shows in practice that the lessons of the '60s have not been learned, that the teachings of Malcolm X have been thrown out the window. The leadership of the movement has been mesmerized by bourgeois electoral politics. Black politicians have confined themselves to walking out of White House meetings, and raising half-hearted criticisms, while Jimmy Carter grinds his heel in the neck of the Afro-American masses. Opportunists have been trying to pimp off the grassroots movement, without raising one word of communist propaganda. Only the Party has assimilated most of the traditions of Malcolm X, but in order to truly live up to his lofty standards, we must thoroughly criticize and defeat the right, revisionist line that belittles the role of communist propaganda, which is tolerant towards organizational amateurishness and capitulates to the national bourgeoisie.

All too often in discussing the lives of great revolutionaries, we *limit* ourselves to *praising* their courage, and their dedication, and gazing in awe at their foresight and their revolutionary consistency. We marvel at their profound understanding of the masses and their abi-



lity to touch the people to the bottom of their hearts. This approach to their lives inevitably evades the *very difficult* task of mastering in practice the theoretical and political struggles that they waged, learning the *lessons* in practice, from how they carried out their work, and grasping in practice the political verdicts that they sealed, and the revolutionary teachings that they popularized. In order to continue their revolutionary tradition, this work must be carried out *earnestly*, against spontaneity, otherwise we will play into the hands of the enemy, who is constantly trying to distort the revolutionary essence of their teachings and who would like nothing better for us to wait in despair until another "messiah" comes along to lead us out of the seeming chaos.

Why Malcolm Joined the Nation of Islam

Born May 19, 1925 in Omaha, Nebraska, the 4th son of a Garveyite minister and a West Indian mother. In 1931, his father was murdered. His mother

was driven to insanity by welfare agents, who split their family up like so many peas in a pod. Malcolm grew up in the streets of Roxbury and Harlem, earning the nickname of "Detroit Red." He was arrested in 1946 and did 10 years in prison. While in prison, the Nation of Islam (through his family) approached him with answers he was searching for and a *weapon* to fight national oppression and the racist lies that smothered any kind of national pride or self-respect. At the time the Nation approached Malcolm, there was no other organization advocating pride and respect for Afro-American people and their history.

The Communist Party USA had a revisionist line in the early '40s and never recovered, among other revolutionary principles, the resolutions of the Communist International 1928 and 1930, elaborating the right of self-determination for Afro-Americans in the Black Belt South. The mass fighting organizations under their leadership such as the National Negro Congress, Southern Negro Youth Congress and the National Tenant Farmers Union were bro-

ken up. The CPUSA limited its work to shamelessly tailing the legalism of the NAACP.

Many movements are clothed in religious garb. Karl Marx pointed out that religious distress is the expression of real distress and the protest against real distress. The Teachings of Elijah Muhammed, though thoroughly bankrupt, as Malcolm summed up later, did provide a theoretical system to fight the enemy. The People's Temple had the same attraction for the brothers and sisters who joined and went to Guyana and died in mass suicide. Those brothers and sisters in Guyana were not crazy for following Jim Jones just as Malcolm was not crazy for joining the Muslims. They were searching for answers just as Malcolm was searching for answers. We must respect and cherish the determination of the advanced who will inevitably grab the first weapon they find. If you don't understand why the brothers and sisters joined the People's Temple then you don't really understand why Malcolm joined the Nation of Islam.

Continued on page 20



Kampuchea

VIETNAM/ U.S.S.R.

SIHANOUK CONFRONTS SOVIET 'PUPPET MASTERS'

"Imperialist puppet masters," that's what Norodom Sihanouk, former prince and head of state of Kampuchea (Cambodia), called the Soviet Union, denouncing them and their Vietnamese revisionist servants in a recent U.N. Security Council session. The so-called front for "National Salvation" is "completely, totally a creation of the government in Hanoi," he continued. Sihanouk, long a symbol of Kampuchean national sovereignty, had come out of retirement and made the long journey from Democratic Kampuchea to New York City to once again defend his country against imperialist invasion.

Sihanouk's Role in the Anti-Imperialist Struggle

Acting in his own class interest, Sihanouk has historically played a role in the Kampuchean people's fight against imperialism. In the early 50's (Kampuchea, then called Cambodia, gained its independence from France in 1953) Sihanouk refused to join the U.S.-dominated

Anti-Imperialist National Bourgeoisie

Southeast Asian Treaty Organization. In the decade between 1955 and 1965, with the U.S. hurting from its first defeat in Korea and getting more desperate, Sihanouk began to speak out more and more in support of the newborn movement of third world countries. Then in 1965, Sihanouk broke diplomatic relations with the U.S.

Stung from this slap in the face, the imperialists began to plot Sihanouk's overthrow. In 1969, the U.S. started systematic bombing of Kampuchea and in 1970, the CIA engineered a coup which replaced Sihanouk with the puppet Lon Nol regime. Shortly afterward, the U.S. invaded Kampuchea from Vietnam and this brought the imperialists into open military confrontation with

the Kampuchean people.

After his overthrow, Sihanouk went to Peking, where, as part of the united front initiated by the Communist Party of Kampuchea, he was chosen as the head of the united front and of the legitimate Kampuchean government. During this period he spoke out tirelessly against U.S. imperialism and toured Africa and Europe, winning many new friends for the Kampuchean people's anti-imperialist struggle.

With the defeat of the scab Lon Nol regime in 1975, Sihanouk returned to Kampuchea and served as chief of state until his retirement in April, 1976.

Continued on page 19

The Kampuchean people's armed forces are fighting within 6 miles of Phnom Penh! The port of Kampot on the Gulf of Thailand in southwestern Kampuchea, the Ream naval base and the temple complex in Angkor, a symbol of the national sovereignty of the Kampuchean people, have all been retaken. In another big military victory, 300 Cuban and Soviet troops were killed by the people's army recently. Highway 4, linking Phnom Penh with the sea, has been totally cut off and almost all of southeastern Kampuchea is in the hands of the people.

Tanks and Artillery Stranded Deep Within Kampuchea

The Vietnamese revisionists and their Soviet masters are being whipped in the face of the present counter-offensive being directed by Pol Pot, the legitimate head of state, from deep within the mountains of Kampuchea. The resistance of the Kampuchean people has proven too tough for these greedy dogs to swallow and now they're choking. Millions of dollars worth of tanks, artillery and heavy equipment and thousands of troops are stranded deep within Kampuchean territory. Without gasoline and other supplies they can't move an inch, and there's no way to get these supplies to them, since bridges have been blown up behind them and huge sections of high-

way are under the people's control.

Blind to the Historical Lesson of People's War

The revisionists tend to have short memories. The Vietnamese revisionists already forget how it was that *their country* was able to defeat all the tons of sophisticated weaponry, the B-52's and the hundreds of thousands of troops of U.S. imperialism. Their national chauvinism, revisionism and the prodding of the Soviet Union have made the Vietnamese blind to their own historical experience—the invincibility of people's war in a just cause. But then the Vietnamese and Soviet invaders really didn't have much choice once they decided to invade Democratic Kampuchea. They have to rely on conventional warfare. The key to successful guerilla tactics is the support of the masses, and that's something the invaders will never have. The reactionary aims of the Vietnamese revisionists and their Soviet masters determines and limits their tactics, and that's why their defeat is inevitable.

Recently Hanoi has signed a so-called "friendship treaty" with the sham government of Kampuchean traitors that provides for the permanent occupation of the country by Vietnamese troops. After months of lying through their teeth that Vietnamese

Recent History of Soviet Union's Betrayal of National Liberation Mvt's

Propping up bogus "liberation forces" and violating the sovereignty of other countries is nothing new for the Soviet revisionists. In Zaire, the Soviet Union tried to stir up trouble in Shaba Province in order to get another toe-hold in Africa. The Russians outfitted the tattered remnants of the Katangan gendarmes, mercenary troops who in the 60's were used by the U.S. and Belgium colonialists to topple the revolutionary government of Patrice Lumumba and assassinate him. Now, the Soviet revisionists are again re-writing history, suddenly calling them "genuine," "liberators," "legitimate" when they invaded Shaba Province last year.

The Soviet Revisionists—Master of the Double-Cross

In the *Time* magazine interview Brezhnev states, "I will tell you that very often we are hard put even to understand Washington's persistent desire to seek advantages for itself in the disadvantages of others."

This is precisely what the Soviet Union has been doing as well, except better.

The Soviet Union, which backed the hated Lon Nol regime in Cambodia in the early 70's, has a consistent history of double-crosses and deceit. Knowing no principles, the Soviet Union will back one country in order to weaken the hold of U.S. imperialism, and then will abruptly switch sides to suit their own narrow ends. In Kampuchea, the Soviet Union backed the Lon Nol regime, briefly backed the legitimate Pol Pot regime, and now invades Kampuchea. This same double-crossing opportunism can be seen in the Soviet Union's relations with Greece-Turkey and Ethiopia-Somalia, to name a few.

Greece and Turkey, both members of NATO in the early 60's, both had territorial claims to the island of Cyprus, reflecting the early colonial divisions imposed by the British imperialists. Seeking to bust up the southern flank of NATO and weaken U.S. imperialism, the Russians began to back Turkey over Greece. But when the Turks invaded Cyprus with troops, the Soviet Union quickly changed side, lest it be branded as an aggressor by other nations.

In the superpowers fight to gain

control of Europe, the Russians again showed their true nature in the strategic Horn of Africa, through which Arab oil destined for Europe passes. First, the Soviet Union began to back Somalia against Ethiopia in order to weaken U.S. imperialism in the Red Sea and eventually set up a Soviet naval base in Somalia. But the Soviet Union also hungered for Ethiopia, with its large population, resources, and access to the Red Sea. When a military coup toppled Haile Selassie, the Soviet Union seized the opportunity and moved in, airlifting the largest haul of Soviet weaponry in Soviet military history. Sending in its hired gun, the Cuban troops, Soviet-backed Ethiopia then turned on Somalia. Though the Soviets had originally backed the Eritrean liberation struggles in order to weaken the grip of U.S. imperialism, the Soviet Union dropped the Eritrean struggle like a hot potato and then sent military advisors and Cubans to begin a massive invasion of Eritrea and the murder of Eritrean patriots.

And then Brezhnev has the gall to say, "Are we really claiming a single square kilometer of the territory of any state?" ■

Will Win!

DROWNING IN SEA OF PEOPLE'S WAR

soldiers weren't in the country, the revisionists are forced to admit that they're in for a long, dragged out fight. The invaders know they're surrounded by a people united and determined to drive them out. In base camps throughout the Kampuchean countryside, the elderly and children produce food and supplies for the men and women at the front. Those who can't work the fields, prepare bamboo stakes which the older youth use to make booby traps for the camp's defense.

Victories Smash Dreams of Both Superpowers

If the recent victories have turned the hyped up adventurism of the Vietnamese aggressors and their Soviet backers into pessimism and despair, it's also thrown cold water on the U.S. imperialists' glee and hope that China would be drawn into a war with the Soviet Union, the only chance these bloodsuckers have of becoming top dog once again.

The Kampuchean people are clearly prepared to battle as long as necessary to drive the invaders out. From the look of things now, it won't be long. ■

KAMPUCHEA WILL WIN!



Brezhnev: A Bear-Faced Liar (of the 'Socialist' Kind)

Huge, lumbering Soviet artillery pieces are left sitting idle in Kampuchea, stranded because key bridges have been blown up by Kampuchean forces. Vietnamese divisions are tied down, caught in the withering cross-fire of ambushes. Kampuchean forces, fighting on their own soil, knowing every inch of their own country, are bringing the Soviet/Vietnamese invasion forces to a grinding halt. Regrouping and digging in for a protracted war, Kampuchean forces are defying the 100,000 man Vietnamese invasion force, backed by its Soviet-built Mig-19's, its U.S.-made cluster bombs, and outfitted by the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, as stinging reversals in the port of Kampot, most of Takeo province, and the Ream naval base show that the Soviet/Vietnamese Blitzkrieg is encountering fierce resistance, the Soviet Union tries to maintain the charade that the Soviet/Vietnamese invasion was led by Kampuchean "rebels." Brezhnev further denounces the Pol Pot regime as a "hateful regime and a tyranny imposed from the outside." But which government has really been hatefully trying to topple the Kampuchean government? Which government has out-

fitted the Vietnamese with billions in advanced military hardware to bully and overthrow neighboring countries? For Brezhnev to denounce the Kampuchean regime as being "imposed from the outside" is like Hitler screaming about "foreign interference" even as he sent his tanks to trample over the Polish and Czechoslovakian people.

Whatever Brezhnev says, you can generally believe the exact opposite. When he says "don't be confused about the two Cambodian governments," he really means "be confused as to who are the real representatives of the people!" When he says, "let's be clear," he really means, "be muddled!"

In a recent interview in *Time* magazine, Brezhnev cynically states: "...good neighborliness—regardless of differences in political systems and views—is the best line in international relations." This is the same "good neighborliness" which sent Soviet tanks to crush Czechoslovakia and even now threatens Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean area, the Middle East, and Africa.

When Brezhnev said, "The Soviet Union will... support the Cambodian people in the construction of peaceful, independent, nonaligned Cambodia ad-

vancing toward socialism," this really means that the Soviet Union will unleash wars of aggression to impose puppet governments to force Kampuchea into the Soviet sphere, where capitalists will ride roughshod over the people.

When Brezhnev said, "as a result of the remarkable victory of the Cambodian people, new favorable prospects are opening for strengthening peace in the Indochinese peninsula in conformity with the national aspirations of the people of that area without interference from the outside," he really means that the Hitlerian Blitzkrieg which lunged into the heart of Kampuchea threatens to make Soviet satellites out of the nations of Southeast Asia.

Russian Black Bear Is Clumsy

The marauding great Russian black bear, though brutal and powerful, is also clumsy.

The Soviet Union, hiding for years behind the signboard of "socialism," now stands further exposed to the third world countries. Only a last ditch veto by the Soviet Union prevented a total rout in the U.N. Security Council, which voted 13 to 2 to denounce the Soviet/Vietnamese invasion. Like the

puppet governments set up by the Japanese Imperial Army during World War II, no one really believed the bogus "Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation." After all, since when does a "united front" barely 2 weeks old suddenly muster up billions in Soviet hardware and whole divisions of Vietnamese troops? In the end, this bogus "united front" will suffer the same miserable fate as the defunct Japanese Imperial Army's front in Asia, the "Greater Co-Prosperity Sphere."

When Brezhnev praises this "united front" for being heroic and "representative of the Kampuchean people," you know that it is actually a cowardly handful of traitors, oppressors of the Kampuchean people.

But more important, the Soviet/Vietnamese forces will be mired down in a genuine people's war, much like the U.S./South Vietnamese forces were slowly cut down by the peoples of Indochina. The Kampuchean masses, fighting on their own soil, defending their own country, will carry on a protracted people's war forever if necessary.

Continued on page 22

Wage Control . . . "Our Cap Size Is Not Size 5!"

Continued from page 1

initiated a meeting 1½ months ago with other unions to resist the stepped-up, all-rounded government assaults on their workers (the increasing daily harassments on the job, media portrayal of lazy, overpaid patronage jobs, and 5½% cap on wages across the board since last year). Turnout from the rank and file was tremendous. They were fighting mad because they've suffered these attacks for too long. They've realized that fighting within one office or even one department

motion and tries to divert and diffuse it. HEW deliberately invited Jesse Jackson, head of PUSH, the self-styled hero of the Afro-American people to speak during the lunch hour. Many Afro-American workers stayed inside to hear him speak. It was a good political lesson on what role a misleader serves. Jackson was invited to join the lunch rally outside but he insisted on going ahead with his speech inside, with a promise to gather support from the audience. But he never said a word about wage controls.

These strikes are scattered but each has the potential to become part of a more unified, broader fight by raising the slogan to fight to end wage controls. The postal workers' wildcats last summer shows how close we came to a breakthrough in fighting the capitalist wage controls.

in the union) totally confused the struggle. He first supported the sham contract, then crossed the tracks and ran after workers calling for a nationwide strike. In the end he diverted the anger to a few demos in front of the courthouse and waited for the motion to calm down.

A postal strike with the potential of aiming beyond the postal contract, to a broad movement against wage controls was sidetracked by the misleaders and by the firings of over 200 rank and file militants across the country.

Postal Workers Almost Broke Guidelines

Postal workers' anger at the government's 5.5% cap on their wage demands gave them the boldness to break through the restraints of sluggish misleadership. Wildcats of thousands from coast to coast, especially the militant locals in N.Y.-N.J. and California, took even the unions leadership off guard. While the wildcats were spreading, the government could do little but bite their fingernails. Still fresh with nightmares of the tremendous support for the miners' fight against the government's Taft-Hartley, they sought to avoid a confrontation.

The government mobilized national guardsmen on the edges of New York City but did not dare to bring them in to move the mail for fear of widespread indignation and cross-trades support. All over the country, every postal worker looked to the N.Y.-N.J. Metro Chapter of the American Postal Workers' Union (APWU) to call for a strike. "If they go out, then we'll go too."

But the postal unions' misleadership wouldn't do it. They stepped in like cold water on a raging fire and smothered the rank and file's anger and initiative. So-called leaders like Emmett Andrews—president of the APWU—and James LaPenta—president of the mailhandlers' division of the Laborers' International—called on membership to meekly accept a 2%, 3% and 5% increase over three years. Another slick misleader, Moe Biller, president of the N.Y.-N.J. Metro Chapter (largest and most militant

Bourgeoisie Uses Dual Tactics in Face of Resistance

The postal workers wildcats were a close call for the bourgeoisie. Workers across the country had their eyes and ears tuned in to what their brothers and sisters were doing at the Richmond, California PO and at the New Jersey Bulk center. A successful strike would have sparked off a nationwide support movement and built momentum in the fight against wage controls by other workers.

The bourgeoisie, through their reps in the government, stalled for time by applying the dual tactics of the carrot and the stick. On the one hand, hundreds of militants were fired on the spot. On the other hand, the slickest misleaders like Moe Biller were called in to give "support" to the demands of the rank and file. In the meantime, negotiations were reopened to drag out the struggle.

Carter had to reevaluate the whole implementation of the wage controls policy. The 5½% ceiling was revised to 7% and the "income insurance" which has since been thrown out was introduced. Then he played the bad guy who wanted to hold on to the guidelines while his top hatchetman Barry Bosworth was "wavering." These maneuvers were done to give breathing space

Continued on page 14



Government workers pick up momentum as fight against job conditions extends to demand to end wage controls.

is not enough. Moreover, while government workers are the scapegoat for government corruption and bureaucratic inefficiency, they are not the only ones who are affected. So when TUEL raised the slogan "Beat Back Wage Controls" as one way to unite the public and private sectors and broaden the resistance, the rank and file readily agreed.

From that point on, there was no stopping the workers. Some went on radio talk shows to publicize the issue. Others helped with meetings to organize the rank and file into leaflet teams and marshals for the demo because most hadn't participated in any rallies and marches before. Calls came rolling in from other locals in support of the action. This rank and file motion forced the top union bureaucrats to respond. But they tried their best to sabotage the motion, using every possible excuse to divide the growing unity, e.g. threatening some locals with disloyalty if they showed up on the same platform as the National Treasury Employees Union (an independent union which conducted some raids into AFGC locals).

The national president of AFGC had to show up personally at the demo. With a comfortable seat on the Executive Council of the AFL-CIO, this bureaucrat showed his true nature the minute he opened his mouth, "Where is everybody?! How can you expect me to negotiate on the Hill from a position of strength if you all don't show up and back me up?" A cry of "we ARE strong" from the crowd shut him up right away.

The bourgeoisie also fears the potential of this developing mass

The government is so nervous about this whole thing that they fired a woman worker for leaving her job to hear Jackson speak. Now the whole office is in an uproar. It's an explosive issue which can fire up all the government workers not only in D.C., which has the largest concentration of government workers, but all over the country.

Scattered Resistance Against Wage Controls

D.C. government workers are not alone in standing against the guidelines. In the months since Carter went on TV with the policy, strikes aimed at the guidelines are being waged from New Jersey to California. 1,500 chemical workers of Cyanamid's Bound Brook, N.J. plant struck for two months demanding a 75 cent across the board pay raise, about a 10% increase. Minneapolis' Pako Corp., a photo process equipment plant, gave in to the demands of its 525 striking workers, a 7% wage increase plus benefits. After being hit with wage controls in the middle of their record 207-day strike, members of Local 180 of the Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers won a three-year contract with 10%, 9% and 8% wage increases and are returning to work in Washington. 200 lettuce farmworkers from southern California walked out for a \$1.50 raise, about 40% up from their minimum wage of \$3.75. They're one of the first groups of minimum-wage workers demanding more than 7%. The Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks recently settled their long strike for a 3 year contract with a total wage and benefit increase of 36%.

Progressive Alliance - A Safety Valve

Misleaders in various movements are also seeing the potential for unity in resisting the government's attacks. But their main concern is how to release some pressure before something breaks. Doug Fraser, President of the United Auto Workers trumpeted together a Progressive Alliance to fight "the growing right wing corporate powers in America". A mish mash of "left" names, from the trade union movement to the women's movement, its membership reads like a who's who's of liberalism in the U.S. Bella Abzug, recently fired from Carter's Commission on Women, the Urban League, Ellie Smeal of the National Organization of Women, and the keynote speaker Edward Kennedy were all there. This "opposition" was not called to expose the government, the nature of the capitalist crisis, but "to advance the ideas of civilization and make another step forward in the Democratic Party", in the words of Fraser.

His pal, Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinist, in the Alliance with Fraser and also together in the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, calls himself a socialist. Yet all he can say about the guidelines is ignore it and "negotiate as usual". Grospron of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, and the International Union of Electrical Workers, all hum the same tune in insisting on negotiating "as if the guidelines are not there". How can that be! The bosses go by the 7%, hand in hand with the government. Either these misleaders are for it or against it. By pretending it doesn't exist, they let the government off the hook. They don't expose the government's role, the political aspect of the attacks, dooming workers' resistance to remain on the level of wages.

British Workers Dump Hyde Park Democracy

Wage Controls Struck Down

Winter is a bleak season for the monopoly capitalists in Britain. Last winter, the coalminers, railway workers, firemen, and autoworkers, with other workers demanded an end to the sellout "social contract" ("voluntary" wage controls) scheme of the Labor Party. (see *WV*, Vol. II, No. 10) This winter, Ford workers fired the first shot with a six-week strike to win a 17% wage increase. The 5% ceiling on wages has been thoroughly smashed by a series of strikes by the truck drivers, the railway workers, the public and municipal workers, and most recently the fuel tank truck drivers. This strike wave is the largest since the general strike of 1926.

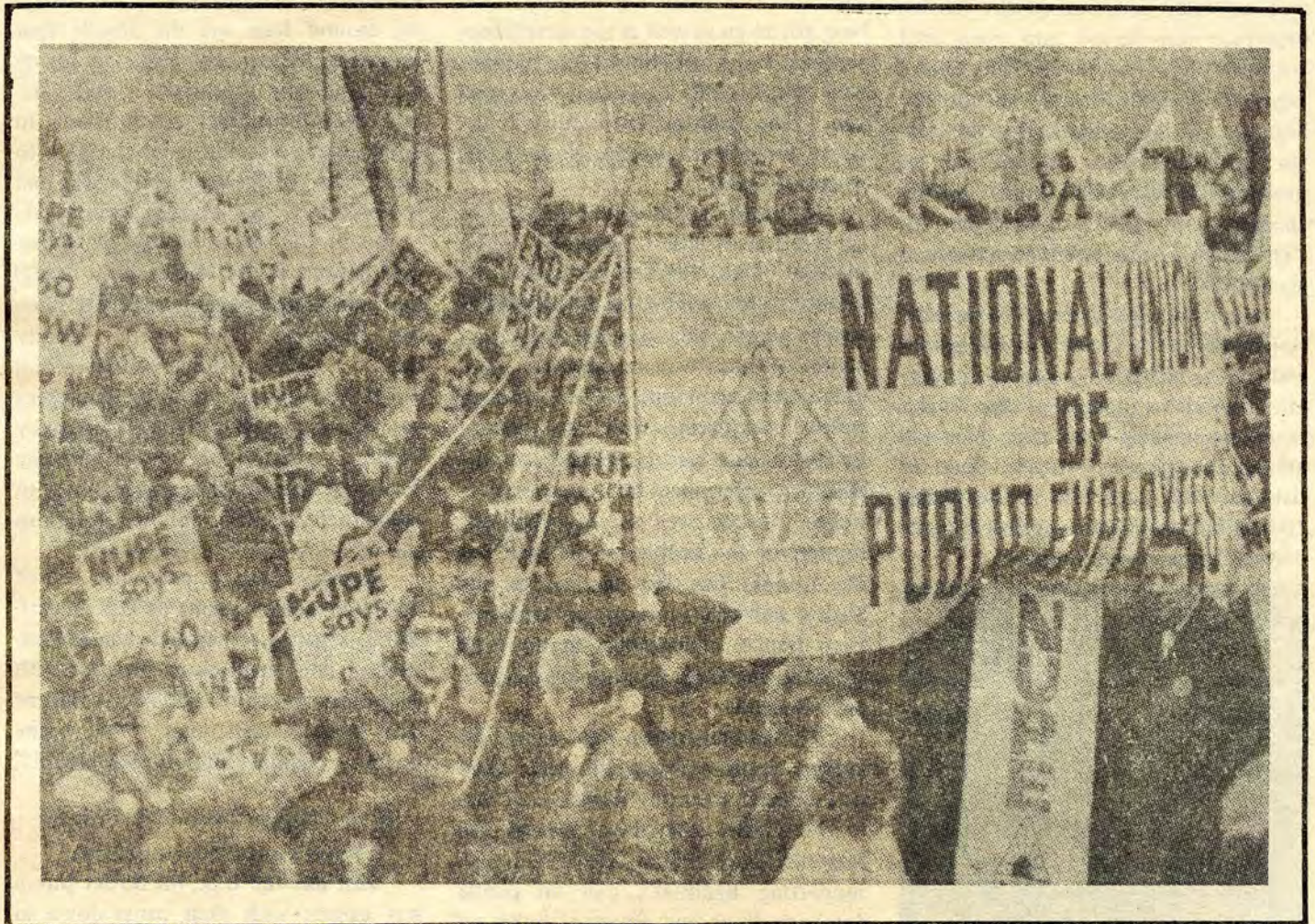
The Speakers' Corner in Hyde Park, a landmark of British bourgeois democracy, has been symbolically turned into a protest ground against bourgeois democracy. The recent public and municipal workers' strike was kicked off there by a demonstration of 30,000. For the past three weeks, rallies have been held there regularly to raise the demands of the striking workers, to denounce the sellout policies of the union bureaucrats, and to attack the wage control policy of the Labor Party.

Rank and File Workers Defy Bureaucrats and Government

The stale ramblings of liberals and the frenzied ravings of anarchists at the Speakers' Corner have been swept away by the militant and rousing rallies of rank and file strikers. Rank and file workers are defying the orders of union bureaucrats to restrict the strikes. As one garbage collector who continued to stay out with thousands of other union brothers and sisters said, "The blokes in union headquarters don't know so much either sometimes. It's us that are living on these tiny little wages, and now it's us that are demanding more." But the defiance of the rank and file is going beyond the union bureaucrats. As one official of Britain's largest labor council, the Trade Union Congress, was forced to admit, "...the chap on the picket line doesn't care as much about the fortunes of the Labor Party as he does about the fortunes of his family."

Just as the truck drivers have extended and spread the strike against the orders of union officials, the municipal and public workers are staying out beyond the one-day strike that was originally called. The railway workers have been out on four national strikes within a ten-day period. The angry fists are being thrust straight at the Labor Party government.

The impact of the strike wave is rippling into the chemical, textiles, auto, tire, sugar, and other industries. Some factories have had to shut down. Newspapers all across Britain are fast running out of newsprint paper. Hundreds of ships have been forced to wait in the ports. The strike by 600 water supply workers have cut water supplies down in northern England affecting a million people. A state of emergency was declared in northern Ireland because of the fuel tank truck drivers' strike. The



30,000 striking workers gathered at Hyde Park to denounce the treachery of the Labor Party

entire city of Manchester has run out of its oil and gasoline supplies. Food manufacturers reported that their businesses will be cut by 70%. Everyday, the British bourgeoisie is losing up to one million pounds (close to \$2 million) in exports alone not counting domestic goods while over \$2 billion worth of goods have been piled up at the ports.

Exposure of Labor Party Throws British Bourgeoisie into a Political Crisis

The British bourgeoisie has been thrown into a political crisis. According to the *Sunday Telegraph*, this crisis is "unprecedented since the Suez crisis of 1956." After three and a half years of wage controls and skyrocketing inflation that shot up to as high as 26%, the working class in Britain is learning through its own experience that there is no difference between the class interests of the Conservative Party (which was kicked out in 1974) and the Labor Party.

The shell of bourgeois democracy is beginning to crack at the seams. The role of the Labor Party is very important because of the character of state monopoly capitalism. In Britain, the government controls many of the major industries such as the railroads, transportation, the mines, all the hospitals, many of the auto plants like British Leyland which makes the Rolls Royce. Whoever controls the government controls these plants and industries. The relationship between the government and the bourgeoisie is clearer than in the U.S. The Labor Party, which has always been dominated by the labor aristocracy, is supposed to represent the trade unions and the workers' interests in the

British government. That's why when the Conservatives or Tories were kicked out because of their outright attack on labor by passing the Industrial Relations Act a few years ago, the Labor Party was ushered in with a softy approach through the slick "social contract." So when the labor aristocrats in the Labor Party are exposed as they are now, the bourgeois government is in serious trouble.

As the strikes continue, the bourgeoisie will run out of room to maneuver. At this time, the British bourgeoisie still wants to avoid a major confrontation with the striking workers. So, while Margaret Thatcher, the Conservative Party leader, is ranting about an anti-labor campaign based on a whole set of laws and legislation and calling for troops to intervene, the bourgeoisie is still trying frantically to shore up the Labor Party government to buy time and come up with a "new social contract." At the same time they are preparing public opinion against the workers through distorted sob stories about food shortages, oil and gas shortages, layoffs and blocked emergency ambulance service. But all this will only show further the effectiveness of the strikes and expose to the broad masses of British people that the Labor Party is nothing more than the tool of the bourgeoisie.

Class Consciousness Must Be Forged to go Beyond Trade Union Consciousness

In the past four years, there have been three major strike waves that plunged Britain into chaos. Each struggle was a political struggle directed at the ruling parties in the government.



With their own eyes, the workers in Britain have seen the fancy footwork and heard the slippery double-talk of the Labor Party. While the working class in Britain, which is 90% organized, is more united and politically more conscious because of the recent struggle, it is still not yet class conscious or clear on its historic mission to overthrow the bourgeoisie. The limitations of the spontaneous movement can be seen most sharply in Britain today.

It is through historical experiences like this that the decisive role of a vanguard Communist Party becomes glaringly clear. Class consciousness can only be forged by the fusion of the spontaneous movement with the genuine Communist Party through systematic training and education of the advanced and active workers in the thick of fighting the bourgeoisie.



IRAN

Continued from page 1

world history with over a million people marching through the streets of Teheran (5 million throughout the country) joyously celebrating the Shah's departure has turned into open civil war. Despite U.S. hopes, the Shah's departure was not the end but only the beginning of their trouble as the Iranian people gained momentum with his overthrow. The people's slogans quickly changed from "Death to the Shah" to "The Shah is gone, Bakhtiar and America are next."

Moreover, instances of fraternization between the rank and file troops and the people have grown more common. Whole regiments of the Shah's army are handing over their guns and joining the people's struggle. Soon all Bakhtiar will have left is the Shah's 10,000 Imperial Guards against the millions of Iranian revolutionaries.



present government of Iran is strictly an affair of the Iranians."

The U.S. is stumped. Trying to maintain any sort of toe-hold at all they are frantic over the possibilities for their future in Iran. Khomeini has already told the U.S. that the military bases have got to go as well as the surveillance stations along the Soviet-Iran border. And in his rebuff to Carter, Khomeini said, "The Bakhtiar government is declared illegal and must go. No buts, ifs, whens or hows."

Khomeini has set about implementing a series of tactical measures to reach his goal of an independent Islamic Republic mainly relying on the masses of Iranian people. Measures like the continuation of massive demonstrations, continuation of economic pressure through strikes, negotiating with the military leadership and certain members of the Bakhtiar government in order to neutralize them as well as requesting the support of the people by the rank and file troops. The last vestiges of the Shah's and U.S.'s power are cracking. Even Iranian ambassadors in the U.N. are declaring their support for the people's demands.

The administration has ordered \$4 million worth of gasoline and diesel fuel shipped from the Persian Gulf just to keep the most loyal troops—the Imperial Guard—afloat. The U.S. is also supporting Bakhtiar's ban on public demonstrations and weapons build up among tank and artillery divisions. Strengthening what's left of the military while cooling out the masses is their last ditch effort for survival in Iran.

They never learn. Firing into the crowds, declaring martial law and having tried to prevent Khomeini from returning will only fire the hatred of the Iranian masses even more and speed up

travels and which makes Iran a key base for military operations in Central Asia, the Middle East, Northern Africa and in Europe, the focus of superpower contention. This is why so many so-called 'fact-finders' (Gerald Ford, David Rockefeller, Ramsey Clark) are scurrying around Iran and the Middle East conniving to turn the thing around in Iran. And why Brzezinski is busy pulling together another study group to investigate the inability of the CIA to stay on top of the situation in Iran and to look into the strengths and weaknesses of the oil-producing and industrial nations in the Middle East, fearful that what happened in Iran could happen elsewhere very shortly. Clearly Iran is a signal of things to come from the U.S. in terms of keeping its present holdings in the Third World. That's why Carter in reaction to Iran is inviting Khalid of Saudi Arabia and others to assess their countries' internal situations and their loyalties to U.S. interests.

Ramsey Clark, in particular, one of the more sinister agents of U.S. imperialism, is trying to persuade the administration now to throw in their lot with Khomeini since his assessment confirms their greatest fears, that "99% of the Iranian people support Khomeini."

Soviet Union Like U.S. Caught With Pants Down in Iran

Just like the U.S., the Soviet Union was caught with their pants down in Iran. After years ago making peace with the Shah for the right to export all of Iran's natural gas, suddenly whole regions of Soviet Azerbaijan and Armenia were left without heat this winter when Iranian oil workers choked off all supplies leaving the country. So to come out looking good and to get their gas turned back on, the Soviet Union is trying to curry favor from Khomeini and the Iranian masses.

The Soviet Union sorely wants to set foot in Iran, but the Iranian masses are clear on Soviet foreign domination. They are not going to allow one superpower to replace another. The 1st of the Soviet oil technicians in Ahwaz were evacuated when Iranian oil workers threatened to kill them if they did not leave. Khomeini too, has indicted the Soviet Union as well as the U.S. for plundering Iran's rich resources and people.

The Iranian masses will not be fooled by these sugar coated bullets shot at them from across the border.

What Ever Weakens Imperialism Must Be Supported

The character of Iran's revolution is both multi-class and religious due to the material basis (semi-feudal, agrarian) and force of traditions. No political movement in Iran could be really mass without the involvement of Moslem and religious leaders, where over 95% of the Iranian people belong to the Shiite branch of Islam. Khomeini, because of his consistent anti-imperialist stand, has become the rallying figure for millions of workers, peasants and merchants under the yoke of the Shah and U.S. imperialism. The chord Khomeini strikes in the hearts and minds of the millions of Iranian people is resistance to this oppression. Khomeini must be supported as a consistent representative of the anti-imperialist movement because his stand objectively weakens U.S. and Soviet imperialism. But because Khomeini represents the interests of the national bourgeoisie, neither he nor his base are capable of continuing the revolution to the end. In fact, many of Khomeini's representatives are forced to follow the motion of the masses just to maintain their leadership, although in their hearts they cannot stand the people behaving so radically. The power of these Mullahs rests mainly on feudal tradition and the fact that their network runs so deeply through the mainstream of Iranian life. In the long run, however, they can only represent Iran's past, not its future.

National Liberation Is A Necessary Condition For Socialist Revolution

Iran, as a third world country, can and will shake off the control of imperialism. But the political power of the proletariat will be established only under the leadership of the proletariat itself and of its political party. Communists support the struggle for national liberation in Iran because it will lead to the development of a national economy which is the most favorable condition for the further development of the ranks of the working class and the formation and growth of its communist party. It would be impossible for the victory of socialism in Iran without this struggle for national independence and a national economy.

So far, Khomeini has taken a strong and consistent stand in the struggle for state independence and national liberation. It is based on this struggle for national liberation that the proletariat and the establishment and growth of its party will advance. In the midst of preparing for and carrying forward armed struggle for national liberation, the Iranian proletariat will forge its Party, accumulate revolutionary forces and prepare for socialist revolution. ■



3 million greet Ayatollah Khomeini's return the symbol of their struggle.

This is the situation that forced Carter to come begging in a news conference to appeal to Khomeini to restore calm and allow the Bakhtiar government a chance to succeed. But Khomeini sternly warned him as well as Bakhtiar's emissary dispatched to Paris, that "calm will reign in Iran when there is no interference in its internal affairs by foreigners, particularly superpowers, and if the legality or illegality of the

the overthrow of the state.

Strategic Interests of Superpowers In Iran

But like all imperialists they can never give up. Their reactionary class nature compels them to fight both tooth and nail against the Iranian people's struggle. Too much is at stake in a country whose geographical location commands the Persian Gulf sea lanes over which most of the world's oil

A KGB reading of the situation in December had persuaded Brezhnev that the growing tide of resistance against the Shah was irreversible. So after months of watching and waiting, the Soviet daily Izvestia made the official announcement that they support Khomeini, "for his years of battle against imperialism and for social justice in Iran." These words were printed a week after the Shah's departure.

"Political Power Grows Out Of The Barrel Of A Gun!"

The revolutionary upsurge of the Iranian people has paralyzed government agencies, the courts, public utilities, postal services, and the Central Bank. Iranian embassies the world over are in shambles. Thousands of members of the Iranian ruling class have fled the country, including the Shah himself. Yet the Shah and his class buddies still hold state power in Iran! Why?

As Long As Army Remains Intact Shah Can Come Back

Because the Iranian armed forces are still basically intact (though it is disintegrating) it isn't clear whether the revolutionary movement is prepared to meet the military head-on with their own people's army. Marxists view the army as the chief component of state power. The entire state machinery of courts, legislatures, executive departments, prisons, police and especially armed forces develops as classes and class contradictions develop—as more and more, one class has to keep another down to preserve its rule and domination. Whoever wants to seize state power from the exploiting class must first smash their state machinery, the instrument of their rule, especially the army. And having taken power, whoever wants to hold on to it must build up a strong army in order to keep the defeated bloodsuckers down. In short, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," summed up by Chairman Mao.

The last remaining stronghold of power for the Shah is the army. As long as the army is intact the Shah and other members of his class can easily return.

Two Motions Threaten to Crack Army from Within

Just now long the army remains together depends on how fast factionalizing among the upper-rank officers develop and most important, how fast the gap between the masses of troops and their officers grows.

The most significant motion has been the steadily growing trend of the rank and file soldiers deserting, disobeying their commanders and supporting the revolutionary upsurge of their people. Hundreds have deserted garrisons all over the country. During the big religious festival in early December of the past year, troops were pulled off the street in many cities, including the capital, Teheran, for fear that soldiers would refuse to fire against demonstrators and heed the call of religious leaders. There's good reason for the commanders to be afraid. Only a week later in Tabriz soldiers deserted their posts and joined protestors.

The defection began when one soldier shot another as he was about to fire on a demonstration. Several armymen then broke ranks and joined the protest. The entire garrison refused to confront the marchers and their officers were

forced to order the men back to barracks. Demonstrations in the city were broken up only after Imperial guards were flown in from Teheran, 390 miles away. Only a week before in the same city a group of soldiers, one whose brother had been killed in a demonstration, fired into an officers mess hall. They killed 20 men before they gave their lives to the revolutionary cause.

After the Shah left Iran, as thousands took to the streets in celebration, they were met by soldiers carrying pictures of Ayatollah Khomeini and with red carnations in their rifles. Soldiers and demonstrators kissed and hugged and celebrated, all part of the same class family—Iranian workers and peasants.

Differences Between Officers And Troops Reflect Class Differences

The ideological and political gap between the soldier masses and their officers reflect class differences. The backbone of the regular army, the privates and corporals, are workers and especially peasants. Most are very religious and hold dear the same values and traditions as the majority of the Iranian people. Forced to join the service by the draft, soldiers get subminimum housing and food. There's no chance for an enlisted man to win a commission. Add to these conditions the fact that starting pay in the army is \$1.50 a month and you can see why the Shah has to have a draft.

On the other hand, officers live a fat, easy life. 80% of the officer corps have been military students and professional soldiers since their early teens—most are sons of the Iranian ruling class since the military is the fastest and easiest way to advance in Iranian society under the Shah. Commanders get high salaries, personal servants, free medical care and the privilege of shopping in special low-priced PX's. The officers worship all kinds of imperialist garbage, mystifying and idolizing everything from western films to western weapons.

With this class contradiction eating away within the army, it's no wonder that every new confrontation between the troops and the mass movement sharpens the friction between the rank and file and their officers.

Breaks in Chain of Command Fertile Soil for Factionalism Among Officers

A second, less important motion weakening the Iranian army is the increasing factionalizing among the officers. Factionalizing has been given fertile soil to grow with recent breaks in the chain of military command.

So centralized was the armed forces under the Shah's thumb that he made decisions which in the U.S. army would be made by colonels. He decided who went abroad to British and U.S. service schools and approved all promotions above major—the criteria being loyalty to the throne. With the Shah gone

there's no one general today in Iran who has the influence and experience to claim supreme command over the entire armed forces. The Shah himself made sure of it before he left. He forced two senior generals to leave the country. One was General Oveissi, then head of the ground forces, who "retired" in early January and then left the country. The other was General Azhari whose military government ruled until Bahktiar was appointed—Azhari left the country because of the need for "surgery."

In addition, General Gharabaghi, chief of staff of the armed forces, is relatively new to his post. He took over

With the confusion in the chain of military command at the top, lower-level officers are forming factions, trying to boost their own influence and careers. This helps to weaken the effectiveness of the military.

Ultra-Reactionary Imperial Guards in a Frenzy

Even the Imperial Guards, the heart of which is the Javidan Brigade, has been affected by the revolutionary upsurge—they've been driven into a frenzy, foaming at the mouth like mad dogs.

This ultra-reactionary army within the army is the Shah's own private force.



Soldiers and demonstrators, all part of the same class family—Iranian workers and peasants—celebrate Shah's departure.

in 1971 when General Djam was fired because he attempted to increase his own authority in the military at the Shah's expense by having all military commanders go through him to get to the Shah. (This is the same General Djam who refused to join the Bahktiar cabinet because the Shah rejected his military reorganization plan.)

With the heads of the armed forces relatively new to their posts, their respective bases within the larger officers core is weak and none can command the respect of a majority. The staff officers core at the Lavjan Barracks, the headquarters of the ground forces, lack the experience necessary to command and rally other army units. Experienced leaders with stable base units have been scattered all around the country. For example, former commander of the army air corps, Major General Khosrowdad, was sent to a new command in remote southeast Iran after he issued a press statement in Teheran refusing to obey the Bahktiar government and threatening a coup.

The Shah himself often supervised its training and showered unit members with the best of everything. Soldiers in this elite unit live better than many of the lower-level officers in the regular army. These mercenary dogs are intensely loyal to the hand that feeds them—the Shah's. It is these troops that have been counted on recently to fire on demonstrations aimed at toppling the puppet Bahktiar government. Hyped up to where they think they're invincible, they brag about being able to kill one million people in a single day and about how they'll turn Khomeini into "dog food." These fascist animals have to be killed—that's the only way they'll ever learn anything.

If the showdown between the military and the Iranian people comes, the Imperial Guards will be the spearhead and heart of the armed forces. Break this unit and the Shah's army is routed and with it state power. To meet and crack this force, the Iranian people must have arms! ■

Indira Gandhi's Crimes Condemned



Progressive and patriotic Indians militantly denounced the fascist Indira Gandhi's visit to England and her crimes against the Indian masses. 2,500 turned out to condemn her atrocities; the imprisonment of hundreds of thousands of political prisoners, the torture and killing of communists, the forced sterilization of millions of working class and peasant women, and the brutal suppression of worker's struggles. The demonstration exposed the hypocrisy of Indira's democratic claims before the world press. And it served to explode the myths perpetrated by the two superpowers--the U.S.'s line that India is the "largest democracy" as well as the Soviet Union's line that India is a "model of peaceful transition to socialism."

200,000 MARCH AGAINST JANATA'S ANTI-LABOR LAWS



In a strong display of the unity of the Indian working class, 200,000 marched on November 20th to demand the withdrawal of the Industrial Relations Bill--known to the workers as the "Black Bill"--drawn up by the ruling Janata Party. This bill, if passed, would take away the fundamental right of workers to form trade unions, to strike and to bargain collectively.

The revisionists (The Communist Party India), angered by the militant mood of the workers have tried to crush several strikes recently. Feeling outstripped by the workers the revisionists have even resorted to torturing and killing genuine revolutionaries in Keraba and West Bengal.

But the movement against the Industrial Relations Bill is strong. In New Delhi, the workers marched to Parliament in a procession measuring three miles long. Men, women and children, from the mines, factories, offices

and plantations joined together to deliver their message to the government that the Black Bill must be withdrawn. In Trivandrum and in Madras marches occurred the same day. And in Trivandrum, the march brought together every trade union in Kerala.

On the day prior to the marches a convention was held in New Delhi where 7,000 delegates from different trade unions from all over the country came together to join forces to oppose the Black Bill. The delegates carried with them 2,022,951 signatures protesting this bill.

The convention and the marches indicate a new mood among the Indian working class. They are uniting against all such attempts by the ruling parties and so-called working class "leaders" in legislating such anti-labor bills and to defend their hard-won rights through trade union unity. ■

WORLD IN STRUGGLE

COUNTRIES WANT INDEPENDENCE

NATIONS WANT LIBERATION

PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION!



KOREA REUNIFICATION GETS NEW START

On January 25th, North Korea agreed to a South Korean proposal to resume reunification talks that have been stalled since 1973. A few days after South Korea made the new proposal, the North Korean Central Committee of the Democratic Front for the Reunification of the Fatherland called for a joint conference of representatives from the two governments to be held in September in either Pyongyang, the North Korean capital, or Seoul in the south. Rodong Sinnum, North Korea's leading daily, called this a "new start" in the effort to reunify Korea.

FRESH VICTORIES IN ZIMBABWE

The Patriotic Front recently announced the establishment of new semi-liberated areas in eastern, north-eastern and southeastern Zimbabwe. Launching their biggest offensive in 6 years the Patriotic Front is ready to crush Smith's Custer-like last stand to save himself and the fascist apartheid regime.

From September to November last year, Patriotic Front forces killed 475 enemy soldiers, shot down 15 aircraft and blew up 38 military vehicles. On December 11, the Patriotic Front attacked oil tanks in Salisbury and blew up 19 million gallons of oil products worth 20 million U.S. dollars.

These fresh victories as well as Smith's intransigence is why the British government recently called

off their push for the all-parties conference.

PLO: "DETERMINED TO CONTINUE THE ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST ISRAEL"

On January 18, the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) exploded a bomb in the heart of Israeli-occupied Jerusalem as part of a new guerrilla offensive aimed at showing the Palestinian people's total rejection of the Egyptian Camp David sell-out. The Zionists immediately retaliated by invading deep into Lebanon to attack Palestinian strongholds. The largest Israeli invasion since last March was completely routed. The next day, as Yasir Arafat, head of the PLO, inspected the reinforcement of the Arnun, Aishiye and Hammodiye bases that had been attacked, he declared the Zionist raid a failure "because we are determined to continue the armed struggle against Israel."

U.S. STEPS UP PENE- TRATION OF POLAND

In exchange for a new loan, possibly up to \$500 million, Poland has been forced to allow Western banks to "monitor" the Polish economy. Poland is already in debt to the finance capitalists, led by the U.S., to the tune of almost \$15 billion. This stepped up penetration of the Polish economy by the Western imperialists means more hardship for the Polish people who are already being crushed by the Soviet COMECON stranglehold and the new Czars' "international division of labor" ripoff scheme.

WORKERS VIEWPOINT JOURNAL 5

AUGUST, 1978

Study Notes on the "THE DICTATORSHIP
OF THE PROLETARIAT": Part I, The State

MARXISM OR AMERICAN PRAGMATISM?:
Part II, The Right Opportunist Line of the R.C.P.
Summed up

History of ZAIRE and the
Katangan Gendarmes

"RAISE LESS CORN AND MORE HELL"
A Communist Analysis of Populism

SPORTS

Apartheid Must be Knocked Out Cold

It's been a couple of weeks since Kallie Knoetze, the ex-cop from South Africa, fought American Bill Sharkey in Miami now. January 14th to be exact. The fact that Knoetze knocked out Sharkey in the 4th round has no real political significance at all. But the fact that he was allowed to fight at all does. During his tenure as a cop for the racist apartheid government in South Africa, Knoetze's "accomplishments" include shooting an unarmed 15 year old black youth in both legs during a "racial disturbance". The boy was accused of throwing rocks at a police car and five other charges. All six charges could not hold water even in the racist, illegal government in South Africa. Another instance involving him was when he attempted to "dissuade" two youths from identifying another cop in a police line-up.

Through the shallow efforts of Rev. Jessie Jackson, the U.S. temporarily

revoked the fighter's visa only to have it reinstated just in time for the fight. When Jackson heard of the visa being revoked, he hailed the State Department's decision as a "great victory for human rights. It confirms that the President's 'human rights' policy can work."

We should have no illusions about Carter's "human rights" policy working for the vast majority of the people in the U.S. or abroad. In fact, who is the policy working for? Certainly not that 15 year old boy with both legs shot up. Nor any other of the black majority whom apartheid oppresses.

South Africa Open Country For Who?

When Knoetze heard of the decision to cancel his visa and his bout he said, "I can fight anybody in my country. My land is an open country."

Open for who? Was it open for Steven Biko, revolutionary black leader who was tortured to death while shackled in his jail cell? Is it open for hundreds of miners who die each day mining gold for the "blood money" Krugerrand? No! Not now. But resistance is growing. Growing on the front through the armed struggle of the people. Growing in the States through the demos such as African Liberation Day and November 11 "Cut the Ties". Through the support work of the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) and the National Coalition to Support African Liberation (NCSAL). Through the campaigns such as "Ban the Krugerrand" and "Free the Wilmington 10" right here at home.

Carter's Human Rights Policy Up Against the Ropes

So today with the apartheid system of South Africa discredited among the broad masses of people, the bourgeoisie tries to come in through the back door using sports as a tie. Sports, among many people, is not linked up to the diplomatic ties of nations. That is why they can slime Knoetze through as a "non-political" representative of South Africa to try and legitimize the racist apartheid regime.

Jackson, nothing but a mouthpiece for Carter's "human rights" policy, serves only to defuse the true sentiments of the masses. Would he really have us believe that Carter would cut

off the arm of his class brother? It's obvious that the fight isn't just against one mangy dog, the cop, but the real enemy is the whole South African government of apartheid. An illegal government supported by Jimmy Carter's "human rights" and the whole U.S. bourgeoisie.

But this can not work as the masses can see through the smoke screen of Carter's sham human rights policy. A clear example of the masses in motion happened last March in Nashville, Tenn. when folks protested and demonstrated the Davis Cup tennis final between the U.S. and South Africa. Although the demo did not stop the match, the masses were truly heard. The attendance was a mere 500 in a stadium that was to hold 9,000!

Cut The Ties Now!

So as the bourgeoisie's crude attempts to legitimize the ties with South Africa continue, the real need to cut State to State ties once and for all comes through much more clearly. The support work in the U.S. is of great importance in pushing this struggle forward. As we approach the anniversary of the death of the revolutionary Malcolm X, we should remember what he said. "You can't understand what's happening in Mississippi unless you understand what is happening in the Congo. They are both the same. The same interests are at stake, the same schemes are at work."

Nicaragua

U.S.-Backed Plebiscite Exposed

The recent U.S. imperialists' scheme to get Anastasio Somoza to accept a plebiscite (elections) has back-fired in their faces. The opposition represented by the Broad Opposition Front (FAO) had accepted the plebiscite cooked up by the U.S. which would maintain their interests in Nicaragua (See WV, Dec., 1978, p. 11).

What has happened in Nicaragua in the past few weeks has inflamed Carter's hemorrhoids even more. Because of the plebiscite, those that remained in the Broad Opposition Front have been totally discredited in the eyes of the Nicaraguan masses. Those that have left the Opposition Front joined one of the various mass organizations that exist in Nicaragua, called the United People's Movement. The United People's Movement which supports the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) is composed of some 19 student and labor organizations.

On January 10, a demonstration was held to mark the first anniversary of the assassination of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, the opposition newspaper editor. Though the Broad Opposition Front called it, 90% of the 10,000 Nicaraguans that marched represented the United People's Movement. Recently, the United People's Movement sponsored the formation of a National Patriotic Front, composed of mass organizations as well as those that are opposed to the plebiscite. The significance of the formation of this Patriotic Front is that it represents the growing unity within the Sandinist National Liberation Front.

While all this is going on, the Sandinist National Liberation Front continues to prepare the Nicaraguan masses politically as well as militarily for the upcoming offensives against Somoza, the National Guard, and U.S. imperialism.

With the U.S. plebiscite scheme discredited, the Sandinistas continue to prepare the masses for a new attack.



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State of the Union CARTER'S 'NEW FOUNDATION' RIDDLED WITH CRISES

Carter's recent State of the Union Address was more like a bed time story than a speech, creating a dream world totally out of touch with the reality of a crumbling U.S. imperialism. But it was also a bed time story without a happy ending. Carter's State of the Union has no positive program, no solutions, no answers, just vague statements that "we must change our attitudes" and fight off "selfishness, cynicism, and apathy."

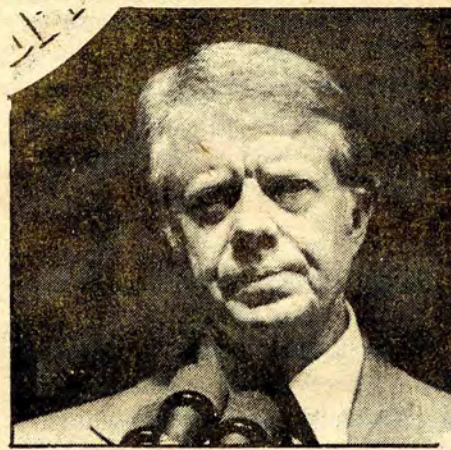
It's a bed time story because it dodges the great social upheavals and events that shape history. For example, he totally omitted the enormous impact of peoples' revolutions in southern Africa, Nicaragua, and especially the strategic importance of the massive, unprecedented revolutionary upheavals

in Iran. While the CIA is feverishly sweating over new schemes and tricks to reverse the tide of these revolutions, Carter cynically stated, "And in Iran, Nicaragua, Cyprus, Namibia, and Rhodesia, our country is working for peaceful solutions to dangerous conflicts."

And like any bed time story, he tried to lull us to sleep with the rhetoric of "detente" with the Soviet social-imperialists: ". . . the choice is not which superpower will dominate the world. None can and none will. The choice instead is between a world of anarchy and destruction and a world of cooperation and peace." Even while Carter spoke, military men and scientists in the Soviet Union and the U.S. are working overtime developing new neutron bombs, MIRV's, satellite killers,

laser cannons, particle beams, Mobile-X's and beefing up the nuclear forces in NATO and the Warsaw Pact countries, in preparation for world war.

With revolutions in Iran, Nicaragua, southern Africa and throughout the third world bursting the chains of



imperialist rule, with increased contradictions with Europe and Japan through trade and currency wars, and with increased contention and collusion with the Soviet Union, U.S. imperialism is clearly on the defensive. Carter himself admitted this when he said that the U.S. can no longer be the "world's policeman" but must become, he cynically added, the "world's peace-maker."

Domestically, it was a bed time story because he avoided the economic crisis that is shaking the very foundations of capitalism. The collapsing dollar, skyrocketing balance of payments, a federal debt of \$900 billion, default crisis in New York and elsewhere, layoffs, unemployment, threat of recession and depression, and a blistering inflation rate, go practically unmentioned in Carter's State of the Union Address. And when inflation is mentioned at all, he calls it a temporary problem for the economy, rather than viewing it as part of the ever-quickenening cycle of recession/inflation that is gripping the economy. The only thing concrete was his call for hospital costs to slow down! And far from

Continued on page 23

WAGE CONTROL

Continued from page 8

to misleaders like Doug Fraser of the UAW to flip flop back and forth to cool down the rank and file.

The whole plan of dealing with each contract separately, case by case, is precisely to try to stop the workers from uniting and to give room for the misleaders to wiggle into going along with the wage controls. But as each union gets hit with the ceiling when they go to the bargaining table, resistance will rise and workers will become increasingly clear. This is the significance of the struggle of the government workers in Washington, D.C. who have a 5½% cap on their wages.

Wage Controls Part of Permanent Capitalist Crisis

Wage controls are one form of the increased and more generalized attacks the bourgeoisie is forced to come out with. Today, the bourgeoisie can't afford to give anything because they're caught in the grip of their permanent crisis of capitalism. Their economic crisis is very serious—with both uncontrollable inflation and rising unemployment permanent features of life under capitalism in the U.S. from now on. No longer can the bourgeoisie rely on the labor aristocracy alone to keep down wage settlements and benefits from contract to contract, plant to plant, industry to industry. This means "voluntary wage guidelines" now, and a sure road to mandatory controls in time.

Inevitably, the capitalists have to cut (as reflected in Carter's new budget). The attacks are becoming more generalized and hit hard at each point. The permanent crisis of capitalism means attacks coming down on all fronts: Default in Cleveland and the threat of collapse of Newark, 7,000 layoffs looming in NYC (50% women workers) following Carter's new budget.

The permanent crisis of capitalism means the Bakke decision slashing away, at the gains won by national minorities through the struggles of the 60's. It means the competency test sweeping 40 states. While before, people could try and convince themselves that things will get better in a few years, especially for their kids when they get a good college education, today a diploma is no sure key to a good job or any kind of job! It's not a sure bet that you can get your kid through school. It means universities collapsing like the City University of New York and teachers being thrown out of jobs by the hundreds and thousands. Cuts hit public colleges and black colleges the hardest.

The permanent crisis of capitalism means everyone's standard of living is steadily dropping with more and more housewives forced to work. With the price of hamburger jumping to \$1.69/pound, people's way of living is changing as they turn to more meatless days or dog food, and with chicken coming out of their ears. The little bundle accumulated in the bank is fizzling away before our eyes. Those retired on fixed pensions constantly face automatic cuts in income with skyrocketing inflation. The elderly are forced to pocket cans of tuna in the supermarket.

Capitalist Crisis Creates Conditions for Greater Class Unity

Steadily, since the late 50's, workers are becoming increasingly impoverished. Six economic crises since World War II have hit with the 7th looming over our heads. These conditions inevitably force a change in people's state of mind coupled with the rapidly changing events in the last few decades: swept into the upsurge of the 60's and early 70's, in the national and student movements, through the turmoil of the Vietnam War. And then there was Watergate. Illusions about the U.S. government and society have been shaken. People are feeling more con-

fused with little to hang onto. One chemical worker in Bound Brook, N.J. said that before, he would never have considered striking and was not too sympathetic when others went out. But now, he found he was forced to fight back, to strike for two whole months for a 75 cent pay raise. Many long-held beliefs and values have been shaken and people are looking for answers.

With everyone being hit, it forces an objective unity from the working class and oppressed masses. The potential for unity is great, cutting across different stratas in society. As we wrote in the April 1978 *WV*, "Compelled by the deepening of the permanent economic crisis, the bourgeoisie is constantly attempting to shift the crisis onto the backs of workers in a general, socially coercive form like Taft-Hartley, wage controls and the Bakke decision. This in turn gives rise to a resistance that cuts across industries and trades, uniting all different sectors of the working class. This is the *historical lever* of economic crisis. It means the politicization of the working class is beginning.

Communist Propaganda Necessary to Develop Class Consciousness

In this light, the fight against the capitalist wage controls is especially significant because it is the fight of the most organized sector, the organized workers. Wage controls makes no distinction between a chemical worker in greasy overalls or a lettuce picker off the fields. Where in the past, they fought for their contracts with their individual bosses, wage controls can bring them together side by side in their common stand against it. This generalized attack has given scattered resistance a greater chance of unity, cutting across trade lines. Since wage controls is a policy of the government, the fight against it will have a political character. But, spontaneously, by itself, this political character will be at a very low level or even stay within the limits of bourgeois politics, i.e. Democrats

against Republicans, or even a third party. (See article on Britain in this issue.)

Only through consistent communist propaganda, and political education can the political consciousness of the working class be raised, and developed into class consciousness. The generalized attacks, and massive searching for answers amongst confusion and disorder are good conditions for forging a higher level of fusion between the Party and the working class. But the only way we can throw light on the confusion and give an integral answer to the workers' questions, one by one, aspect by aspect is with communist propaganda and communist education. It is only by giving a communist analysis in particular, political economy, as events unfold, maneuver by maneuver, schemes one after the other, showing the responses and motions among the various classes and strata, that we can show why the only solution is systematic preparation for proletarian revolution to overthrow this parasitic, decaying capitalist system and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. And in this country, with all the different, fast talking politicians and poverty pimps, promises are plentiful and talk is cheap (see box), so this education must be done in the course of taking up the actual fights right alongside the workers. Only through the use of timely exposures and up-to-date analysis of the capitalist crisis in the course of the actual struggles against the wage controls will the working class understand the role of the government as a tool of the bourgeoisie and grasp the need for the working class to overthrow the bourgeoisie. ■

**FIGHT THE CAPITALIST
WAGE CONTROLS!!**

**JOBS OR INCOME NOW—
MAKE THE BOSSES PAY FOR
THE CRISIS!!**

**STUDY, PROPAGANDIZE,
ORGANIZE**

REFERENCE MATERIAL

They Said It . . .

To Our Readers:

"They Said It..." is an idea that came from one of our readers. In it we hope to give our readers a look at the enemy exposing themselves in their own press, and to provide more information on some issues of the day.

While this is new for the Workers Viewpoint Newspaper, it's already done in China. Every day, thousands of copies of a newspaper which contains straight reprints from the bourgeois press around the world are read by cadres in the Communist Party of China. This is in line with the late Chairman Mao's teaching that we shouldn't be afraid of poison, but should vaccinate ourselves against it by engaging it and criticizing it using the tools of Marxism.

We must also do this. But we must take the dangers seriously. For instance,

while 99% of the facts presented in any article may be true, the 1% that are lies are usually pivotal to the analysis, and can turn the whole truth upside down. This has happened before, where the CIA has carried out "misinformation campaigns" in a sophisticated way.

So while the column is for your reference, people must make your own judgments about the material in it, as people do every day. We can and must make use of the enemy's media, and train ourselves to do it correctly, and not be afraid to do it because of the dangers involved.

Read it, criticize it and struggle with others over it. Write us your ideas on it. Send in clippings you think we should print and mark off the most important sections. Together we'll turn it into another bullet to use against the class enemy!

Revolution In Iran

It is, self-evidently, a matter of genuinely historic consequence for American foreign policy when the absolute ruler of a nation of critical strategic and economic importance to the United States is rather swiftly rendered powerless. And this is precisely what has happened in Iran . . . What this means is that a quarter century or so of Iranian stability and constancy . . . has ended . . .

[The Shah] has plainly failed in his attempts to assuage his disparate and determined opposition with tentative reforms, to silence it by jailing the dissidents — or to crush it with harsh military repression. . . [In] a region of almost incalculable political and economic importance to American national security, where once there was a familiar, reliable and influential ally, tightly tied to the United States by treaties, defense commitments and commercial arrangements, there will now be . . . who knows what? . . .

What are Americans to make of this? The case can be made, with hindsight, that the United States staked far too much on the Shah, most egregiously in the Nixon administration's open-ended, blank-check arms offers in 1972. President Carter will be faulted, no doubt, for not sensing the problem soon enough. Some will say he did not do enough to support the Shah. Others will say, in effect, he did too much. . . . He can be made to look foolish, as well, in his predictions, as recently as a few weeks ago, that "I fully expect the Shah to maintain power in Iran."

But we think no useful purpose will be served by a domestic debate over Who Lost Iran. We have the experience of the Kennedy administration with the Diem government in South Vietnam in the early 1960s — an effort to influence internal events that began with the withholding of American aid and ended with the United States implicated in the coup that overthrew Diem, led to his murder, and seriously disrupted the American war effort. In these matters, the alternative to looking blindly loyal, or merely foolish, is sometimes to be, or seem to be, downright treacherous.

In any case, there were good reasons, economic and geopolitical, for an American policy over the years that put an extraordinary high value on Iranian oil and influence. That policy has been not so much discredited, in our view, as overtaken by internal Iranian events that were very largely beyond effective American control. . . .

Washington Post, Editorial, January 14, 1979

Britain's Crisis

Five years ago, Britain's Labor Party drove Prime Minister Heath and the Conservatives out of power on the justified claim that they could not control the unions — at that time, the coal miners who were making winter more bitter by an all-out strike. The prospect arises that the Conservatives, now led by Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, may return the electoral favor by defeating Labor on the same indictment: that Britain's growing domestic economic chaos demonstrates that the Labor Party cannot control the nation's unions.

The tendency in the United States will be for

rightists to point triumphantly to Britain's current troubles as "proof" that incomes policies and voluntary wage restraint don't work because of union greed — with the implication that the British experience foreshadows the collapse of the Carter anti-inflation program. Any such view would be wholly mistaken.

The very real present difficulties of Britain demonstrate the success of Labor's past efforts at voluntary moderation of inflationary wage settlements, not their failure. Back in the mid-1975, Britain's annual rate of retail price inflation was running in the 25-to-30 percent range. In recent months it has been about 8 percent, a remarkable reduction indeed. This feat was accomplished by a sort of political magic which in retrospect looks ever more impressive. For three years running, many of Britain's militant unions were persuaded to accept wage increases which they knew meant reduced real earnings. Simultaneously, this policy tended to favor the lower-paid workers, with the result that numerous historic skill differentials were greatly eroded or wiped out entirely, much to the fury of those affected, from railroad engineers to physicians.

What has happened now is in effect a union revolt against continuation of this process. The striking British teamsters say they are simply trying to prevent still further erosion of their real incomes and perhaps to recover some of what they lost. More than one observer has noted that if a Conservative government had tried to impose the real sacrifices Labor has exacted from unionized Britons, the country might have had an armed revolution.

The current crisis demonstrates that there are limits to what even a Labor Government can obtain from unionized workers. Those limits now revealed raise the specter that runaway inflation may again take over in Britain. But disheartening as that prospect is, it does no good and makes no sense to forget the real and important gains made against inflation from 1975 to 1978.

New York Times, Editorial, January 25, 1979

US Seeks Ways To Gauge Foreign Stability

The Carter Administration is assembling a comprehensive plan to upgrade its ability to forecast political turbulence around the world, a step that . . . could result in sweeping changes in existing methods of intelligence collection and evaluation.

. . . [S]ince early December, a high-level inter-agency task force has been examining ways for intelligence agencies to improve their ability to predict political instability in countries of critical importance to the United States.

The task force . . . was created after President Carter expressed his displeasure in November about the failures of the agencies to anticipate the crisis in Iran.

. . . The intelligence aide declined to name the countries under study, but other officials said they included Saudi Arabia, Turkey, the Philippines, Indonesia, Egypt, South Korea and Brazil.

Some officials believe that opposition groups in

each of these countries could threaten the viability of their governments . . . In essence . . . the Administration wants to know more about the aims and strengths of such opposition groups so that the United States will not be surprised by events similar to those in Iran.

. . . [The] task force has identified several shortcomings of existing intelligence practices. One . . . was that American diplomats and intelligence agents have ignored social changes in key countries during the last decade, and have focused instead on "what the ruling elite was thinking."

This has meant . . . that in contrast to the early 1960's, American officials abroad have had little contact with forces outside governments, such as youth groups, intellectuals and religious leaders. Within the C.I.A. . . . this trend was reinforced in the 1970's when more reliance was placed on technical means of intelligence collection than on human sources.

New York Times, January 28, 1979

Pope in Latin Am.

Pope John Paul II will begin the first major public test of his reign tomorrow when he arrives in Mexico to open a major conference of Latin American bishops.

. . . In the past decade many Catholic clergymen and nuns have spoken out for the poverty-stricken population of Latin America, often clashing with their superiors and their governments; some have been killed and many have been arrested.

There are those who have painted the Puebla conference as a confrontation between socialism and capitalism, but some bishop-delegates would agree with Raul Francisco Cardinal Primatesta of Cordoba, Argentina, who said recently: "We must seek a solution that will take us out of the blind alley in which we now find ourselves — between two walls, Marxism or capitalism." . . .

In an . . . address . . . [the Pope] seemed to challenge Marxism when he said, "Religious man must be liberated from the accusation of alienation, which is the cause of terrible damage done to mankind in the name of what is called his own progress." Even with that defense of religious values, he has not publicly addressed the gap between rich and poor in the third world nor what is seen in Latin America as economic domination by multinational corporations and by the United States.

The New York Times, January 26, 1979.

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STUDY NOTES

INTRODUCTION

This period is one of great disorder in the world, where in the third world, revolutions like those in Iran and Nicaragua are overturning the old order set up under imperialist rule. In the U.S., the most stable bourgeois democracy in the world, but now in the midst of a permanent crisis, workers and oppressed people are awakening from the numbing effects of the '40s, '50s and '60s. Without the study and guidance of Marxism, it often takes the appearance of things seeming confused and chaotic. And in the international communist movement, there is also great disorder, with a strong revisionist wind blowing and a lesser trotskyite trend feeding off of it. But there is no doubt about it. Conditions now are more favorable for the people of the world than ever before. The old order is breaking up. Chairman Mao said, "Great disorder leads to great order."

In the midst of this great disorder, in the great storms of class struggle, how do we keep our bearings? How do we guide the masses as well as ourselves through all the many twists and turns in the course of the struggle to crush the imperialists and social-imperialists and move ahead to socialism—the great order of the future? How do we carry out the building of the Party of the U.S. working class, the most important part of the preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the "New Years Address" (WV, Vol. 4, No. 1) we laid out:

In making the *all-round and systematic* preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party has always recognized the first step of this preparation principally consists of winning and training advanced workers to build up the Party. An aspect of this was to root the Party deep in the midst of the struggles of the masses and to learn the particular laws governing the development of these struggles. For almost two years, we have stressed biting into the spontaneous struggles of the masses—joining our class brothers and sisters in their day to day struggles resisting the attacks of the capitalists, and in the course of these struggles, bringing communism to the working class, winning the advanced workers and training them to be professional revolutionaries. We emphasized going into the mainstream of work places and different communities—the mainstream of U.S. life. In order to do this, the Party focused on systematizing and concentrating our understanding of the different movements of U.S. people, particularly the trade union movement, the movements of oppressed nationalities and national minorities, and the youth/student movements. The tremendous breakthroughs made in carrying this out are clear.

Today, because of this correct emphasis in the past two years, the Party has accumulated many fresh and new revolutionary forces, has made great headway in the young Party's training in practical activity, and has forged broader and deeper roots in the spontaneous struggles of the masses. Writing in a similar period of the communist movement in Russia, Lenin wrote,

Those who have the slightest acquaintance with the actual state of our movement cannot but see that the wide spread of Marxism was accompanied by a certain lowering of the theoretical level. Quite a number of people with very little, and even a total lack of theoretical training joined the movement because of its practical significance and its practical success. (*What Is To Be Done?*, Foreign Language Press, p. 27)

Grasping the laws of the particular movements, biting into these movements and being able to provide them with correct leadership, is only one part

of the laws of fusing communism with the spontaneous working class movement. This aspect of the Party's work enables us to go into the battles where advanced are concentrated. It enables us to draw circles of advanced close to the Party and win their respect. But this is not enough to win and train professional revolutionaries. All-round communist work is necessary to do this. As part of a campaign to continue building on the tremendous victories of the past periods in the Party's development, and in particular, to strengthen the *communist character of our activity*, the Party is initiating a study campaign on *What Is To Be Done?*

CHAPTER 1: DOGMATISM AND "FREEDOM OF CRITICISM"

Great Historic Significance of Lenin's WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

What Is To Be Done? (WITBD) was written by V.I. Lenin in 1902 in a struggle against the revisionists of his time, the Economists. Theoretical disorder was rampant in the socialist parties around the world and in the newly developing Russian Social-Democratic Party. In Russia, because of the practical successes of Marxism and its defeats of other systems of views (mainly petty-bourgeois Narodism) many young inexperienced intellectuals were drawn to it and into the Party. This growth in the movement not only led to a lowering in the theoretical level of the Party, but it gave rise to the Economists, who theoretically justified the tailing of the workers spontaneous movement instead of giving light to it and leading it. They justified the narrowest of practical activity, and the greatest looseness and amateurishness organizationally in implementing its political tasks.

They ridiculed the young genuine Marxists who, based on the victory of Marxism, were fighting unswervingly to forge the scattered circles of Marxists into a centralized and politically unified Party. Using catchwords like "freedom of criticism" they pushed the class interests of the liberal bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie (who were among the revolutionizing ranks at the time against czarism), perpetuating the amateurishness, disorganization and primitiveness of the movement at that time. If left unchecked, this backward trend would condemn the workers to continued enslavement by the Czar and Russian capitalists.

The development of Bernsteinism in the German Social Democratic Party also showed the theoretical disorder of the time. Because of the guidance to the German socialists by Marx and Engels, it was the most advanced socialist party in the world. In 1878, the German bourgeoisie, fearing the strength and growth of the revolutionary movement, passed the Anti-Socialist Law, which made the Party, the trade unions and labor newspapers illegal. With it they attacked and persecuted socialists.

The year 1879 was called a "year of confusion." Within the Party, an anarchist trend developed which was defeated. From there, the Party then went into a right swing. Under the relatively peaceful development of capitalism and with it the necessity to work in mainly legal forms such as in the Parliament, a revisionist trend developed. After Engels' death in 1891, it jumped out full bloom with Eduard Bernstein, a petty bourgeois professor at its head. From the period 1898-1902, a period where Lenin fought the revisionist line, here and there, leading up to its comprehensive exposure in *WITBD?*, this trend had spread to the whole of Europe, and was being fought tooth and nail by revolutionary socialists

like Rosa Luxembourg, Karl Liebknecht and Clara Zetkin.

WITBD? was not developed in one shot by Lenin. It was developed, as in our Party's line, aspect by aspect in struggling with economist tendencies and economism in all their manifestations. These struggles were synthesized and concentrated as the ideological foundation of the Bolshevik Party by Lenin in *WITBD*. These struggles are unfolded in various small pamphlets written between 1898 to 1903 like "Where to Begin?", "Urgent Tasks of Our Movement", "Protests by Russian Social-Democrats of the Kiev Committee", "Apropos de Foi" "Talk With Defenders of Economism", "Retrograde Trend in Russian Social Democracy", etc.

However, Lenin's *WITBD* represents more than struggle against revisionism in Russia. It represents a fight against revisionism world-wide. For he showed the relationship of revisionism in Europe, which was the most developed and prestigious center for socialism, and its particular manifestation in Russia. For that reason, Lenin's *WITBD* represents a historical sum up and synthesis of trends in the international communist movement. It has become an ideological foundation for the genuine communist parties around the world. It is no wonder that revisionists all hate *WITBD* and try to belittle it or qualify it while communists want to uphold it under all conditions. For the ideological foundation of the Party (consciousness versus spontaneity in all forms) is something that needs to be upheld at all periods, independent of what particular stress of the Party at each point and regardless of the particularity of the tasks at the time. What is strictly required is the living identification of the particular manifestations of spontaneity and its application by working out concrete political, organizational and theoretical tasks and policies that will overcome this spontaneity, and most important of all crush all attempts to "theoretically" justify this spontaneity. It is the justification of this spontaneity in forms of lines (like the RU and OL building the united front as principal task line in opposition to Party building as principal task line of WVO and other genuine collectives) that is most dangerous. For that is opportunism defined.

Lenin shows the catchwords of these revisionists world wide at that time. They cannot help themselves but use the common catchwords "practice", "practical," "freedom of criticism" and to call all attempts of young communists to grasp the direction of the communist movement as "dogmatism".

Were there dogmatism and dogmatist errors committed by young communists and advanced elements striving to understand the direction of our movement? Certainly there were. There also were and are opportunists who inevitably make use of theory to deceive the masses in both rightist and "leftist" form. What's most despicable, however, are those "leaders" who attempt to keep line questions away from advanced elements and suffocate communists looking for direction. They accuse the necessary process of what Lenin called "pedagogics" (i.e. learning of theory and historical experiences of the larger laws of class struggle) as dogmatism. And they elevated the "practical politics" of assisting spontaneous struggles itself to the level of principal task. Opportunists and revisionists elevate laundry lists like practical tasks to the level of the most decisive tasks for communists. This form of activity, as Lenin pointed out, will in fact narrow the communist political tasks and our scope and therefore, the training of communist and advanced elements. Bowing to spontaneity expresses itself in lack of concern over the communist character of our work, and instead reacts to "leading" everything under the sun.

Communists must participate in immediate struggles in order to win and train the advanced and build the Party. Building the united front as the principal task or treating it as something in itself is the most dangerous form of the right line today. Opportunists, however, either elevate it as the principal task or sneer at all theoretical tasks as impractical. While, clarity on theoretical and political line is precisely what advanced elements need most to push the class struggle to a higher level.

Revisionists Pulling Out "Freedom of Criticism" Again Today

What is the content of "freedom of criticism" that Lenin talked about in Part A? Lenin wrote, "The very conception 'ultimate aim' was declared to be unsound, and the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat was absolutely rejected. It was denied that there is any counterdistinction in principle between liberalism and socialism. The theory of the class struggle was rejected on the grounds that it could not be applied to a strictly democratic society, governed according to the will of the majority, etc."

Today, revisionism is more than a counter-revolutionary trend. Today modern revisionists hold state power, and are pushing "freedom of criticism" to a new level. When the scab, Khrushchev pulled a coup d'etat and grabbed state power in the Soviet Union, he crudely slandered and attacked Stalin, the great revolutionary, and started a whole campaign to overthrow the established lines and policies, and purged the state and the Party of genuine communists.

Khrushchev created whole new "theories" and dumped Leninism wholesale. "[The] idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat was absolutely rejected" and replaced with the "theory" of the "state of the whole people."

Khrushchev preached the dying out of class struggle, put profit in command and set up the system of one-man management over the workers, thereby reducing the Soviet workers to the status of wage-slaves once more. And as the New Tsars turned social-imperialist, they justified the neo-colonial plunder of the Eastern European countries under their theory of "socialist division of labor". Bowing to U.S. imperialism's nuclear blackmail, he said that "new conditions" made "peaceful coexistence, peaceful transition, and peaceful competition" necessary in order to avoid nuclear war. He opposed wars of national liberation, such as in Algeria, fearing that they would "spark off nuclear war". Khrushchev thus aided U.S. domination of the world. Moreover, the Soviet revisionists became the headquarters and leading theoreticians for the revisionist parties around the world, causing a major setback to the international communist movement.

Today, the fierce two-line struggle being waged under socialism is "act according to the principles laid down" versus the line "whatever works is correct" and whatever is "practical" is better than the historical experience of the proletariat. And the old revisionist catchwords of "freedom of criticism" and "against ossification of thought" and "emancipate the mind", comes hand in hand with negations of the scientifically synthesized experiences of the masses' practice which millions and millions have proven to be correct.

What are the verdicts tested in practice that the revisionists want to reverse?

Because of Chairman Mao's correct line on building up the country through self-reliance, China has developed rapidly and grew stronger year by year.

In 1957, Chairman Mao put out the call for Chinese people to take a Great Leap Forward. Unleashing the initiative and enthusiasm of the people for socialism, production in all spheres moved forward. The new and old bourgeoisie inside the Party,

like Liu Shao-chi, sneered at, actively opposed and sabotaged the campaign, and China temporarily fell on hard times. But the Great Leap Forward was a great socialist mass campaign that pushed socialist construction forward.

Especially after the revisionist sell-out Khrushchev pulled out all Soviet technicians and cut off all economic aid and agreements in 1962, China more than ever was forced to rely on its own people and their strength to build up its socialist country. In fact, although damage was done in some parts of the economy for a short time, in a few years China was doing better than ever in socialist construction, this despite some errors that were historically necessary, since it was the first successful attempt of a third world country to be totally self-reliant. With the great Cultural Revolution, which unleashed the infinite creative energy of the people through the struggle against traitors like Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-Ping, the economy took a great leap, breaking production records year by year in grain production, steel, petroleum and other industries.

Through studying Marxism and criticizing revisionism of traitors like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and repudiating the reactionary ideas of Confucius and worshipping all things foreign, Chinese people showed that the masses are the real makers of history, not a few experts and managers, who have no desire to serve the people.

China's policy of economic development under Mao has been one of mainly relying on their own efforts, by unleashing the people's initiative and enthusiasm for socialism. This is part of the mass line, relying on the broad masses of people as the most important factor in developing the country. External aid, according to Mao, was seen as a supplementary means, but definitely not to be relied upon. By doing away with a slavishness to foreign things, fighting dogmatism while learning from the good experiences of foreign countries, but being critical of bad things, China's experience shows that third world countries can develop agriculture and industry at a rapid pace, while at the same time protecting its independence.

Once again the capitalist roaders have to resort to the bankrupt call of the revisionists of the nineteenth century—"freedom of criticism"! And under this catchword, they are throwing everything the proletariat has gained through decades of struggle world-wide out the window, just as the Soviet revisionists before them.

How do these new bourgeoisie declare the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat "unsound"? In one revisionist article, the line comes out that "suffocation of democracy produces bad results"—nothing but the old wine of "freedom of criticism" in a new bottle. It throws open everything and is a cover for giving reactionaries full play to turn socialism back into capitalism.

Under socialism counterrevolutionaries and their ideas will never be given equal prominence to Marxism. Do they mean that under their democracy, alchemy will be given equal billing with modern chemistry? Nothing of the kind. This is nothing but an open attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in concrete social practice, political economy, party building, etc. etc., sphere after sphere.

As Lenin writes, "And if we judge people not by the brilliant uniforms they don, not by the high-sounding appellations they give themselves, but by their actions, and by what they actually advocate, it will be clear that 'freedom of criticism' means freedom for an opportunistic trend in Social-Democracy, the freedom to convert Social-Democracy into a democratic party of reform, the freedom to introduce bourgeois ideas and bourgeois elements into Socialism."

And what are the "bad results" that these revisionists are talking about? They are talking about ways to immediately spur production to serve the greed of the new bourgeoisie in the short run. And anything that gets in the way—especially socialism—produces "bad results". It is nothing but the most pragmatic outlook of the ordinary bourgeoisie. Why mince words? Capitalism "works" in this sense too.

So democracy for whom? It's clear that when the capitalist roaders inside the Party talk about democracy, they are not talking about the workers and peasants. The main problem is that there is not enough democracy for the workers and peasants as long as the bourgeoisie exists, old and new. These people glorified "Hyde Park" democracy that's being clarified to English workers through their own experience. Revisionists' democracy is democracy for their own class—the bourgeoisie. They are pushing for freedom all right, freedom of trade, freedom of enterprise, freedom for the bourgeoisie to exploit. It is the same abstract "human rights" that Carter uses, rather than the right of workers and peasants to be the masters of society, free from class exploitation and from inescapable subjugation. Nothing but the same "freedom" that the counter-revolutionary Nagy of Hungary pushed when he attacked the socialist state in 1956 actively aided by the CIA. Like all revisionists, he deserved what he got—to be crushed under the wheels of the tanks of the peoples' army.

Material Basis for the Bourgeoisie's Catchwords of "Freedom and Democracy"

But why do the new bourgeoisie in socialist countries always come up with the catchwords of democracy and freedom to justify their attempts at overthrowing the rule of the working class? Because it is rooted in the very development of capitalism itself. The capitalist class used them to fight their way from under the domination of feudal lords and kings. The whole outlook of the capitalist class starts from the interest of the individual first—individual enterprise, individual genius and therefore individual freedom. The interest of the capitalist is no broader than his own skin—and everything else is a commodity to make profit for himself. The proletariat, based on socialized production, is forced by its condition to forge a collective outlook and a worker's interest is tied to the interest of his class. The proletariat is trained to and therefore wants to move together with a single will, with iron organization. That's why the bourgeoisie can never face up to the fact that the Korean and the Chinese volunteer army was about to charge wave upon wave against U.S. imperialists and for their national salvation. Nor can they understand why children guerrilla fighters would sacrifice their lives by pulling the hand grenade pin and throwing themselves into the midst of their enemy. They see these examples as anathema—no individual will. While in fact, it is the height of human will and workers' conscious role. From the point of view of the bourgeoisie, they are all "crazy". From the proletariat's point of view, it is the ultimate in most noble sacrifice, for the class interest and the basic rights of the masses to live unenslaved, have the right to life, food and shelter, free from exploitation of man by man.

Empiricism is the Ideological Basis for Modern Revisionism

Trying to restore capitalism, theoreticians of the new bourgeoisie in socialist countries push empiricism to combat Marxism.

In a recent article about "emancipating the mind," the author insinuates a comparison of Chairman Mao with Feuerbach, the German materialist philosopher of the nineteenth century. This renegade

Study Notes

says "In his remarks about Feuerbach, a great German materialist philosopher, Engels noted that Feuerbach's materialism stopped short before the terra of social history and he failed to overcome common philosophical prejudices. Why so? This was, said Engels, because Feuerbach was leading an isolated life like a peasant in a remote place without social contacts and could not develop his thinking through contacts with his friends or foes who were his equals in talent and wisdom."

Empiricism, pure and simple. According to the revisionist writer, Chairman Mao could not overcome his "common philosophical prejudices" (read, Marxism) because he lived like a peasant and had no direct experience through contact with people. For one thing, Mao had extensive "contacts" with the most developed bourgeoisie—the U.S. imperialists—from Stillwell after World War II to Kissinger and Nixon, and he had no illusions about their "benevolence". He moreover, talked to friends from around the world—Edgar Snow in Yanan, comrades in the communist parties world-wide, and the Communist International, and held discussions with thousands of visitors to China from the third world. He did not lack "contact" as the revisionists would want us to believe.

And Mao knew his friends and enemies deeply, so deeply and profoundly, in fact, that he sized up the balance of forces outside and inside the country and within the CPC. That's why he said during the period of the imperialist blockade of China that as far as normalization of relations with the U.S. was concerned, China could afford to wait. He knew that the time would be well spent in socialist construction, and most importantly, at the same time, fighting those revisionists and capitalist roaders (bourgeoisie and new bourgeoisie in power, inside the Party) who had *illusions* about capitalism and U.S. imperialism, to set better conditions later for normalization. That's the significance of various anti-rightist campaigns and the Cultural Revolution (against Peng Teh-huai in 1958 and Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping in 1966).

But to the revisionists, according to their class prejudices and superficiality, what they mean by "contact" is nothing more than bourgeois jet-setting, vulgar cosmopolitanism. It's clear that they aren't talking about contact with the masses with whom revisionists shun "contact". And who to them are a faceless mob. Bourgeois politicians like Ford, Carter and Kissinger have had lots of travel to foreign countries but know nothing about the world's peoples, and not even about the people in the U.S. They didn't even know how strongly the West Virginia miners would fight in the last contract struggle—and that's only a few hours drive from Washington, D.C. So as far as the bourgeoisie, new and old, are concerned, they can travel all they want, but they still are in another world, cut off from the masses and reality.

Based on this empiricist outlook, they negate the leading role of man's subjective factor, particularly all the historical experiences that have been accumulated, proven to be correct, the new and higher foundation to build on, the ever expanding frontier of man's knowledge in class struggle, scientific experimentation and in production and particularly about their interrelationship under given historical periods.

Empiricist catchwords are a form of idealism and not genuine dialectical materialism. Empiricism under the slogan of 'practice and practice' is in fact a negation of the practice by millions and millions of people around the world, the masses' historical experiences world-wide. For that reason, empiricism certainly goes against the Marxist understanding most deeply developed by Mao, that under given conditions, the role of men's consciousness is dynamic and decisive. The dynamic role of the subjective factor of man is a crucial part of dialectical materialism in that it makes use of the whole of human knowledge, the scientific knowledge (largely indirect experiences) of direct experience as thought material and the

study of others' direct experiences that have already been summed up and synthesized into general laws.

The historical fact is irrefutable. The turn back of the Soviet Union from socialism to capitalism is irrefutable. The line of the "theory of the all-importance of productive forces" has been proven to be a restorationist line is irrefutable. For that reason, *either* you continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, that is, "**grasp revolution to promote production**" or you follow the revisionist theory of "the all-importance of productive forces". There is no other choice.

Revisionists can't and don't want to acknowledge and openly face up to these two clearly elucidated roads and say "yes, we want to take the revisionist road". For that reason they have to advocate "freedom of criticism" to criticize the proven integral theory in the dictatorship of the proletariat with bits and pieces of their eclecticism and "adjust" in order to follow the revisionist road.

For that reason capitalist roaders inside communist parties use empiricism to coin slogans like "practice is the sole criterion of truth"—they intend to negate and abandon the proven scientific laws of the dictatorship of the proletariat and continued class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only through massively popularizing and disseminating this revisionist ideological line and creating public opinion around it can they vigorously restore capitalism.

By saying that "practice is the sole criterion of truth", they *only* mean your narrow experience is correct, i.e., only "how you feel" is correct. Never mind the historical lessons already synthesized by Marx, Lenin and Mao. Empiricism is the only ideological line today that's strong enough (under the guise of "your direct experience is the only thing scientific" or "your direct experience is the only real data") to all-roundedly negate the Communist Party of China's and Mao's past line and policies. This reversal of scientific political verdicts is accompanied by simultaneous guilt-whipping of "ossification of thought" and "straitlacing of your thought". So to them, to "liberate" your mind means to abandon and trample upon the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, particularly the most advanced synthesis to date, Mao Tsetung Thought.

Is there such thing as ossification of thought? Yes, there is. Individually, this is due to dogmatism and the lack of direct experience. That can be corrected by social practice. But the correctness of plan and line is independent of individual dogmatism or individual lack of direct experience or "ossification of thought". The revisionists use these necessary and minor tendencies to reverse the entire line and policies on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Under socialism, what is the correct way to emancipate the minds of the workers and peasants? Is it through scholastic book-worship of everything Western and on examination systems using the method of "spot quizzes" and "surprise attacks", as the revisionists insist. Or putting grades in command so that workers peasants are denied education and kids of the upper classes are guaranteed to become leaders in society? The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution answered the question with millions of Chinese workers and peasants on the attack against these bankrupt and reactionary lines that will lead to restoration of capitalism, like what happened in the Soviet Union.

Socialist new things flourished like flowers in the spring. Workers and peasants, were for the first time, enrolled in higher education in a mass way, taking education out of the hands of the privileged sons and daughters of the bourgeoisie, new and old. Worker-technicians were trained in the millions, raising the technical level of the country to new heights. Open-door schooling was promoted, which tightly linked education and theory to practice in solving real-life problems. The line of popularizing technology by grasping class struggle and politics is Chairman Mao's line. For the first time in Chinese history, education was in the hands of the people and not in the grip of the exploiting classes. Reversing verdicts like that sphere after sphere by saying "how you feel" is efficient (how the bourgeoisie and revisionist 'feel' is

efficient to bring results) is exactly the purpose of their catchword "practice is the sole criterion of truth". In other words, whatever is practical is good and is better than Mao Tsetung Thought. Chairman Mao's line is diametrically opposed to relying on imported technology. Even the US bourgeoisie themselves have acknowledged that this approach advocated by India and Saudi Arabia have not "modernized" their countries and in fact have further subjugated themselves to imperialism.

Engels on the Importance of Theoretical Struggle

Our modern proponents of "freedom of criticism," with their slogan of "emancipating the mind", bring no real new content to the arsenal of revisionist arguments throughout history. These revisionists, in their recent article about "Emancipating the Mind", wrote:

"To emancipate the mind, it is also necessary to pay attention at all times to practice and the masses. Practice is above theory and is richer than theory. When we say practice, we mean social practice by millions upon millions of revolutionary people. So, to respect practice is to respect the masses."

Here, these revisionists twist Chairman Mao's teachings from "*On Practice*" to attack Chairman Mao's teachings on the significance of theory and to peddle empiricism. This is just what Lenin had to fight against, writing,

"We can judge how tactless the *Rabocheye Dyelo* is when, with an air of triumph, it quotes Marx's statement: 'Every step of real movement is more important than a dozen programs.' To repeat these words in a period of theoretical chaos is like wishing mourners at a funeral 'many happy returns of the day.' Moreover, these words of Marx are taken from his letter on the Gotha Program, in which he sharply condemns eclecticism in the formulation of principles: If you must unite, Marx wrote to the party leaders, then enter into agreements to satisfy the practical aims of the movement, but do not allow any bargaining over principles, do not make 'concessions' in questions of theory. This was Marx's idea, and yet there are people among us who strive—in his name—to belittle the significance of theory!"

Just like the revisionists of Lenin's time, our latter-day revisionists try to raise man's social practice in order to deny Marxist theory, which is the *synthesized collective practice* of millions of workers and oppressed people which they claim to respect.

And what is the price paid for this belittling of Marxist theory? When revisionists like Khrushchev pull a coup d'etat and usurp state power to restore capitalism in a socialist country, they have to reverse the verdict on the study of Marxism. Instead of building on the most advanced lessons—the last word of socialism—they have to take on the bankrupt theories of the imperialists. Instead of grasping advanced theory and developing the boundless potential of the working class to push society and its material abundance forward, they throw back gains in socialist society hundreds of years, to the beginning of the capitalist era by picking up the garbage of the exploiting class—that machines and bourgeois science is the leading factor in boosting production, that it is machines and not Marxism that will save mankind. This is exactly what the scabs Khrushchev did in the Soviet Union and Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and others like them believed in China.

Despite all their complaints about "the ossification of thought" and their ravings about "freedom of criticism" and "emancipating the mind" these revisionists dare not raise the historical experience of the CPSU and restoration in the Soviet Union. Chairman Mao shows that despite Khrushchev's official opposition to the revisionism of Bukharin and Kautsky, and despite their disagreement with the cruder aspects of Yugoslavian revisionism, that they are revisionist nevertheless and restored capitalism nevertheless.

What is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, this theory that the revisionists attack with a vengeance? Is it like the theories of the bourgeoisie, a

Continued on page 29

Sihanouk

Continued from page 6

Sihanouk Recognized Pol Pot As Head of State and Condemns Vietnamese/Soviet Invasion

With the recent Vietnamese/Soviet invasion of Kampuchea, Sihanouk has once again come to the aid of his country. Yes, Sihanouk, as a member of the Kampuchean bourgeoisie, naturally had differences with the Kampuchean government under the leadership of the Kampuchean Communist Party. But when the U.S. media recently tried to exploit these differences to justify the invasion, Sihanouk made a point of saying that he acknowledges Pol Pot as head of state. "It is no longer a question of political differences or human rights, but a question of whether Cambodia shall disappear from the map, to become a province of the Vietnamese imperialists and their Soviet masters," Sihanouk said. Recently he was approached by some former generals in the CIA-propped Lon Nol regime to form a government in exile in opposition to the Kampuchean government. He turned them down flat.

At the same time that communists and revolutionaries must unite with anti-imperialist actions of the national bourgeoisie (like instances in history where Sihanouk fought the imperialists), communists and the masses must maintain independence and initiative. This is because the national bourgeoisie in the third world by their class nature, has a dual character, under given conditions. They are progressive sometimes, but are reactionary, vacillating elements under other conditions, when their class interests come in clear conflict with anti-imperialist acts.

Third World's National Bourgeoisie Has a Dual Nature

In this era of imperialism, where imperialist countries are driven to export finance capital to control and rob third world countries, the national bourgeoisie is forced to defend their own national economies and their country's independent political and cultural life—to protect their own markets and to exploit their "own" workers. On the other hand, the national bourgeoisie not only fears the imperialists but also communists and the broad masses. When times seem hard for the revolutionary movement, when imperialists seem to have the upper hand, or when communists and the masses become independent and too strong for them, they tend to vacillate towards the bloodsuckers.

For example, in 1955, before the rise of the third world as a major force in world politics was clear, Sihanouk signed a military assistance pact with the U.S. aimed at suppressing the mass movement inside Kampuchea and at destroying the communists. In fact, throughout the 50's, this was his main concern and activity. And recently, having arrived in New York City, Sihanouk, speaking for his own class interests, complained about the Pol Pot government, parroting the imperialist slander about "human rights" violations in Kampuchea. After he delivered his country's address in the U.N. Security-Council debate, he met with Secretary of State Vance, and immediately afterward Sihanouk announced his intention to stay in the U.S. or France.

In that sense, Sihanouk is a personification, a real clear example of the national bourgeoisie, who fights the imperialists because of their patriotism

towards their country due to their background and class interests, but also hesitates, with tremendous wavering and doubts at the same time.

Whatever Weakens Imperialism Must Be Supported

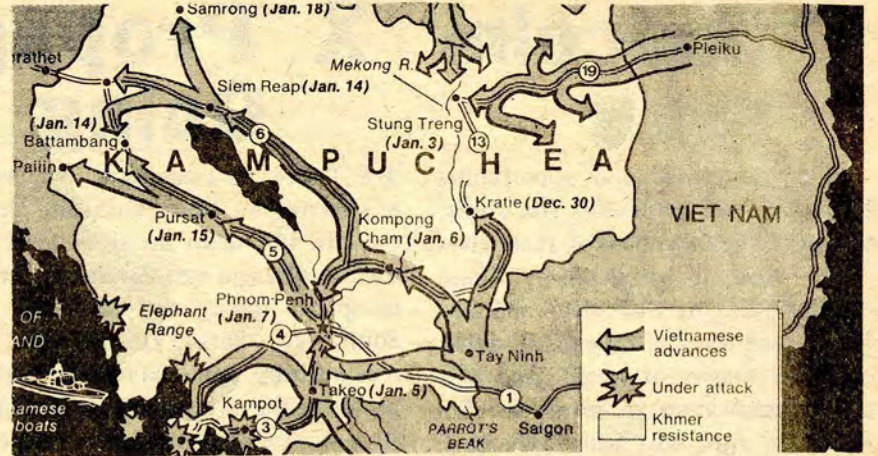
But despite vacillations, Sihanouk will fight imperialism, especially those acts directly hurting his country. From our objective viewpoint, any fight that weakens imperialism in this era is objectively a *revolutionary struggle* and serves the interest of the peoples of the world, particularly the working class fighting for socialism. Securing national sovereignty and strengthening the national economy by weakening imperialism also weakens imperialist backing of the bourgeoisie and all reactionaries in the third world countries. In that sense, it furthers the growth of workers and peasants in Democratic Kampuchea. This is why Sihanouk must be supported and his overall progressive role affirmed.

In the present era, whether imperialism is weakened or strengthened, that's the criteria we must use to decide whether persons, events, or countries are revolutionary or reactionary.

As Stalin summed up:

The struggle that the Emir of Afghanistan is waging for the independence of Afghanistan is objectively a *revolutionary struggle*, despite the monarchist views of the Emir and his associates, for it weakens, disintegrates and undermines imperialism; whereas the struggle waged by such 'desperate' democrats and 'socialists,' 'revolutionaries' and republicans as, for example, Kerensky and Tsereteli, Renaudel and Scheidemann, Chernov and Dan, Henderson and Clynes, during the imperialist war was a *reactionary struggle*, for its result was the embellishment, the strengthening, the victory of imperialism. (*Foundations of Leninism*)

Or, at present, far better a Sihanouk, whose practice shows him to be a relatively consistent anti-imperialist, though he openly admits he's not a communist, than so-called "communists"—the Vietnamese revisionists and the "communists" of the revisionist "C" PUSA, *Guardian*, and their Soviet social-imperialist masters. ■



Letters

Continued from page 3

— I read topical issue articles first: i.e. People's Temple, Iran, Kampuchea.

I rarely read: political economy, Restoration article.

S.L.

3) What do you think of the writing style?

— Just briefly, I think there has been an excellent improvement in the writing style of *Workers Viewpoint*. In particular, I thought the November issue was all-roundedly readable and enjoyable, particularly the articles on Silkwood, Rizzo, and Safeway. Some articles, however, are still a bit too long and unreadable, with too many "10 dollar college words," as a friend in ALSC would say. Frankly, I find the ALSC paper, *All Africa is Standing Up* more readable and enjoyable. I also feel closer to that paper, for we have written articles that have gotten in the paper and feel its "ours". I feel a bit intimidated about writing an article for the *Workers Viewpoint*, as if the analysis isn't deep enough or good enough. I also feel constrained to write in a *Workers Viewpoint* style (polemical) which is not easy to write or read.

Shorter articles, in everyday language, explanations of important Marxist words and concepts, more examples. A positive example (and this goes for both deep analysis and good style) is WVO's speech at the TUEL Founding Convention in Pittsburgh, November issue 1978.

— Take for example the Kampuchea article. These are some things that I think would improve it, and improve over the *Workers Viewpoint*. This article is very important and many people are going to read it given the situation in Kampuchea.

1. Writing Style: Very general. It makes some generalities that are not substantiated with concrete examples. The general line is there, but we can't defend it without concrete examples, i.e. "colonial powers carving up the world, therefore border disputes are not uncommon". I think this should be made concrete, when it happened, i.e. How concretely did the Soviet Union break up unity between Vietnam and Kampuchea?

4) How should we improve the layout? (For example, more pictures?)

— I think the layout is good, with lots of pictures of various sizes. It would be nice if the center page could be a collage of photographs, because we like to put them up on the wall, or posters (as we do with ALSC papers). I also would like to see more peoples art, such as cartoons, poetry, crosswords, etc. but I know we have to provide them, because the center of the people's art is not in the *Workers Viewpoint* office.

E.F.

— More pictures, charts, maps.

S.L.

5) What other kinds of articles would you like to see in the future?

— Topical articles covering current events. With the *Workers Viewpoint* coming out bi-weekly, this will help in timely articles. Sports Section: Could be expanded to include articles about sports in socialist countries, breaking the color barrier in sports, analysis articles, "what is a hero". Culture Section: Article about breaking color barrier in movies, for Asians, blacks, stereotypes in movies, how stereotypes changed with the economic situation in the U.S. and internationally. Proletarian Cultural Heroes: Article about May Day Singers. Who they are, their past,

what work they are doing, what kind of songs they are singing. Report about where they sing, events they go to, etc. Question Man: Like in the *Chronicle* where they ask people on the street a particular question. Could be done around a particular struggle, or in a particular plant. For example, "What do you think we should be asking for in the upcoming contract?"

S.L.

6) Should we carry more reportage articles? Should we carry more analysis, commentary-type articles? Should our articles be shorter? Or longer?

— Length: This is very important, and we should learn from the bourgeois press. Most people read the newspaper quickly, picking and choosing what articles they want to read. Most of the time it is read during breakfast, on the bus, etc., on the go. Most people don't have time nor the desire to sit and study articles. For example, many people will read the Iran articles because of the revolutionary situation in Iran. Because of the length though, many may not finish, or will get discouraged before even starting. (I usually look to see how long articles are before I start reading). *Positive Program*: Learning from the bourgeois press, we should have several short articles about Iran in the paper, for example, one about the mass struggle taking place, who is the national front, why are Americans leaving Iran, who is Khomeini, etc.

S.L.

7) What articles do you study?

— Mostly philosophical articles, i.e. mass line.

S.L.

9) Other comments on how to improve the paper?

— Question of improving the paper has to do with mass line. Linking general questions, international situation, philosophical articles to questions on folks minds, using analogies common to people so they can relate to the article in a personal way, or very concretely.

S.L. ■

"Malcolm X Propagandist: Going Against the Tide"

The bourgeoisie and opportunists focus on a sick misleader, Jim Jones, very much like they focus on themselves as the makers of world history. These people, limited by their stand and outlook, cannot see it is the condition that forces the masses to search. And it is their *determination* to search for the weapon to fight that will be decisive, not assorted misleaders of one kind or another.

Rise of the Black Liberation Movement

The end of World War 2 began a new period in the history of the Afro-American people. Beginning with the liberation of China from U.S. and Japanese imperialism, oppressed nations and peoples throughout the world arose one after another in anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist struggle. The rise of the contemporary Black Liberation Movement is a component part of this global process. The betrayal of the CPUSA left the working class wide open to the numbing effect of McCarthy's rabid anti-communism.

But no amount of anti-communism and talk of the "American Dream" could hide the nightmare of Jim Crow and lynch justice in the Black Belt South, or the run down, rat-infested tenements that was "home", and government commodities that was "food" for Afro-Americans in the northern ghettos. "A college education for every child" was a hoax and a fraud for blacks who were met by police dogs and vigilantes when they tried to attend the school of their choice.

In order to consolidate the colonies that were fighting for independence fiercely, and shaken loose from the defeated imperialist bloc, the U.S. imperialists were forced to make concessions to improve their image and sidetrack these anti-colonial movements. Yet the U.S. imperialists can't be the model of bourgeois democracy and guardian of the newly independent states if there is blatant segregation at home.

This was the reason for the "historic" Supreme Court decision of 1954. This was praised to no end by the thoroughly reformist NAACP. The decision was translated into 40 languages to let the rest of the world know that the U.S. was dealing with the "Negro problem."

The integrationist *strategy* of the civil rights groups and the CPUSA, which went hand in hand with putting all our faith in the bourgeois courts, was a dead-end street. The brutal lynching of 14 year old Ernest Till in Mississippi proved beyond doubt that the Supreme Court decision had changed nothing.

The realization that nothing had changed was bound to produce an angry response among Afro-Americans. In December of 1955 an Afro-American woman worker refused to give up her seat and was arrested. The smouldering rage and anger of the Afro-American people erupted in the Montgomery Bus boycott.

The struggle to integrate the schools and colleges became more vigorous. Four students from North Carolina

A & T sat-in at a segregated Woolworth in Greensboro, North Carolina. Unlike the late 40's when the sit-in tactic was used in Chicago and Baltimore, the sit-in spread throughout the Black Belt South like wildfire. In city after city revolutionary youth braved all odds to persist in the struggle against Jim Crow. A new wave of fighters were tempered, dealing with water hoses, police dogs, and bullets. These young militant nationalists were outraged with the gradualism, legalism and the totally bankrupt "turn the other cheek" philosophy of Martin Luther King.

In 1959, Robert Williams dealt a telling blow to the "turn the other cheek philosophy" when he organized a rifle club to practice armed self-defense. Williams was denounced and condemned by the thoroughly revisionist CPUSA, showing their hatred for all things revolutionary. He was framed on a kidnapping charge by the U.S. bourgeoisie and railroaded into exile.

By 1963, an entire stratum of advanced elements were searching for more advanced solutions and demanding more militant tactics.

The March On Washington

The uprising in Birmingham was the first major uprising of the 60's. It was the first time the bounds of bourgeois legality had been broken and it showed that the advanced elements were beginning to determine the character of the movement.

All across the country, the word was to march on Washington, shut it down and lock it up to dramatize the struggle for civil rights. We will quote Malcolm at great length, how Malcolm summed up the march on Washington, because it is a most instructive and most timely lesson in carrying out timely propaganda and drawing revolutionary conclusions from the masses experience.

"As soon as King failed in Birmingham, Negroes took to the streets . . . They were talking about how they were going to march on Washington. Right at that time Birmingham exploded, and the Negroes in Birmingham remember they also exploded. They began to stab crackers in the back and bust them up side their head—yes they did. That's when Kennedy sent in the troops, down in Birmingham. After that Kennedy got on television and said it was a moral issue. Then he said he was going to put out a civil rights bill and the Southern crackers started talking about how they were going to boycott or filibuster.

"Then the Negroes started talking about what? That they were going to march on Washington, march on the White House, march on the Senate, and tie it up, bring it to a halt, not let the government proceed. They even said they were going out to the airport and lay down on the runway and not let any planes land. I'm telling you what they said. That was revolution.

"It was a grass roots power out there in the streets. It scared the white man to death; scared the white power structure to death; I was there. When they found out that this black steamroller was going to come down on the capital, they called in Wilkins, they



The March on Washington was turned into a peaceful picnic by the capitulation of Afro-American misleaders.

called in Randolph, they called in those national negro leaders that you respect and told them, 'Call it off.' Kennedy said, 'Look, you all are letting this thing go too far' and Old Tom said, 'Boss I can't stop it, because I didn't start it.' I'm telling you what they said. They said, 'I'm not even in it much less at the head of it.' They said, 'these negroes are doing things on their own. They're running ahead of us and that old shrewd fox he said, 'If you all are not in it, I'll put you in it. I'll put you at the head of it. I'll endorse it. I'll welcome it. I'll help it. I'll join it.'"

Kennedy was one of the slickest, most advanced representatives of U.S. imperialism ever to sit in the White House to meet the demand of the time.

Chairman Mao Helps to Sow Seeds of Communism in Afro-American Movement

There was a fierce two line struggle among the organizers of the march over what the character of the march should be. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in particular was in a position to influence the character of it because of its solid base among revolutionary youth. Three weeks before the march, Chairman Mao issued his first statement supporting the struggle of the Afro-American people.

Chairman Mao's statement was made at the height of the polemics between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism. Chairman Mao had been reaching out to revolutionaries in the third world countries during the 50's when they were beginning to rise in the great anti-imperialist struggle. The 1955 Bandung Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference was the first meeting ever of the finest representatives of the oppressed nations and peoples. The U.S. bourgeoisie went all out to stop this historic event, sabotaging two Chinese planes, killing 100 of the most trained com-

munist in the field of foreign affairs. As representatives of this irreversible trend stood up in the U.S., Chairman Mao boldly carried out his internationalist duty to help sow the seed of communism in the U.S.

The Effects of Capitulation

The U.S. government was so afraid that they got Marvin Rech, community development director of CORE, to get on Voice of America and tell the world that this was not the kind of support the Negro is looking for. On the day of the march, John Lewis, head of SNCC, had a statement criticizing the Civil Rights Bill as "too little, too late." The march organizers told him the statement was too militant, that certain people were going to pull out if he gave the speech. At the last minute Lewis changed the draft, compromising his duty to carry out independent propaganda in the name of saving "unity."

Malcolm summed up the "march" this way—

"As they took it over, it lost its militancy. It ceased to be angry— why it even ceased to be hot, it ceased to be uncompromising. Why it even ceased to be a march. It became a picnic, a circus. I know you don't like what I'm saying. But I'm going to tell you anyway. It was a sellout, a take over, . . . They controlled it so tight, they told those Negroes what time to hit town, how to come, where to stop what songs to sing, what signs to carry, what speech to make and what speech they couldn't make; and told them to get out of town by sundown."

The march on Washington is a most profound and most timely lesson on the effect of capitulation of Lewis to the Afro-American national bourgeoisie and the U.S. bourgeoisie, and certain sold out elements. Not putting out an independent position left the masses open to be lulled to sleep and let the march become a day to

praise the Civil Rights Bill coming out the next year.

Malcolm X Propagandist: Going Against the Tide

Malcolm X and Malcolm X alone, carried out propaganda, exposed how the march was sold out to the imperialists, in his speech, "Message to the Grass Roots," delivered in Detroit, Nov. 4, 1963. After the march, the bourgeoisie had intensified the campaign of slander and distortion, portraying Malcolm as a "black supremacist," "hate monger," "demagogue," "fanatic." *Esquire* slandered him as the "Red Chinese American Negro," to try to combat the growing influence of Chairman Mao's line. Did Malcolm X tone down his line in the interests of popularity? No!!! It was precisely his unshakable determination to go against the tide and propagate the most advanced solution to the oppression of Afro-American people that made him a beacon light to the militant black nationalists in the Black Liberation Movement.

sparked a community wide protest organized and led by Malcolm was turned into a legalistic struggle by executive order by Elijah Muhammed. Malcolm was being systematically cut out of the paper *Muhammad Speaks*, prior to the official "split." His expulsion from the Nation was the best thing that could have happened. Freed from the ideological and organizational chains of the Muslims he could begin to take part in the immediate struggle of the Afro-American people and to search for the answers to the most fundamental questions facing the Black Liberation Movement.

Amidst Rebellion, Malcolm Sharpens the Line

1964 was going to be the hottest year yet in the civil rights movements. It was the first of the "long hot summers". Harlem was the scene of the first rebellion in the North. There were many unanswered questions facing the movement. How did Malcolm respond to this?

Chairman Mao on the Afro-Am. People's Struggle and the Dual Tactics of the U.S. Bourgeoisie

"The speedy development of the struggle of the American Negroes is a manifestation of the constant sharpening of class struggle and national struggle within the United States; it has been causing increasingly grave anxiety to the U.S. ruling clique. The Kennedy administration has resorted to cunning two-faced tactics. On the one hand, it continues to connive at and take part in the discrimination against and persecution of Negroes; it even sends troops to repress them. On the other hand, it is parading as an advocate of the "defense of human rights" and the "protection of the civil rights of Negroes," is calling upon the Negro people to exercise "restraint" and is proposing to Congress so-called "civil rights legislation," in an attempt to numb the fighting will of the Negro people and deceive the masses throughout the country. However, these tactics of the Kennedy Administration are being seen through by more and more of the Negroes. The fascist atrocities committed by the U.S. imperialists against the Negro people have laid bare the true nature of the so-called democracy and freedom in the United States and revealed the inner link between the reactionary policies pursued by the U.S. Government at home and its policies of aggression abroad. ("Statement in Support of the Afro-American Struggle", Mao Tsetung, 1963.)

Being a communist is not a popularity contest. One cannot win the respect of the advanced *without* incurring the most rabid hatred of the enemy. How they treated Malcolm was nothing new. Lenin put it well, "During the life time of great revolutionaries the oppressing classes constantly hounded them, received their teachings with the most savage malice, the most furious hatred, and the most unscrupulous campaigns of lies and slander."

In November 1963, Kennedy was assassinated. The revisionist CPUSA called this "A Foul Deed" and tailed after the orgy of patriotism that followed afterwards. Malcolm X's response to a reporter at that time was:

"Being an old country boy myself chickens coming home to roost never made me sad, they always made me glad." The media stirred this up as "race hatred." Elijah Muhammed used this as an excuse to "silence" Malcolm and later expel him.

The two lines in the Nation were becoming increasingly antagonistic. The official policy of the Nation to "refrain" from mass struggle meant the killing of seven Muslims in cold blood, which

Did he run around like a chicken without a head? No! Malcolm X stepped up his study and propaganda to organize the BLM.

Malcolm smashed the illusion that there could be freedom for the Afro-American people without a violent revolution. He took a clear anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist position. He exposed the dual tactics of bourgeois democracy and the role of misleaders to keep the national movements under the heel of imperialism. He showed that the struggle of Afro-American people is a part of the international struggle of the third world.

His work was a concentrated expression of an entire stratum of revolutionary nationalists who in 1964 were reading *Peking Review* and *China Reconstructs* regularly, who were making contacts with one another through magazines such as the *Liberation* and *Revolution* (both produced in Paris and followed the correct line of Chairman Mao). The Revolutionary Action Movement conference in Nashville, attended by some 70 people, called for the elimination of capitalism in one of its resolutions. The leadership of the militant UHURU society at Wayne State



Harlem rebellion 1964—Malcolm's propaganda helped to unleash the initiative of advanced elements in the Black Liberation Movement.

University had begun to study the writings of Chairman Mao.

Conclusion

What is the historic contribution of Malcolm X? This is a most important question. Some remember Malcolm for his fiery agitation, others remember his trying to have the question of Afro-American people placed on the United Nations' agenda, or for popularizing pride and respect in black people. That Malcolm X did all these things is true. But Malcolm X's historic contribution to the Black Liberation Movement was that he diverted the movement of Afro-American people from the path of gradualism, reformism, and intergrationism—being peddled by the bourgeoisie and the misleaders in the civil rights movement—to a politically awakened movement. How did he do this? It was not by being more militant than the reformists of the day. It was only through militant, consistent, and unwavering *propaganda*, through uncompromising *struggle against* all ideas that held the movement back.

Malcolm had a profound understanding of the needs, wants and sentiments of the broad masses, which every communist and revolutionary must have. But he did not limit himself to the needs of the brothers and sisters who could not see beyond defeating Jim Crow. He devoted his time and energy to answering the questions on the minds of the most advanced elements. This was the essence of his mass line.

For his great contributions, the revolutionary spirit of Malcolm will live forever in the hearts of Afro-American people and revolutionary people around the world.

That's why the best way to commemorate him is to master in practice his spirit of going against the tide, against the revisionist popularity, and the tactical maneuvers that sell out the revolutionary principles, and the common denominator approach in winning and training the advanced. The best way to commemorate him and live up to his lofty standard today, is to be a communist propagandist and communist organizer! ■



African Liberation Day 1978—The proud banner of the Workers Viewpoint Organization is a concrete expression of the Party continuing Malcolm's revolutionary tradition in the Black Liberation Movement.

'Rock' Drops

Continued from page 2

the U.S. people only saw film clips (some of them carefully prepared for Rockefeller by Walt Disney) of the exotic, tranquil, and simple life of Latin Americans.

Towards the end of World War II, U.S. imperialism made a cold reassessment of the balance of world imperialist forces. Only two global military powers were left intact: the victorious Red Army, fresh from crushing the fascist 6th Army at Stalingrad, now sweeping westward toward Germany, liberating tens of millions from the centuries-old yoke of capitalism; and the U.S. Army, desperately trying to head off the Russian march to Berlin. Rockefeller clearly realized that it was absolutely necessary to re-organize and centralize its primitive espionage and counter-revolutionary activities into one super-agency. The CIA, patterned after the old Rockefeller Office, was born.

The most trusted Rockefeller men were put in charge. Two brothers, both law partners at the crusty law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell (the law firm of Standard Oil) were handpicked. Allen Dulles went on to be the key architect of the CIA. John Foster Dulles went on to become Secretary of State under Eisenhower and architect of the rabid "brinkmanship" policy against the then-socialist Soviet Union. Within a few years, the CIA's world-wide network of spies and agents toppled any government threatening the global interests of U.S. imperialism. When the Rockefeller oil interests were about to be nationalized in Iran in 1953 and in Greece in 1967, the CIA toppled both governments and installed the fascist colonel's regime in Greece and the Shah in Iran. To this day, the CIA is controlled by the Committee of a Hundred, of which Nelson was a prominent member.

Not only just the CIA, but other key officials were part of Rockefeller's inner circle. Every Secretary of State since Dean Acheson in 1949 was a trusted confidant of the Rockefellers. Dean Rusk, for example, was president of the Rockefeller Foundation before he became Secretary of State under Kennedy and Johnson. Henry Luce (chairman of Time/Life Publications), Walt W. Rostow (one of the architects of the Vietnam War under Pres. Johnson) and William Rogers (of Rogers and Wells, Secretary of State under Nixon) were also part of this Rockefeller inner circle.

Dual Tactics: Think Tanks and Foundations

At home, the Rockefellers set up an extensive network of think tanks and foundations to further develop and refine the dual tactics of reform and repression. Though originally set up as a tax dodge, the Rockefeller foundations soon found a more sinister purpose: to inject hundreds of millions of dollars to manipulate and remold public opinion through movies, public television, art exhibits, children's programs, documentaries, arts and sciences, etc. By manipulating huge chunks of cash, the Rockefellers found they could set the pace for imperialist culture. And what the "philanthropy" and "humanitarianism" of these sinister foundations found too hot to handle, his think tanks would take over. The welfare system, the forced busing plan, the poverty programs to cool off the ghettos, the Vietnam War, nuclear war with Russia, etc. were all carefully studied by the thousands of academicians, military men, and politicians on the Rockefeller bankroll.

For example, his nerve center, the Council on Foreign Relations, is always on the search for new talent to exploit. In the 1950's, the Rockefellers hand-picked two new academicians (much like they hand-picked the Dulles brothers) to play key roles for the future, one from Harvard and one from Columbia (both schools dominated by Rockefeller). Henry Kissinger became Nelson's protegee, and Zbigniew Brzezinski became David's protegee, and the "Rockefeller twins" were born. (Much later, Brzezinski is asked by the Council on Foreign Relations and its spin-off, the Trilateral Commission, to find new talent to run the country after the Watergate debacle. They need someone with a fresh face, without the taint of Watergate, with deep religious background, with populist ties to fool the masses. Eventually, Brzezinski picks out an obscure ex-governor of Georgia and peanut farmer and grooms him for several years through the Rockefeller Study Group before launching him for the 1976 Presidential campaign.)

Nelson Rockefeller— a "Liberal" Republican

In and out of top secret and influential posts in the '50s, Nelson was not content to let others execute the dual tactics of reform and repression, and hungered to take direct command of the state apparatus, to become President of the United States.

In 1958, Rockefeller, a total novice to electoral politics who never held an elected office bribed his way to secure direct personal control of the Repub-

lican Party in New York. He arranged to have a \$285,000 parking lot held by New York Telephone in Babylon, N.Y. transferred to Lyman Judson Morhouse, State Republican Chairman in N.Y. (Morhouse is later convicted of accepting a \$100,000 bribe for a liquor license for the Playboy Club of New York.) Sinking millions into a gubernatorial campaign, he scores an upset and unseats Averell Harriman. (One of Nelson's acts as governor is to pardon Morhouse.) Taking personal control of the Republican Party in the northeast (though his flunkies exert enormous influence in both parties), he skyrockets his way in two years for a crack at the 1960 presidential nomination.

In 1964, Nelson's mouth was watering for the presidential nomination. His major challenger was Barry Goldwater, from capitalism's backwaters of Arizona. To Rockefeller, Goldwater was a crude throwback to an earlier industrial capitalism of the 1800's, a dime-store capitalist before the rise of monopoly capitalists like his grandfather. To the arch-reactionary Goldwater, Rockefeller was a hated liberal, a northeastern banker, an advocate of Big Government. The Rockefeller press roasts Goldwater in the media, but Goldwater, a master of unrepresentative delegate counts, outmaneuvered Rockefeller at his own game and took the nomination. (But without the backing of any large monopoly banks, Goldwater is unable to mount even a feeble campaign against Lyndon Johnson.)

In his 15 years as governor of New York, Nelson carefully nursed a "liberal" image, which simply reflected his advanced imperialist tactics. For example, Nelson was one of the chief architects of New York's welfare system, designed to help disintegrate the growing anger and rage of workers and minorities. Swelling the ranks of the permanently unemployed, the welfare system conveniently took the heat off the imperialists, gave capitalism a reformist image, while at the same time providing a lucrative source of investment for the banks. Rockefeller's idea was simple: cool off the anger of the masses by setting up an enormous welfare system, paid for by issuing state bonds to the banks at outrageous rates. Then have the workers pay off both the original bonds through taxation and, more important, the dividends on these bonds. Then the banks are let off the hook, and enjoy a reputation for being "liberal".

Nelson was also a master of bond manipulation. Too impatient to rely on voter approval for bond sales, over the years, Nelson issued \$6 billion in "moral obligation" bonds, which only had the

"moral obligation" and not the legal obligation of New York state to back up these bonds. During these years, the state debt skyrocketed 700%, to pay off the outrageous dividends for the bonds and pay off Nelson's wasteful spending (\$1 billion to re-design Albany's state government). In fact, when Nelson left the governorship of New York for one more futile crack at the Presidency, he left a house of cards, a bubble of hot air consisting of hundreds of shady bonds deals. The sudden bankruptcy of his Urban Development Corporation triggered a sudden panic among the bankers who had been speculating on city and state bonds, helping to send the house of cards crashing in February, 1975 during the New York City bankruptcy crisis. The workers, of course, were left holding the bag of billions in shady bonds deals. Clearly, Rockefeller's "liberal" image was bought by enormous spending programs squeezed out of the pockets of the working class.

At the same time, he ruthlessly and selectively used enormous repression. During the 1971 prison revolt at Attica, the prisoners were protesting national oppression, brutality, filthy repressive conditions, etc. by taking up arms against the state authorities. The prisoners demanded Nelson show his face at the negotiations. Nelson's cowardly response was to unloose a murderous barrage of heavy gunfire on both prisoners and hostages, gunning down over 39 people in a massacre dwarfing the Ludlow massacre of his father.

True Cause for Rockefeller's Death

Rockefeller's death means one less bullet needed for the revolution.

But Rockefeller's death leaves behind an enormous banking and political network intimately tied to the center of power in U.S. imperialism. He also leaves behind a new generation of Rockefellers (John Rockefeller IV is governor of West Virginia; David's daughter Abbey Aldrich became a leader in the bourgeois feminist movement after graduating from Radcliffe in 1967, and rose to become a leader of "Cell 23", which stresses the use of karate and other martial arts, etc.) But he also leaves behind a crumbling empire.

Just hours before he was felled by a heart attack, his face was ashen white when he listened to a speech by his protegee, Henry Kissinger, talk about the crumbling of the U.S. empire, of revolutions sweeping Iran and Nicaragua, the people's war in southern Africa, and the rising threat of Soviet social imperialism. The great disorder in the world, its revolutionary storms and upheavals was apparently enough to give even Rockefeller a heart attack. ■

Brezhnev

Continued from page 7

Differences in Soviet Meddling in Angola and in Kampuchea

In this respect, the Soviet/Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea differs from the situation in Angola. In 1975, after 500 years of unspeakable cruelty, the Portuguese colonial empire was crumbling in the face of a people's war led by three genuine guerilla forces, the MPLA, UNITA, and the FNLA. Only the united front of all three forces could prevent the U.S. and U.S.S.R. from

muscling in. But the Soviet Union backed one faction, the MPLA, against the others and sent in its hired gun, the Cuban troops, to gun down the FNLA and UNITA. More Angolans died in this fratricidal civil war than in the entire war against the Portuguese. The Soviet-backed MPLA took the capital, Luanda, but even now the other two forces control parts of northern Angola and huge chunks of southern Angola.

But the bogus "united front" in Kampuchea never was a genuine force, as was the MPLA, without any ties to the people or independent history. And without roots among the people, and

necessarily carrying out the repressive policies of Hanoi/Moscow, this bogus front will suffer the same crushing defeat as all reactionaries.

The Soviet/Vietnamese invasion only helped to raise people's consciousness about the true ugly features of Soviet social imperialism, for years hiding behind the mask of "socialism." As people become clearer about its true, hegemonistic designs, the tens of millions of people engaged in people's war around the world will be better prepared to deal the death blow to both super-powers! ■



STATE OF THE UNION

Continued from page 14

cooling the flames of inflation, his \$900 federal debt (almost half of the record budget actually is like pouring entire worth of the entire country) gasoline on the flames, because its is guaranteed to be inflationary. Capital-

whopping \$122.7 billion military budget (24% of the entire budget) and its enormous defense budgets, printing money, issuing notes and bonds, etc. will only find itself faced with an even

ism, like a heroin addict shooting itself up for decades with deficit spending, enormous defense budgets, printing money, issuing notes and bonds, etc. will only find itself faced with an even

greater crisis. Faced at every corner with crisis, Carter's speech sounded like he was gingerly walking through a minefield, artfully dodging crises left and right. ■

STUDY NOTES

Continued from page 18

dead dogma, full of lies and half-truths divorced from everything in real life?

No! Marxism is a living science, the concentrated synthesized expression of lessons in practice of millions of oppressed world-wide throughout recorded history. *It is the most developed product of the process of mass line—taking from the masses and concentrating their lessons and taking it back and testing it in practice.* And the lessons concentrated in Marxism have been paid for at a high price. The price has been the sacrifice, the heroism, the dedication, *the blood spilled by our class brothers and sisters* in the struggle against oppression and exploitation. For example, the dictatorship of the proletariat, one of the most fundamental teachings of Marxism, was summed up by Marx and Engels based on the lessons from the Paris Commune in 1871. This was the first attempt by the young proletariat in history to seize political power. And these lessons did not come cheap as thousands of the French, Russian and Chinese people met their death in this heroic first attempt by our class. It was deepened by the practice of the Russian and Chinese revolutionaries Lenin and Mao. And *this* is what these revisionists spit on! It is they who have no respect for the masses! It is *they* who would have us, time and time again, just rely on our immediate experience and have us satisfied with superficiality. They would have our class continue making the same mistakes, continue, over and over again, learning the same lessons, paying the same bloody price for these lessons each time and have us continuing to be subjugated by our exploiter.

Role of Vanguard Filled Only by Party Guided by Most Advanced Theory

It is in this light that Lenin emphasized that "a movement that is starting in a young country can be successful only if it implements the experience of other countries" and develops the "ability to treat this experience critically and to test it independently." It is in this light that Lenin emphasized that "the role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory" (emphasis in original). Revisionists are those who glorify their own "feelings" and place them above these objective lessons of history. We must ponder the significance of this great truth deeply.

WITBD is an all-round indictment of revisionism, and in this first chapter, Lenin lays out the theoretical basis for the backwardness of revisionism in every other major sphere. Whether or not we grasp the guiding role of theory comes down to whether or not the vanguard party *leads* and not just tails behind the spontaneous sentiment and movement of the 'leaders' or the masses, whether or not we merely follow the path of least resistance, whether or not we fall into seeing the immediate aims as everything and end as nothing. It is the basis on which we either demand professionalism in our ranks or are satisfied and even go as far as theoretically justifying political narrowness, organizational amateurishness, in our ranks. And again, we must emphasize that we are speaking of "the most advanced theory". Today this "most advanced theory" is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Here in the U.S., the Workers Viewpoint Organization has continuously fought the opportunists and revisionists over the question of the leading role of theory. The WVO has since the beginning of its history developed on the basis of the most penetrating and searching study of the experience gained in the international communist movement, and especially "the last word in socialism"—Mao Tsetung Thought. We have fought tit for tat to apply the

much of this did not ever go beyond a critique of the more blatant and cruder aspects of revisionism. It is in this context that the WVO took up the fight against the belittlement of theory and for the higher understanding of Marxism coming from Chairman Mao's writings and from the lessons of the Cultural Revolution in China, particularly on the significance of combatting and preventing revisionism in our task of party building. Those forces who failed to take this task to heart and apply it critically to the practice of revolution in the U.S., have degenerated into revisionism and trotskyism. This fact becomes ever more glaring in the present situation of great disorder and what used to be regarded as the international communist movement.

Our strength today is a living testimony to the struggle that Lenin carried on in WITBD against those who would belittle the theoretical struggle. Against those about whom Chairman Mao said:

"As against this, vulgar 'practical men' respect experience but despise theory, and therefore cannot have a comprehensive view of an entire objective process, lack clear direction and long-range perspective, and are complacent over occasional successes and glimpses of the truth. If such persons direct a revolution, they will lead it up a blind alley." ("On Practice")

"We are marching in a compact group along a precipitous and difficult path, firmly holding each

other by the hand. We are surrounded on all sides by enemies, and we have to advance under their almost constant fire. We have combined *voluntarily* precisely for the purpose of fighting the enemy, and not to retreat to the adjacent marsh, the inhabitants of which, from the very outset, have reproached us with having separated ourselves into an exclusive group and with having chosen the path of struggle instead of the path of conciliation." (Lenin, WITBD)

Comrades, our path is voluntary, conscious, and correct. Based on taking seriously the lessons of the international working class movement, we have come together to tread down this most tortuous path with its bright future. We have voluntarily committed ourselves to persevere in studying Marxism and criticizing revisionism in order to maintain our struggle on course. Yet, as we march along this precipitous path, firmly holding each other by the hand, there are those who tug at our compact group, who insist on holding our hand, but refuse to march along our correct path. Those who deny the role of Marxist science and fail to fight for it, who refuse to do what is necessary in travelling this path, to them we say, "Our union is voluntary. You are free to head towards the marsh. You are free to not study and free to not carry out the work necessary to travel down our path. . . ONLY "LET GO OF OUR HAND!" This is the Leninist spirit that has to be forged in our ranks and it is based on taking the lessons of the international communist movement deeply to heart. ■

S.L.

—Mas retratos, mapas y gráficas.

5) ¿Qué clase de artículos quisiera ver en el futuro?

—Artículos tópicos que cobran eventos del día. Punto de Vista Obrero ahora que sale bimensual, esto mejorará en los artículos corrientes. Sección de Deportes: Puede ser expandida a incluir sobre deportes en países socialistas, rompiendo la barrera de color, artículos analíticos, "que es un héroe." Sección cultural: artículos sobre romper la barrera de color en el cine, como el estereotipo cambia con la situación económica en los E.U. e internacional. Cultura de Heroes Proletariado: Artículos sobre los May Day Singers. Quienes son, su pasado, que trabajo ellos están haciendo, que canciones ellos cantan y escriben. Reportes de donde ellos cantan, eventos a que asisten, etc. cuestionario Como en la Crónica donde le preguntan a personas en las calles sobre cuestiones en particular. Puede ser hecho alrededor de una lucha, o en una fábrica particular. Por ejemplo, "¿Qué piensa sobre lo que debemos demandar en el próximo contrato?"

S.L.

6) ¿Deberíamos escribir más artículos de tipo reportaje? ¿Deberíamos llevar más análisis, artículos de tipo comentarista? ¿Deben ser nuestros artículos más cortos? ¿O más largos?

—Largura: Esto es muy importante, y debemos de aprender de la prensa burguesa. La mayoría de la gente lee el periódico rápidamente, escogiendo artículos que ellos quieren leer. La mayoría de las veces es leído durante el desayuno, en el bus, etc. la mayoría de la gente no tiene tiempo ni el deseo de sentarse y estudiar los artículos. Por ejemplo, muchas personas leerán los artículos sobre Iran por la situación revolucionaria en este país. Aunque por razón de su longitud, muchos no lo terminan, o se disgustan antes de comenzar. (Yo usualmente miro para ver que largo es el artículo antes de comenzar a leer). Programa positivo: Aprender de la prensa burguesa, debemos de tener algunos artículos cortos sobre Iran, por ejemplo, uno sobre la lucha de las masas, quien es el frente nacional, porque están los americanos saliendo de Iran, quien es Khomeini, etc.

S.L.

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De pagina 3

odio, porque yo he escrito artículos que han sido publicado y me siento que es "nuestro" periódico. Me siento un poco amedrentado en escribir un artículo para Punto de Vista Obrero, como si el análisis no es tan profundo o lo suficiente bueno. También me siento restringido a escribir al estilo de PVO (polémicamente) lo cual no es fácil escribir o leer.

Artículos más cortos, en el lenguaje diario, explicaciones de importantes palabras y conceptos marxistas, más ejemplos. Un ejemplo positivo (y esto es por ambos su profundo análisis y buen estilo de escribir) es el discurso de PVO en la Convención Fundadora de la TUEL en Pittsburgh, en la edición de noviembre 1978.

Tomemos por ejemplo el artículo en Kampuchea. Estas son cosas que yo creo mejorarán al periódico, y aun un más a Punto de Vista Obrero. Este artículo es muy importante y muchas personas lo van a leer por la situación que existe en Kampuchea.

1. Estilo de Escribir: Muy general. Hace algunas generalizaciones que no son sustentadas con ejemplos concretos. La línea general está ahí, pero no podemos defender esto sin ejemplos concretos, ejemplo, "poderes coloniales dividiendo al mundo, por lo tanto, disputas de líneas fronterizas son comunes." Creo que esto debe de hacerse concreto, cuando esto sucede. Concretamente como la Unión Soviética rompió la unidad entre Vietnam y Kampuchea?

4) ¿Como mejoraremos la disposición? (por ejemplo, ¿mas fotos?)

Creo que la disposición es buena, con muchos retratos de varios tamaños. Sería bueno si la página central fuera un montaje de fotografías, porque nos gusta ponerlas en la pared, o cartelones (como hacemos con los periódicos de ALSC). Me gustaría ver más arte de las gente, tales como caricaturas, poesías, crucigramas, etc. pero yo sé que tenemos que proveerlos, porque el centro del arte del pueblo no está en las oficinas de Punto de Vista Obrero. E.F.

IRAN

De pagina 2

4. Cada capítulo tendrá 2 miembros en el comité directivo nacional.
5. Cuando haya más de un capítulo local en una ciudad cualquiera, los miembros del comité directivo nacional en esa ciudad deberán formar un comité timón que comprenda toda la ciudad.
6. El comité timón debe reunirse cuantas veces sea necesario para implementar las campañas nacionales en la ciudad entera y coordinar las actividades de la NCSLA (ejemplo, Kruggerand, y contra la brutalidad policiaca).
7. El Comité Directivo Nacional se reunirá dos veces al año (en diciembre y junio).
8. Se establecerá una oficina nacional para:
 - * Distribuir un boletín mensual sobre la situación en Sudáfrica, actividades de la NCSLA, y sobre la opresión nacional.
 - * Distribuir materiales de campaña (batones, carteles, etc.).
 - * Las finanzas serán impulsadas.
 - * Facilitar ayuda a los capítulos nuevos y tener la autoridad de convenir reuniones del comité timón basada en consultaciones democráticas con los capítulos.
9. Para establecer un capítulo local de la NCSLA se requiere lo siguiente:
 - * Un mínimo de dos personas interesadas en trabajar,
 - * Aceptar el programa básico,
 - * Pagar \$5.00 de iniciación,
 - * Llevar a cabo movilización en la campaña nacional.
10. La manifestación del 11 de noviembre debe ser continuada con el retorno a nuestras áreas locales y consolidar una relación definitiva para la NCSLA. La forma principal de continuarla es consolidando capítulos de la NCSLA, e implementando el programa nacional.

Irán puede pasar en otros lugares en breve. Claramente Irán es una señal de cosas venir para los E.U. en términos de mantener sus posesiones presentes en el tercer mundo. Por esto es que Carter está invitando en reacción a Irán a Khalid de Arabia Saudita y a otros para valuar las situaciones internas de esos países y sus lealtades a los intereses de los E.U.

Ramsey Clark en particular, uno de los agentes más siniestro del imperialismo yanqui, está tratando de convencer la administración ahora que compartan su suerte con Khomeini desde que su valuación confirma sus temores más grandes, que "99 por ciento del pueblo iranio apoya a Khomeini."

La Unión Soviética Como los E.U. Cogidos de Sorpresa en Irán

Igual que los E.U., la Unión Soviética fue cogida por sorpresa en Irán. Después de años haciendo paz con el Sha por el derecho a exportar todo del gas natural de Irán, repentinamente regiones enteras de Azerbaiján soviética y Armenia fueron dejado sin calefacción este invierno cuando los obreros de petróleo iraníes estrangularon todas provisiones saliendo del país. Así que para salir airoso y conseguir que abran la llave del gas de nuevo, la Unión Soviética está tratando de buscar favores de Khomeini y las masas iraníes.

Una conferencia del KGB de la situación en diciembre había convenido a Brezhnev que la creciente ola de resistencia contra el Sha fue inalterable. Así que después de meses de velando y esperando, el diario sovié-

co *Izvestia* hizo el anuncio oficial que ellos apoyen a Khomeini, "por sus años de batalla contra el imperialismo y para la justicia social en Irán." Estas palabras fueron imprimidas una semana después de la salida del Sha

es amba multiclase y religiosa a causa de la base material (semi-feudal, agraria) y fuerza de tradiciones. Ningún movimiento político en Irán puede ser realmente masivo sin el involucramiento de líderes islámicos y religiosos, donde



La Unión Soviética adolorida quiere pisar Irán, pero las masas iraníes están claras en la dominación extranjera soviética. Ellas no van a permitir que una superpotencia reemplace a otra. El último de los técnicos de petróleo soviéticos en Ahwaz fueron evacuado cuando los obreros de petróleo iraníes amenazaron a matarlos si no se iban. Khomeini también, ha acusado a la Unión Soviética igual que los E.U. para saquear los recursos ricos y al pueblo de Irán.

Las masas iraníes no serán engañadas por estas balas azucaradas a ellas al cruzar su frontera.

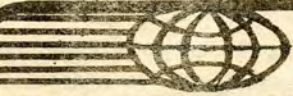
El carácter de la revolución de Irán

más de 95 por ciento del pueblo iranio pertenecen al ramo Shiite de Islam. Khomeini, a causa de su posición consistente anti-imperialista ha venido a ser la figura reanimadora para millones de obreros, campesinos y negociantes bajo el yugo del Sha y el imperialismo yanqui.

La cuerda que Khomeini toca en los corazones y mentes de los millones de gente irania es resistencia a esta opresión. Khomeini tiene que ser apoyado como un representante consistente del movimiento anti-imperialista porque su posición objetivamente debilita al imperialismo yanqui y soviético.

Pero porque Khomeini representa los intereses de la burguesía nacional, ni él o su base son capaces de continuar la revolución hasta al fin. En realidad, mucho de los representantes de Khomeini son forzados a seguir la moción de las masas sólo para mantener su liderato, aunque en sus corazones odian que el pueblo actúe tan radicalmente. El poder de estos mulahs descansa sobre la tradición feudal y el hecho que su cadena corre tan profundamente por la corriente principal de la vida irania. A lo largo sin embargo, sólo pueden representar el pasado de Irán, no su futuro.

Khomeini puede y sacudirá el control de Bakhtiar y los E.U. y creará un Irán independiente. Pero el poder político del proletariado será establecido sólo bajo el liderato del proletariado mismo y su partido político. Los comunistas apoyan la lucha por la liberación nacional en Irán a causa que llegará al desarrollo de una economía nacional que es la condición más favorable para el desarrollo en adelante de los rangos de la clase obrera y la formación de un partido comunista. Sería imposible por una victoria del socialismo en Irán sin esta lucha por la independencia nacional y una economía nacional, que significa en esta etapa del apoyo de la revolución irania para Khomeini como su líder. El papel independiente del proletariado iranio es formar su propio Partido para sostener el movimiento acumular a esas fuerzas activas y avanzadas saliendo del presente movimiento para preparar para la lucha armada para llegar a la meta final de revolución socialista en el futuro. ■



EL MUNDO EN LUCHA

PAISES QUIEREN INDEPENDENCIA

NACIONES QUIEREN LIBERACION

LOS PUEBLOS QUIEREN REVOLUCION!

La Reunificación de Korea Recomienza

El 25 de enero, Korea del Norte acordó una propuesta hecha por Korea del Sur para resumir las discusiones sobre reunificación que habían sido atolladas desde 1973. Unos pocos días después que Korea del Sur hizo la nueva propuesta, el comité central del Frente Democrático para la Reunificación de la Patria de Korea del Norte llamó para una conferencia colectiva de representantes de los dos gobiernos que tendrá lugar en septiembre en Pyongyang, la capital de Korea del Norte o en Seoul en el sur. Rodong Sinum, el diario principal de Korea del Norte llamó esto un "nuevo comienzo" en el esfuerzo a reunificar a Korea.

Nuevas Victorias en Zimbabwe

El Frente Patriótico recientemente anunció el establecimiento de nuevas áreas semi-liberadas en partes orientales, norestes y surestes de Zimbabwe. Lanzando su ofensiva más grande en seis años el Frente Patriótico está listo

para aplastar la última resistencia de Smith para salvarse el mismo y al régimen fascista de apartheid.

De septiembre a noviembre del año pasado, las fuerzas del Frente Patriótico mataron a 475 soldados enemigos, derribaron a 15 aviones y explotaron a 38 vehículos militares. El 11 de diciembre, el Frente Patriótico atacó tanques de petróleo en Salisbury y explotaron 19 millones de galones de productos de petróleo valorados a 20 millones de dólares americanos.

Estas nuevas victorias igual que la intransigencia de Smith es porque el gobierno británico recientemente suspendieron su empuje para una conferencia de todos partidos.

E.U. Aumenta Penetración de Polonia

En cambio para un nuevo préstamo posiblemente hasta \$500 millones, Polonia ha sido forzado a permitir que bancos occidentales "revisen" la economía polaca. La Polonia ya

esta en deuda a los capitalistas financieros dirigidos por los E.U., por la cantidad de casi \$15 billones. Esta aumentada penetración de la economía polaca por los imperialistas occidentales significa más penuria para el pueblo polaco que ya están siendo aplastado por la opresión del COMECON soviético y la esquema hurtadora de

OLP: "Determinados a Continuar la Lucha Armada Contra Israel"

El 18 de enero, la Organización de la Liberación Palestina (OLP) explotó una bomba en el centro de la ciudad ocupada por los israelis de Jerusalem como parte de una ofensiva guerrillera lanzada a demostrar el total rechazo del pueblo palestino a la traición del egipto Camp David. Los sionistas inmediatamente se desquitaban por invadir en lo profundo de Lebanon para atacar fortalezas palestinas. La invasión más grande por los israelis desde el pasado marzo fue completamente derrotada. El próximo día, según Yasir Arafat, el líder de la OLP, inspeccionaba los refuerzos de las bases en Arnun, Aishiye y Ham-nodiye que habían sido atacadas, él declaró la invasión sionista un fracaso "porque nosotros estamos determinados a continuar la lucha armada contra Israel."

NOV. 11

De pagina 5

La NCSLA Sostiene Conferencia

Después de la exitosa marcha y mitin, la NCSLA sostuvo una conferencia con la asistencia de más de 400 personas. La conferencia representó el crecimiento de la NCSLA a la medida, que nuevos capítulos daban presentaciones a cerca del trabajo que han venido desarrollando. El representante de la coalición dió un repaso de los acontecimientos en Sudáfrica y en los E.U. y el trabajo de la NCSLA alrededor de la nación a través de un reporte político organizativo. La conferencia mantuvo vigorosas discusiones y votó sobre diez resoluciones (iniciada por ALSC) para consolidar la NCSLA organizativamente y trazar el camino hacia adelante. (vea la caja)

La Manifestación de la Costa Occidental Sacude el consulado de Sudáfrica

"¡Cortar las relaciones de estado con la segregación!"

A través de toda la tarde del 11 de noviembre, este canto retumbó a través de las calles de San Francisco a la medida que cientos de manifestantes se reunían bajo la bandera de la NCSLA. Esta fue una manifestación sin precedente—una muchedumbre multinacional de mayormente afro-americano se congregaron en una compacta, militante marcha para demandar que corten las relaciones diplomáticas con sudáfrica y para protestar el imperialismo norteamericano.

Una línea de piquete comenzó al frente del consulado de sudáfrica mientras más personas llevaban banderas brillantemente coloreadas y letreros engrosando las filas. La marcha barrió a través del distrito financiero, el centro de los monopolios capitalistas en la costa occidental, pasando el banco de américa y la línea aérea sudafricana. Cuando la marcha pasaba por Deak's Coin Exchange, la multitud rugió y senaló a los traficantes que comercializan con la moneda del Krugerrand.

En la plaza de las naciones unidas, hubo un mitin con oradores, poesías, canciones y cultura revolucionaria.

Mansha Nitoto de la ALSC resumió la importancia política de la acción del día: "El mismo gobierno de Estados Unidos que reconoce el gobierno de Sudáfrica, que rehusa el intento por los paices tercermundistas para cortar las relaciones con ese país racista—ese es el mismo gobierno de E.U. que tramó el complot de los Diez de Wilmington y que pasó la racista decisión Bakke que forzará a la juventud minoritaria fuera de los colegios y de los empleos alrededor de la nación. A medida que la crisis del imperialismo norteamericano se profundiza, ellos estan escalando sus esfuerzos para tomar todas nuestras ganancias de los sesentas, mientras engrasan su maquinaria represiva. Pero la resistencia de todos los oprimidos esta en aumento. Es precisamente el gobierno norteamericano el caul es nuestro blanco (objetivo) hoy—cortemos las relaciones!"

Una compañera del Comité de defensa Geronimo Pratt relató como su esposo fue asesinado en San Quentin por el mismo crimen que Steven Biko fue culpado en Sudáfrica: luchando contra este sistema mundial del imperialismo. El Comité Coordinador de los Estudiantes Negro de la Universidad de California movilizó más de 50 estudiantes del campo universitario, colegio estatal, y colegio de la comunidad a través del estado, y juraron continuar el empuje para organizar a los estudiantes negro contra los ataques a nuestra educación. Un compañero de la Asociación americano de Estudiante de Ley Negro relacionó la lucha que los estudiantes de ley estan tomando contra la decisión Bakke, a la continua lucha contra la opresión nacional y el imperialismo.

El último orador del día fue de la organización Punto de Vista Obrera. Ella trazó claras líneas de demarcación entre revolucionarios genuino como ALSC la cual enfoca su lucha contra ambos el imperialismo norteamericano y el social imperialismo soviético, y los falsos revolucionarios como los pan africanistas quienes en cambio nos

harían regresar a África. Pero en el interés de unir a todo el que pueda unirse y formar una intensa campaña contra el imperialismo, el discurso de la OPVO (WVO) llamó para la unidad en la formación de un día para la liberación de África en 1979.

Fue precisamente el éxito del 11 de noviembre que nos trajo más cerca para organizar un más fuerte, más militante DLA antes jamás visto en la costa occidental. Estudiantes, gente de la comunidad y trabajadores de todo el estado se congregaron como un sólo cuerpo, con una demanda unificada: ¡Cortar las relaciones con la segregación! El alto nivel de unidad se vió a través de los oradores y el carácter del evento. Ciertas personas evocaron que ésta había sido la mejor, y más militante manifestación en que ellos habían participado.

Una compañera de la parte norte de California—la cual viajó más de 200 millas dijo que ella traería a su campus el espíritu y las lecciones del 11 de noviembre en la continuación de la lucha diaria. Otro compañero de Los Angeles estaba tan inspirado por las acciones del día que él se precipitó a regresar para formar un capítulo de la NCSLA en su campo escolar.

Lecciones del 11 de Noviembre

Primeramente, la manifestación del 11 de noviembre enseña que para que cualquier campaña política sea exitosa, la energía, entusiasmo e iniciativa de las masas debe ser extraída en todo su esplendor. El fruto de la iniciativa de las masas debe ser apreciado y promovido. Desde el precioso mural que engalanó la tarima hasta la misma idea de quemar la efigie para hacer la manifestación más militante, todo fue el producto de las masas mismas.

Como nosotros manifestamos en nuestra edición de noviembre del 1978, "El liderato comunista no crea la iniciativa de las masas. El liderazgo comunista puede solamente promover, organizar, y dar amplio despliegue a esta iniciativa la cual existe ya haciéndola consciente. Este carácter consciencioso es proveniente por el estudio del Marxismo y la integración con la actual experiencia." La campaña del 11 de noviembre es una gran victoria en la campaña del la

línea de masa que fue iniciada en la conferencia del ALSC bajo el liderato de la OPVO.

Segundo, la manifestación de 11 de noviembre enseña el significado de la lucha entre las dos líneas que fueron llevada a cabo sobre la cuestión de la independencia política e iniciativa dentro del frente unido. La línea derechista había capitulado a los planes electoreros de políticos negro de la burguesía nacionalista afro-americana. Si la línea derechista no hubiera sido derrotada, no hubiera habido manifestación el 11 de noviembre, nuevos capítulos de la NCSLA para llevar a cabo la lucha, y la iniciativa de los elementos activos y avanzados no hubiera sido estrañada.

"En el trabajo de frente unido, las negociaciones y los compromisos son necesarias. La cuestión es si el compromiso va a ayudar o afectar la lucha. El Presidente Mao senaló que todos los partidos políticos y grupos deben ayudarse el uno y el otro a hacer mutua concepciones por la causa de la lucha de largo plazo. Pero tal ayuda debe ser positiva no negativa. Concepciones positivas empujarán todo nuestro trabajo hacia adelante, mientras las concepciones negativas liquidarán nuestro trabajo entre las masas." (OPVO, Oct. 1978) Esta es la relación entre la independencia y la iniciativa y la línea de masa.

El 11 de noviembre no fue fácil. La manifestación no había sido exitosa si nosotros no hubiesemos persistido en la lucha entre las dos líneas y la práctica de la línea de masa. Las lecciones que hemos aprendido y los luchadores que han surgido harán la celebración del Día de la Liberación Africana el más grande jamás.

Resoluciones adoptadas en la conferencia de la NCSLA de noviembre

1. La NCSLA tomará la iniciativa en organizar el Día de la Liberación Africana 1979 (día propuesto, mayo 12, 1979).
2. La NCSLA organizará la conmemoración de Malcolm X (febrero 21, 1979).
3. Capítulos de la NCSLA serán establecidos en los campus, en las uniones y en las comunidades de una ciudad, opuesto a la vieja estructura de en toda la ciudad.

Vea pagina 9

Restauración...

De pagina 6

medidas para eliminar poco a poco el terreno que hacia que existiera y desarrollara el capitalismo.

Después de la Revolución de Octubre, Lenín persistió en la transformación socialista de la propiedad de producción a través de "expropiar a los expropiadores" ("Tareas Inmediatas del Gobierno Soviético"). Nacionalizó la tierra, los modos de producción, las grandes industrias, transportación, bancos, comercio extranjero y otros departamentos. La fundación de economía socialista de propiedad nacional fue establecida. Esto vino a hacer la principal fundación económica de la dictadura del proletariado. Al mismo tiempo, Lenín hizo todo lo que pudo para asistir en el desarrollo de las granjas del estado y organizaciones cooperativas que contenían elementos de economía socialista. En "Sobre la Colectivización" y otros artículos, Lenín planteó la transformación gradual de la economía de propiedad privada a la economía de propiedad colectiva de las masas trabajadoras. Esto estableció la fundación teórica de la Unión Soviética para realizar la colectivización de la agricultura. Lenín

también persistía en economía planeada y llevó a cabo las restricciones necesarias en la producción de mercancía y por medio de cambio de dinero. Esto fue un golpe duro para los viejos y nuevos elementos burgueses que toman ventaja del cambio de comercio por medio del sistema de dinero para llevar a cabo defalco, robo, soborno, y otras actividades especulativas.

Sobre la política del salario, Lenín persistía en llevar a cabo el principio de la Comuna de Paris. Desde el principio se opuso a la política de salario con gran discrepancias, y altos salarios para cuadros y miembros del Partido. Los salarios del personal y miembros Soviéticos era del nivel de mediano ingreso de trabajadores. El urgía que "se luche contra el carrerismo no sólo con palabras sino con hechos." ("Tareas Inmediatas del Gobierno Soviético")

Lenín también confiaba en movilizar a los trabajadores y campesinos para exponer y erradicar los elementos burgueses que se escondían en el Partido y órganos del estado e insistía en llevar a cabo la lucha de 2-líneas dentro del Partido.

"Luchar contra los traidores-sociales, contra el reformismo y oportunismo—esta línea política puede y debe ser perseguida sin excepción en todas las es-

feras de nuestra lucha. Y así ganaremos las masas trabajadoras, y la vanguardia del proletariado. El Partido político Marxista centralizado junto con las masas trabajadoras llevaremos al pueblo por el camino verdadero al triunfo de la dictadura proletaria, a la democracia proletaria en lugar de la democracia burguesa, a la República Soviética, al sistema socialista." ("Saludos a los Comunistas italianos, franceses, y alemanes")

Stalin continuó las tareas que dejó la muerte de Lenín. El empezó la industrialización y colectivización de la agricultura. Luego puso en práctica seria la lucha contra el enemigo de clase y el capitalismo dentro y fuera del país. Su lucha contra Trotsky, Zinoviev y Bukharin era efectivamente el reflejo dentro del Partido de la lucha entre el proletariado y la burguesía, y la lucha entre los dos caminos, el socialismo y capitalismo. Las victorias de esas luchas a ese tiempo aplastaron el complot vano de la burguesía de restaurar el capitalismo en la Unión Soviética, garantizando que la Unión de Repúblicas Socialistas Soviéticas continuaría siendo un país socialista bajo la dictadura del proletariado. ■

Sección dos del capítulo uno será continuada en próxima edición.

Controles Salariales

De pagina 1

resistir el aumento de ataque por el gobierno a sus trabajadores (el creciente hostigamiento diario en su trabajo, la descripción de la prensa como perezosos, el alto pago del patrón por su trabajo y el límite de 5½ por ciento en aumentos salariales desde el año pasado). La concurrencia de los miembros ordinarios fue tremenda. Ellos estaban luchando furiosamente porque han sufrido estos ataques por mucho tiempo. Ellos se han dado cuenta que luchar en una oficina o en un departamento no es lo suficiente. Además, mientras los obreros del gobierno son los chivos expiatorios para la corrupción del gobierno y la ineficiencia burocrática, ellos no son los únicos que son afectados. Así que cuando la TUEL elevó la consigna "Derrotemos el Control Salarial" como una manera de unir a los sectores público y privado y expandir la resistencia que la miembresía fácilmente acordó.

Desde aquí en adelante no hubo quien parara a los trabajadores. Algunos fueron a programas de radio para darle publicidad a la cuestión. Otros ayudaron con reuniones para organizar a los miembros en equipos para repartir ojas sueltas y los guías en la manifestación ya que muchos de ellos no habían participados antes en ningún mitin o marcha. Mucha llamadas fueron enviadas por otras locales apoyando la acción. Esta moción de los miembros forzó a los altos burócratas a responder. Pero ellos trataron en lo máximo de sabotear la moción, usando toda excusa posible para dividir la creciente unidad, ejemplo, amenazando a algunas locales como traidoras si ellas se presentaban en la misma plataforma que la Unión de Empleado del Tesoro Nacional (una unión independiente la cual a conducido varias irrupciones en las locales de AFGE)

El presidente nacional de la AFGE tuvo que asistir personalmente en la manifestación. Con una silla cómoda en el Concilio Ejecutivo de la AFL-CIO, éste burócrata demostró su verdadero color tan pronto abrió su boca, "¿Dónde esta la gente? ¿Cómo Uds. quieren que yo negocie en el capitolio desde una posición de fuerza si todos Uds. no asisten y me respaldan?" Un grito de "somos fuertes" de la audiencia lo llamó rápidamente.

La burguesía también tiene miedo del potencial de está desarrollante moción masiva. HEW deliberadamente invitó a Jesse Jackson, presidente de PUSH, un héroe designado por sí mismo del pueblo afro-americano para que hablara en la hora de almuerzo. Muchos de los obreros afro-americanos se quedaron adentro para oírlo hablar. Esta fue una buena lección política en cual es el rol que sirve un líder engañoso. Jackson fue invitado a unirse al mitin afuera pero el insistió en seguir con su discurso adentro, con una promesa de conseguir el apoyo de la audiencia. Pero el nunca dijo una palabra sobre el control de salario.

El gobierno está tan nervioso sobre todo esto que ellos despidieron a una trabajadora por dejar su trabajo para oír el discurso de Jackson. Ahora toda la oficina está en conmoción. Esta es una cuestión explosiva la cual

puede encolerizar a todos los obreros del gobierno no sólo en D.C., el cual tiene la concentración más grande de obreros del gobierno, pero también a través del país.

Resistencia Desparramada Contra Control Salariales

Los trabajadores de D.C. no son los únicos que están contra de estos principios. En los meses desde que Carter apareció en TV con esta póliza, huelgas señalando estos principios han sido llevada a cabo desde Nueva Jersey hasta California. 1,500 obreros de la química de la planta de Cyanamid Bound Brook, N.J. estuvieron en huelga por dos meses demandando 75 centavos en aumento en todas las categorías, alrededor de 10% en aumento. La Pako Core de Mineapolis, una planta donde se procesan equipos fotográficos, cedió a la demanda de sus 525 huelguistas, un 7% de aumento salarial más otros beneficios. Después de ser afectado por el control salarial a mediados de su larga huelga de 207 días, miembros de la Local 180 de la Asociación Oeste de Trabajadores del Papel y Pulpa ganaron un contrato de tres años con el 10% 9% y 8% en aumentos salariales y están regresando a sus trabajos en Washington. 200 agricultores de lechuga del sur de California salieron en huelga para obtener \$1.50 en aumento, alrededor del 40% más de su mínimo sueldo de \$3.75. Ellos son los primeros grupos de trabajadores de salarios-minimo demandando más del 7%. La Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks recientemente resolvieron su larga huelga con un contrato de 3 años con un total de aumentos en salarios y beneficios de 36%

Estas huelgas con desparramadas pero cada una tiene el potencial de llegar a ser parte de una más unificada, amplia lucha elevando la consigna de luchar para poner fin al control de salarios. La huelga no autorizada por los obreros del correo el verano pasado demuestra lo cerca que llegamos a penetrar luchando contra el control salarial de los capitalistas.

Los Obreros del Correo Casi Rompe los Propósitos del Control Salarial

La ira de los obreros del correo contra el límite del 5.5% por el gobierno le dió a ellos la valentía de romper a través de la restricción del odioso liderato engañoso. Las huelgas no autorizadas por miles de costa a costa, especialmente las locales militantes de N.Y.—N.J. y California, tomó hasta a los líderes de las uniones por sorpresa. Mientras estas huelgas se extendían, el gobierno no pudo hacer nada pero morderse las uñas. Todavía estaban fresco con las pesadillas del tremendo apoyo que obtuvieron los mineros en su lucha contra el Taft-Hartley, ellos trataron de prevenir una confrontación.

El gobierno movilizó la guardia nacional en las pirámides de la ciudad de Nueva York pero no se atrevieron traerlas dentro de la ciudad para repartir las cartas por miedo de esparcir la indignación y el apoyo de los demás oficios. A través de todo el país, cada obrero postal mantenía su vista en la N.Y.—N.J. Metro Chapter de la American Postal Workers Union (APWU)

para llama a una huelga. "Si ellos salen en huelga entonces nosotros saldremos también."

Pero los líderes engañosos de las uniones postales no lo hizo. Ellos se tiraron como agua fría en un fuego furioso y sofocaron la ira e iniciativa de los miembros ordinarios. Líderes como Emmett Andrews—presidente de la APWU—y James La Penta—presidente de la división de cargadores de la Laborers Internacional—llamó a la miembresía a que aceptaran un mísero 2%, 3%, y 5% en aumento por tres años. Otro líder engañoso, Moe Biller, presidente de la N.Y.—N.J. Metro Chapter (la más grande y más militante de las uniones) totalmente confundió la lucha. El primeramente apoyó el falso contrato, después cruzó la vía y corrió

lucha contra el control salarial por los trabajadores.

La burguesía a través de sus representantes en el gobierno ganaron tiempo aplicando las tácticas doble de la zana-horia y el garrote (reforma y represión). Por otra parte, cientos de militantes fueron encolerizados al instante. Además, hábiles líderes engañosos como Moe Biller fueron llamados a dar "apoyo" a la demanda de los miembros. Mientras tanto negociaciones fueron nuevamente abiertas para así dilatar la lucha.

Carter tuvo que reevaluar toda la implementación de la póliza del control salarial. El límite del 5½% fue revisado a 7% y el "seguro de ingreso" el cual había sido derrotado fue introducido. Después él hizo el papel de malvado



detrás de los trabajadores para llamar para una huelga nacional. Al final el divirtió la ira a varias demostraciones frente de la corte y esperaron que la moción se calmara.

Una huelga postal con el potencial de señalar más allá del contrato postal, a un movimiento contra el control salarial fue desviado por los líderes engañosos y la despedida de más de 200 miembros ordinarios a través del país.

La Burguesía Usa Doble Tácticas Frente a la Resistencia

La huelga no autorizada de los carteros fue una llamada cerca para la burguesía. Obreros a través del país tenían sus ojos y oídos en que sus hermanos y hermanas estaban haciendo en el correo de Richmond, California y en el centro de carga de Nueva Jersey. Una huelga victoriosa hubiera chispeado un movimiento de apoyo nacionalmente y edificado el impulso en la

que quería aguantarse a sus guías mientras su secuaz Barry Bosworth estaba "vacilando". Estas maniobras fueron hechas para darle aire fresco a líderes engañosos como Doug Fraser de la UAW para que así se tambalara a calmar a los miembros ordinarios.

Todo el plan de negociar con cada contrato separadamente, caso por caso, es precisamente para tratar de poner un paro a la unidad de los trabajadores y dar espacio para que los líderes engañosos se muevan rápidamente a favorecer el control-salarial. Pero mientras cada unión se topa con el límite cuando ellos van a la mesa de negociaciones, la resistencia se elevará y los trabajadores podrán ver más claro rápidamente. Esta es la importancia de la lucha de los trabajadores gubernamentales en Washington, D.C. Los cuales tienen un límite del 5.5% en sus salarios.

Este artículo continuará en la próxima edición

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PUNTO DE VISTA OBRERA

AHORA!

¿COMO SE TRANSFORMÓ LA UNIÓN SOVIÉTICA EN UN PAÍS DE SOCIO-IMPERIALISTA?

Por Kung Liang-Tsou imprimido por Prensa Casa del Pueblo en 1976, traducido del Chino por Punto de Vista Obrero.

Citas de Lenin:

“‘Socio-Imperialistas,’ o sea Socialismo en palabras, e imperialismo en hechos.”

“Imperialismo es la etapa monopolista del capitalismo.”

“Un aspecto esencial del imperialismo es la rivalidad entre algunos poderes grandes en el esfuerzo por hegemonía.”

Citas del Presidente Mao:

“El ascenso al poder del revisionismo, es el ascenso al poder de la burguesía.”

“La Unión Soviética fue el primer estado socialista y el Partido Comunista de la Unión Soviética fue creado por Lenin. A pesar de que el liderato del Partido y Estado Soviético fueron usurpados por revisionistas, yo aconsejo a los camaradas que mantengan firme la convicción que las masas del Pueblo Soviético y los miembros y cuadros de Partido son buenos, que ellos desean revolución y el dominio revisionista no durará largo tiempo.”

Declaración del autor:

Después de tomar poder en la Unión Soviética por



V.I. Lenin se une con otros obreros en un Subbotnik ruso en el terreno del Kremlin. El 1ero de mayo, 1920. Por M. Sokolov.

Restauración del Capitalismo

más de 20 años la camarilla gobernante revisionista Khrushchev-Brezhnev ha transformado el país en un socio-imperialista. Han substituido la dictadura del proletariado con la dictadura de la grande burguesía y fascistas. La economía socialista ha sido también substituida por el estado de monopolio capitalista y economía capitalista, mientras que el poder de la burguesía se ha extendido enormemente. Al explotar cruelmente y oprimir al proletariado, el pueblo trabajador y las minorías nacionales esta camarilla intensifica cada día las contradicciones económicas, políticas y nacionales. Externamente, para poder competir por la hegemonía mundial, ellos avanzan su política socio-imperialista de agresión, expansión y subversión por todo el mundo. Esto totalmente expone la fea naturaleza del nuevo Czar. Hoy en día la clase del capitalismo monopolio burocrático encabezada por Brezhnev es el enemigo más odiado por el pueblo soviético y el mundo.

En su directiva importante sobre la cuestión de teoría, el Presidente Mao apuntó, “¿Por qué hablaba Lenin de ejercer la dictadura sobre la burguesía? Es esencial aclarar esta cuestión. Falta de claridad sobre esta cuestión nos llevará hacia el revisionismo. Toda la nación debe de conocer esto.”

Una breve mirada a los nuevos elementos burgueses de Rusia como fueron engendrados en el viejo suelo y como restauraron el capitalismo de una manera completa después de haber tomado el poder nos puede ayudar a comprender el consejo del Presidente Mao. También nos puede aclarar porque debe de haber dictadura completa sobre la burguesía y que tanto tiempo debe de continuar la revolución bajo la dictadura del proletariado. De manera que escribimos este pamfletito más bien como referencia.

Nuestro nivel teórico es bajo y nuestros recursos materiales son limitados. Deben de haber bastantes errores y debilidades en este pamfletito. Agradeceríamos las críticas y sugerencias de nuestros lectores.

Muchos equipos teóricos de ejército-trabajadores y campesinos especialmente la Planta de Tabaco de Shanghai nos han ayudado a escribir este pamfletito. Quisieramos darles las gracias a todos aquí.

CAPITULO UNO

Como se Desarrolló el Revisionismo Soviético y Como Llegó al Poder

Lenin ha indicado: “La transición del capitalismo al comunismo representa toda una época histórica. Hasta que esta época no llegue a terminarse, los explotadores alimentan la esperanza de restauración, y esta esperanza se convierte en intento a restauración.” (La revolución Proletaria y el Renegado Kautsky) Después de que la camarilla renegada Khrushchev-Brezhnev obtuvieron el poder en la Unión Soviética, restauraron el capitalismo y transformaron al primer país socialista en un país socio-imperialista. Esto quiere decir que la burguesía Soviética ha usurpado el poder político del proletariado y convertido la “esperanza de restauración” a “intento de restauración.” Esto es más bien el producto de la lucha de clases dentro de la Unión Soviética en la cual un pequeño grupo de capitalistas encaminados en el poder han tomado el Partido y el Estado. Esto también es el resultado del intento del imperialismo internacional por medio de la camarilla renegada Soviética, de salvarse de su propia destrucción, planteando la política de “transición pacífica” en la Unión Soviética.

I. Repetidas Veces Lenin Indicó el Peligro de la Restauración Capitalista Durante el Período de Transición del Capitalismo al Comunismo

La victoria de la Revolución de Octubre bajo la dirección de Lenin fue la victoria de la teoría Marxista con respecto a la revolución proletaria y la dictadura

del proletariado. Basado en su propia práctica revolucionaria de dirigir la revolución proletaria y establecer la dictadura del proletariado, Lenin repetidas veces indicó que durante todo el período del socialismo existe el peligro de restauración debido a varias razones. Primeramente los explotadores derrotados tratarán de cien-mil maneras el intento de restaurar su cielo perdido. Segundo, el imperialismo internacional llevará a cabo subversión, sabotaje, y otras actividades siniestras para desintegrar el socialismo. Además las tendencias capitalistas de la pequeña burguesía engendran nuevos elementos burgueses. Finalmente no menos importante es la influencia de la burguesía y acorralamiento del efecto corrupto de la tendencia espontánea capitalista de la pequeña burguesía que ha engendrado elementos burgueses entre el personal soviético, trabajadores y miembros del partido. Estos nuevos elementos burgueses engendrados en el viejo terreno del capitalismo cooperan con los explotadores derrotados e imperialistas internacionales para tratar de muchas maneras de derrotar la dictadura del proletariado y restaurar el capitalismo. De manera que un país bajo la dictadura del proletariado debe de suprimir los explotadores derrotados y defenderse contra la agresión imperialista pero también necesita “crear condiciones en la cual sea imposible que exista la burguesía o que se levante una nueva burguesía.” (Lenin, “Tarea Inmediata del Gobierno Soviético”). Sólo de esta manera el proletariado puede prevenir la restauración del capitalismo.

En la primera etapa del poder soviético, Lenin dirigió al pueblo soviético a derrotar la intervención armada de los imperialistas. Adentro, él derrotó el golpe de estado militar contra-revolucionario, así consolidando el recién nacido poder político rojo. Al mismo tiempo puso mucha atención a la cuestión de limitar los derechos burgueses y llevó a cabo varias

MOVIMIENTO DE APOYO PARA LA LIBERACIÓN AFRICANA - EN UN NIVEL MÁS ALTO

"¡CORTAR LAS RELACIONES DIPLOMÁTICA A SUDÁFRICA!"

Más de 1,000 personas se congregaron el día 11 de noviembre para poner a los imperialistas en aviso: ¡Nosotros forzaremos a los Estados Unidos a cortar las relaciones diplomática con Sudáfrica—de una forma u otra! La manifestación patrocinada por la Coalición Nacional para Apoyar la Liberación Africana (NCSAL) marcó una nueva etapa en el movimiento de apoyo a la liberación de África en los Estados Unidos. El primer paso fue la quema de una efigie de Jimmy Carter en frente de la barrera de la Casa Blanca—dándole a entender claramente a la policía de Washington y a sus amos capitalistas que la cosa "no es como de costumbre."

El significado de la manifestación fue óptimamente resumida por el camarada David Sibeko del Congreso Pan Africanista de Azania. El dijo que "¡Esta manifestación a hecho más en un sólo día que lo que nosotros hemos sido capaz de hacer en años en las Naciones Unidas en llevar este movimiento político al pueblo norteamericano!"

El mitin fue grabado y enviado a Sudáfrica, para dejarle saber al pueblo azanio acerca del creciente apoyo por su lucha y como un símbolo de nuestra solidaridad.

Antes de la marcha aprendimos una profunda lección de la Asociación de Estudiante Iranio (ISA-CIS). Un gran contingente esperó en una distante esquina del parque—esperando por el orador de la ISA que subiera a la tarima. Llevando una máscara para esconder sus caras de los agentes SAVAK y de la CIA, ellos entraron en una procesión solemne hacia la tarima central. La multitud le dieron la única bienvenida apropiada, "¡Muerte al Shah! ¡Muerte al Shah!" El orador de la ISA trajo buenas noticias de la excelente situación revolucionaria en Irán. El señaló que una vez el Shah desaparezca, el 90 por ciento del suministro de petróleo le será cortado a Sudáfrica, ¡porque no más petróleo iranío irá hacia Sudáfrica! Para terminar su discurso él dirigió a la multitud en un feroz canto "¡Muerte al Shah! ¡Cortar las relaciones! ¡las relaciones!"

Militante Marcha Declara No Más Negocios Como de Costumbre

Luciendo como un batallón del ejército cerrando fila, el mitin se convirtió rápidamente en una marcha disciplinada, mientras los May Day Singers y otros dirigían "¡Desperté esta mañana con la mente resuelta a cortar las relaciones!" Durante la marcha, la Casa Blanca estaba silenciosa con sólo algunos transeúntes. Al final de la marcha el equipo de sonido se paró directamente frente de la Casa Blanca. Unos cuantos policías se reunieron en la calle opuesta, seis líneas de tráfico nos separaban. Nosotros los sorprendimos con sus pantalones a medio subir. Antes que



Wash. DC, noviembre 11. Algunas personas sugirieron que esta fue la mejor y más militante manifestación que ellos hayan participado. Primera y optimamente, la manifestación del 11 de noviembre enseña que para que cualquier campaña política sea exitosa, la energía, entusiasmo e iniciativa de las masas debe ser extraída en todo su esplendor.

ellos pudieran llamar por refuerzos, una efigie de Jimmy Carter, con cabeza de maní y todo, fue encendida. Inmediatamente, rugió el sonido de, "¡Carter, tu mientes, te encendimos el tracero!" Las masas lo cogieron en menos de un minuto, lo suficientemente alto para que Rosalynn lo escuchara. Los manifestantes triunfantemente mantuvieron su terreno, mientras la efigie humeaba y se quemaba. Un cerdo (policía) trató de agarrar por el cuello a una compañera y se llevó la sorpresa de su vida. Todos los participantes estaban estático cuando retornaron al parque Lafayette aclamando, "¡El pueblo unido, Jamás serán vencido!" La policía, totalmente confundida y desorganizada, estaban tan frustrados que quemaron una bandera de la Coalición para dispensar sus caras.

Oradores En Traen Secciones de Malcolm X

Phillip Thompson, miembro de la Organización Punto de Vista Obrero y presidente de la Liga de Juventud Revolucionaria, fijó el ritmo de la tarde con el más poderoso de los discursos del día. Dijo que "Estamos aquí hoy para decirles a Jimmy Carter que corte las relaciones diplomáticas con Sudáfrica. O corta las relaciones o nosotros le cortaremos su cuello!" A través de su discurso el fue interrumpido un sin número de veces con tempestuoso aplausos por la multitud.

En trayendo fuerzas de las masas,

él inspiró nueva vida a las inmortales palabras de Malcolm X: "Malcolm X era un revolucionario. El dijo si ustedes no entienden lo que está pasando en el Congo, ustedes no pueden entender lo que esta pasando en Misisipi. El enseño que era la misma lucha porque estamos luchando contra el mismo sistema del monopolio capitalista, los mismos chupadores de sangre, y los mismos parásitos. El creciente movimiento en los E.U. para forzar a los E.U. a cortar las relaciones diplomática con Sudáfrica es la misma lucha en Tupelo, Misisipi. Malcolm enseñó que hay dos cosas que pueblos oprimidos tenemos a nuestro lado—verdad y tiempo. Con la verdad podemos unir al pueblo, y con un poco de tiempo el pueblo puede sacarle la furia a cualquiera!"

Un amigo de Nueva Jersey quien es un veterano en las luchas por educación de calidad fue tan conmovido por la organización del día y la militancia política del discurso, que dijo "nosotros debemos tener un capítulo de la Liga (RYL) en nuestra ciudad!"

El compañero Henry Boyd, Sr. de La Liga Unida del Norte de Misisipi dió un penetrante discurso acerca de la lucha heroica del pueblo afro-americano en Tupelo, Misisipi, por tierra, vivienda decente, educación de calidad, y mejores empleos. El movimiento en Tupelo es un torrente de los negros dirigido directamente al estado, el gobierno federal y Ku Klux Klan local.

Ethel Shefton, miembro del Comité para Apoyar la Liberación de Africa (ALSC) del comité directivo nacional, destonó a los dos superpoderes (los E.U. y la Unión Soviética) por sus trama desesperada tratando de socavar la lucha de liberación por sus propios intereses. Mientras nos congregabamos el 11 de noviembre para enfocar al imperialismo norteamericano, ella nos recordó que debemos mantenernos especialmente vigilante acerca de los trucos de la Unión Soviética la cual trata de posar como un "aliado natural" de los grupos de liberación.

Hablando por la organización Punto de Vista Obrera, el camarada Dwight Hopkins desenmascaró al imperialismo norteamericano exponiendo su papel truculento en Sudáfrica la cual es legitimada a través de las relaciones de estado a estado. Dijo él que "debemos estar claro que esto no es un tema moral, este no es un tema liberal... esto es una guerra!"

El explicó que la guerra que se esta combatiendo en Sudáfrica esta ligada a una guerra que nosotros, también, debemos pelear—para terminar la autoridad del capitalismo monopolista. "La Revolución Socialista Es la Única Solución," dijo él que "debemos crear un Estados Unidos de América socialista donde las fábricas, las minas, las escuelas y el gobierno esten controlado por la mayoría, y donde haya restricción violenta del grupito de capitalistas."

Vea pagina 8

VIETNAM/UNIÓN SOVIÉTICA AHOGÁNDOSE EN EL MAR DE LA GUERRA POPULAR DE KAMPUCHEA

¡Las fuerzas armadas populares de Kampuchea están luchando 6 millas de Phnom Penh! La porta de Kampot el Golfo de Thailand en el suroeste de Kampuchea, la base naval de Ream y el templo en Angkor, un símbolo de soberanía nacional del pueblo de Kampuchea, también se ha recapturado. En otra victoria militar, las fuerzas armadas populares mataron a 300 tropas cubanas y soviéticas. La carretera 4, que une a Phnom Penh con el mar, está totalmente bloqueada y casi toda la sección suroeste de Kampuchea está en las manos del pueblo.

Tanques y Artillería Trabados en el Territorio Interior de Kampuchea

Los revisionistas vietnamitas y sus amos soviéticos están perdiendo antes de la contraofensiva dirigida por Pol Pot, el jefe del estado legítimo, en las montañas interiores de Kampuchea. La resistencia del pueblo de Kampuchea ha sido muy duro de tragar para estos perros golosos y ahora se están ahogando.

gando.

Tanques, artillería y equipo pesado que vale millones de dolares y miles de tropas están trabados en el territorio interior de Kampuchea. Sin gasolina y provisiones no se pueden mover ni una pulgada, y no hay ninguna manera de que le manden las provisiones desde que han destruido los puentes y secciones grandes de la carretera están bajo el control del pueblo.

Ciegos a las Lecciones Históricas de la Guerra Popular

Los revisionistas vietnamitas se olvidaron como es que su país pudo derrotar la toneladas de equipo militar, los B-52's y las miles de tropas imperialistas de los E.U. Su chauvinismo nacional, el revisionismo y el apoyo de la Unión Soviética ha vuelto a los vietnamitas ciegos de sus propias experiencias históricas—la invisibilidad de la guerra popular por una causa justa. Pero los invasores vietnamitas y soviéticos no tuvieron alternativa cuando

decidieron invadir a Kampuchea Democrática, tuvieron que depender en métodos de guerra convencionales. Lo principal para tener éxito en tácticas guerrilleras es el apoyo de las masas, y eso es algo que los invasores nunca tienen. Los propósitos reaccionarios de los revisionistas vietnamitas y sus amos soviéticos determinan y limitan sus tácticas, y por eso su derrote es inevitable.

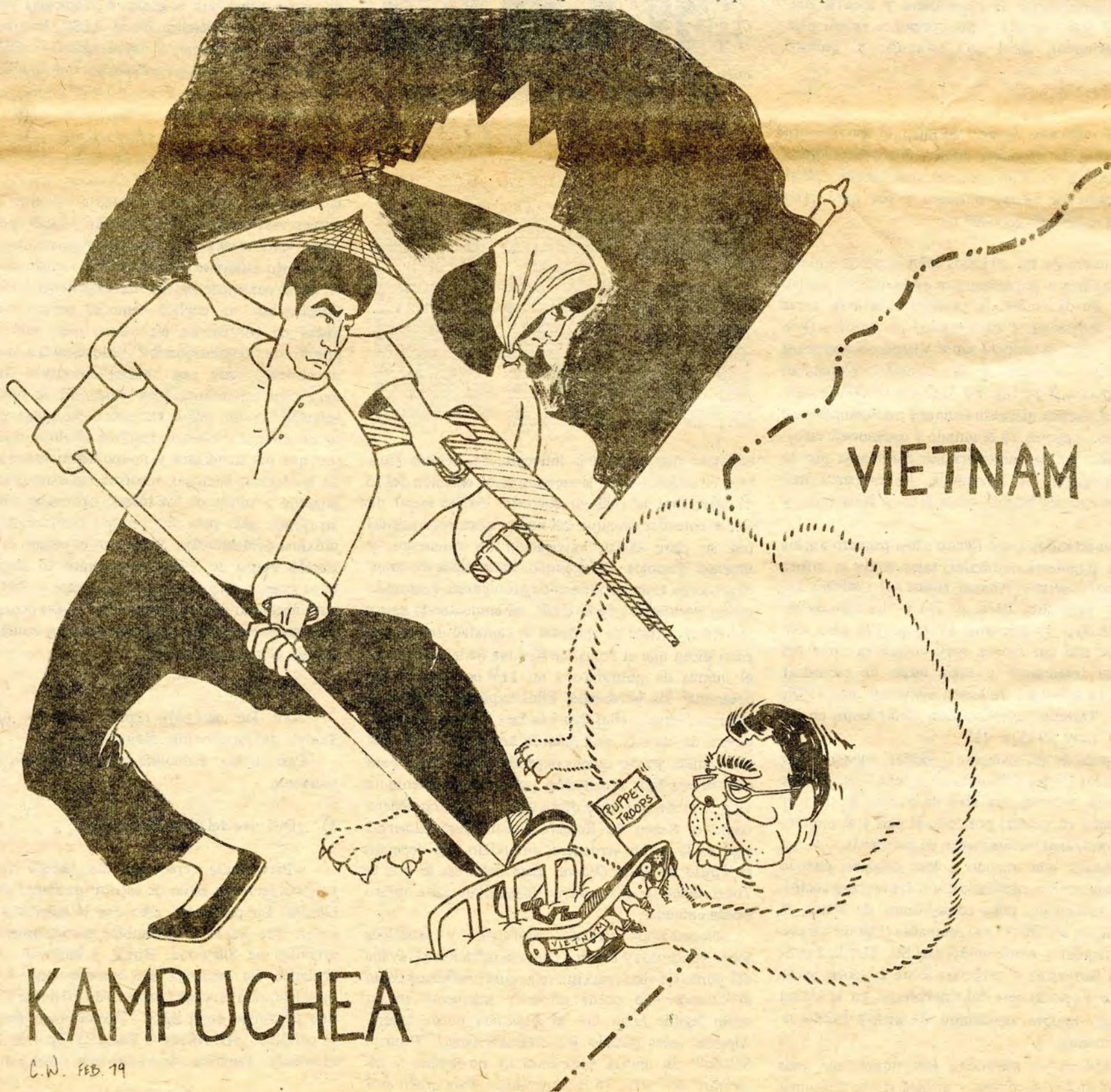
Recientemente, Hanoi ha firmado un "tratado amistoso" con el gobierno falso de los vendepatrias kampucheanos que incluye la ocupación permanente del país por las tropas vietnamitas. Después de meses de decir mentiras que los soldados vietnamitas no estaban en el país, los revisionistas están forzados a admitir que están metidos en una lucha larga. Los invasores saben que están rodeados por un pueblo unido y determinados a botarlos del país. En campamentos otra vez del campo de Kampuchea, los ancianos y los niños producen la comida y provisiones para

los hombres y mujeres en la frontera. Los que no pueden trabajar en el campo, preparan palos de bambú que usan los muchachos mayores para preparar trampas para la defensa del campamento

Victorias Aplastan los Sueños de las Dos Superpotencias

Las victorias recientes ha cambiado el aventurismo de los agresores vietnamitas y sus amos soviéticos a pesimismo y desesperación. También se opone a las esperanzas de los E.U. que China y la Unión Soviética se metan en guerra, la única manera que estos chupa sangre tienen de convertirse en el perro principal otra vez.

El pueblo de Kampuchea están claramente preparados para luchar el tiempo necesario para botar a los invasores. Por lo que parece, no será mucho tiempo. ■



Iran

De pagina 1

del ejército del Sha estan entregando sus armas y juntándose a la lucha del pueblo. Pronto todo lo que le quedará a Bakhtiar será los 10,000 guardias imperiales del Sha contra los millones de revolucionarios iraníes.

Esta es la situación que forzó a Carter a venir de rodillas a una conferencia de prensa rogándole a Khomeini a restaurar la calma y permitir al gobierno de Bakhtiar a que tenga una oportunidad a tener éxito. Pero Khomeini firmemente le advirtió igual que a los emisarios de Bakhtiar enviados a París, que "calma recuperará Irán cuando no haiga interferencia en sus asuntos internos por extranjeros, particularmente las superpotencias, y si la legalidad o ilegalidad del presente gobierno de Irán es estrictamente un asunto de los iraníes."

Los E.U. está perplejo. Tratando de mantener cualquier tipo de agarra-dero de algún modo ellos estan frenéticos sobre las posibilidades para su futuro en Irán. Khomeini ya le ha dicho a los E.U. que las bases militares tienen que irse igual que las estaciones de vigilancia a lo largo de la frontera soviética/iranía, y en rechazo a Carter, Khomeini dijo, "El gobierno de Bakhtiar es declarado ilegal y tiene que irse. No hay peros que valgan."

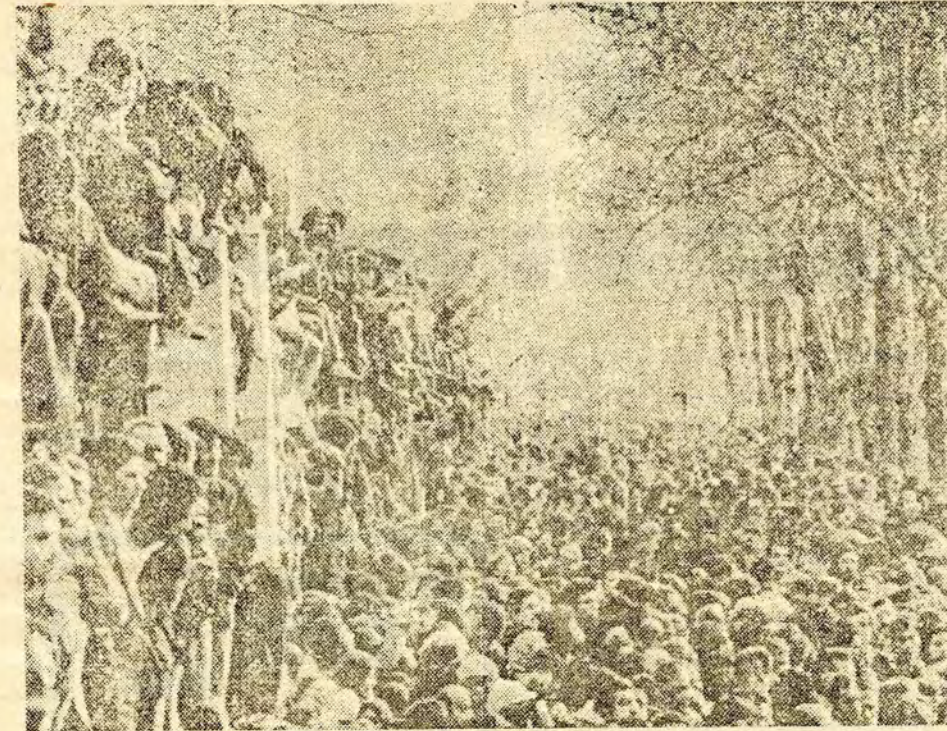
Khomeini ha empezado a llevar a cabo unas series de medidas tácticas para alcanzar su meta de una república islámica independiente principalmente confiando en las masas del pueblo iraní. Medidas como la continuación de demostraciones masivas, la continuación de la presión económica por medio de huelgas, negociando con el liderato militar y ciertos miembros del gobierno de Bakhtiar para neutralizarlos igual que solicitando el apoyo del pueblo por las tropas de filas. Los últimos rastros del

iranio, rodeándolo con las fuerzas militares, para demorar el regreso de Khomeini por lo menos hasta el 31. Pero Khomeini ha declarado su intención a regresar y si necesario llamar una guerra civil para derrocar el estado y el aparato militar de Bakhtiar. Los E.U., en un frenesí, está dando importancia a los atentados de Bakhtiar a mantener a Khomeini afuera del país. La administración ha ordenado 4 millones de dólares de gasolina y aceite pesado enviado del Golfo Persa sólo para mantener a las tropas más leales—la Guardia Imperial—a flote. Los E.U. también estan apoyando a Bakhtiar en su prohibición de demostraciones públicas y la acumulación de armas entre divisiones de tanques y artillería. Fortaleciendo lo que queda de las fuerzas armadas mientras tranquilizando las masas en su último esfuerzo para supervivencia en Irán.

Ellos nunca aprenden. Disparando dentro de las multitudes, declarando ley marcial y preveniendo a Khomeini de regresar sólo prenderá el odio de las masas iraníes hasta más y aumentará la derroca del estado.

Intereses Estratégicos de los Superpoderes en Irán

En la corriente situación excelente, los E.U. está claramente de fuga. Pero como todos los imperialistas, ellos nunca pueden rendirse. Su clase reaccionaria natural los fuerza a luchar uña y carne contra la lucha del pueblo iraní. Mucho esta en arriesgo en un país cuyo local geográfico domina las rutas marinas del Golfo Persa sobre cual mucho del petróleo de mundo viaja y que hace a Irán una base clara para las operaciones militares en Asia Central, el Medio Este, África del Norte y Europa, el foco de la contención entre los superpoderes. Por esto es que tantos llamados "investigadores" (Gerald Ford, David Rockefeller, Ramsey Clark) estan corriendo por todo Irán y el Medio Este confabulando para cambiar al revés la situación en Irán.



poder del Sha y los E.U. se están rompiendo. Hasta los embajadores iraníes en la ONU estan declarando su apoyo para las demandas del pueblo.

Los próximos pocos de días son decisivos. Los E.U. sabe que si Khomeini regresa ahora, eso es todo. Esto es porque Bakhtiar está rogando por tiempo de Khomeini—tres semanas—y en la fecha del 25 cerró el aeropuerto

Y el porque Brzezinski está ocupado tratando de formar otro grupo de estudio para investigar la inabilidad de la CIA a estar atento de la situación en Irán e investigar las fuerzas y debilidades de las naciones que producen petróleo e industriales en el Medio Este temerosos que lo que en

Vea pagina 9

¡Rompiendo las Cadenas!

SALVEMOS A ST. MARY

Las universidades de la ciudad de Chicago han cerrado la escuela alternativa de adultos y han notificado a sus 300 estudiantes que ellos tienen que irse a otro lugar. Inmediatamente, los estudiantes, profesores y grupos incluyendo a la ALSC hicieron un llamado para la formación de una amplia coalición para luchar y salvar a St. Mary y luchar por el derecho de todas las minorías a una educación decente.

No es un accidente que St. Mary fue escogida ya que ésta está bien unida con la comunidad y trata de enseñar la verdadera historia de la lucha de los afro-americanos contra la opresión. Al comienzo del año luchando contra los previos ataques por da universidad de la ciudad, los estudiantes se unieron con dos escuelas latinas de adultos y mantuvieron a St. Mary abierta.

EL CAROLINA TIMES DESTRUIDO POR FUEGO

El Carolina Times un periódico negro publicado semanalmente, ha continuado a publicar a pesar de un fuego que destruyó sus oficinas y varios otros negocios poseídos por negros. Localizado en lo que una vez fue una comunidad predominantemente negra, estos negocios son los últimos que se han quedado y han luchado contra la renovación urbana. Acusando de incendio premeditado, el publicador del Times llamó el fuego el coronamiento de los atentados a verdaderamente ponernos a fuera de negocio. Uno de los otros negocios quemados, E.N. Toole & Sons es uno de los contratistas negros de electricidad más grande en Carolina del Norte.

COSECHANDO AUTOMACION OPUESTO

Un grupo de abogados en Los Angeles entablaron juicio contra la universidad de California para parar el desarrollo de la universidad a cosechar maquinaria destinada a aumentar la productividad agrícola. Entre 1963 y 1970, máquinas desarrolladas por la escuela se hicieron cargo de cosechar prácticamente todos los tomates preparados.

Los tomates son el producto agrícola más grande en cantidad de dólares. En este periodo, la producción total de California aumentó a 51 por ciento, el número de obreros produciendo los tomates declinó 60 por ciento a menos de 18,000 y los



precios aumentaron más rápido que cualquier otro vegetal. La demanda acusa a algunos miembros de la Junta de Gobierno u oficiales de conflicto de intereses ilegal a causa de sus enlaces con los monopolios agrícolas. Llama por un fondo permanente para reentrenar y asistencia a los campesinos cuyos trabajos son reemplazados por la maquinaria.

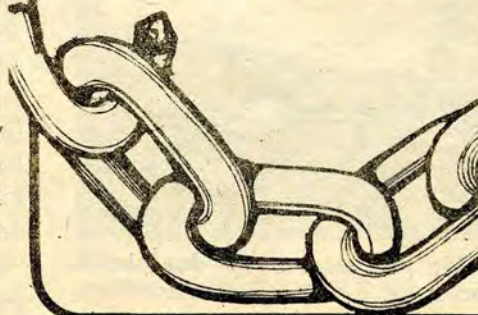
CHOFERES DE AUTOBUSES DE SAN DIEGO REPELAN POLITICOS

La Local 1309 de los choferes de Autobuses de San Diego ganaron dos tandas en la corte del distrito de los E.U. contra los políticos locales y directores de la compañía de autobuses poseída por la ciudad sobre los términos del contrato, que se venció a fines del año pasado. La decisión de la corte forzó a la compañía a arbitraje obligatorio, y a mantener el presente contrato hasta que una decisión final sen alcanzada. El alcalde Pete Wilson y el Consejo Municipal insisten que retractos, incluyendo rindiendo la cláusula del costo de la vida y cogiendo una reducción en salarios por horas son requeridos por la Proposición 13—inducida corte de fondos. Como un chofer dijo, "si somos forzados a coger el corte de 60 centavos y perder mitad de nuestros beneficios, entonces me debiera ir a vivir de la asistencia pública."

No hay ninguna escasez de dinero en los cofres de la ciudad pero Wilson y compañía quieren usarlo para construir un monocarril a Tijuana para estimular el turismo. Ahora el Consejo Municipal está planeando a cortar las líneas de autobuses a fines de enero y por casi en mitad en el verano en un esfuerzo a forzar a los choferes a aceptar los retractos en ves de ser despedidos, y a indisponer al público contra los choferes. Pero los obreros se estan aclarando en los intereses de los políticos locales, y las comunidades están más claras en su unidad con los obreros que diariamente los llevan a sus destinos en esos autobuses azules y blancos.

LA HUELGA DE FASH TERMINA

El 20 de enero, la Asociación Fraternal de Transportadores de Acero (FASH), una organización de dueños-operadores de camiones terminaron su huelga después de un paro de nueve semanas.



PUNTO de VISTA OBRERO

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El Proletariado, Pueblo Y Naciones Oprimidas
Del Mundo, Unanse!

VOL. 4, NO. 2

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25 CENTS

¡No Sufriremos las Penas Por el Límite Salarial de Carter!

Controles Salariales Parte de la Crisis Permanente Capitalista



“¡Obreros Gubernamentales Defiéndanse, Unáanse al Contraataque!”

Washington, D.C., enero 25—“Obreros Público y privado, unáanse para luchar contra el control salarial” fue el canto de más de 100 animados trabajadores del gobierno y apoyantes de la Liga Educativa Sindicalista, (TUEL) del capítulo de D.C. y la Organización Punto de Vista Obrero mientras marcharon por la avenida Independence. Espectadores curiosos e interesados (mayormente obreros del gobierno ellos mismos) miraron por las ventanas y de las aceras del gigantesco complejo del departamento de HEW (Salud, Educación y Bienestar Público) y de los edificios del Departamento del Tesoro. Un grupo del personal de la noticiara NBC-TV, y reporteros de varias estaciones de la radio local corrieron para mantenerse a tiempo con paso ligero de los militantes y determinados manifestantes para poner la manifestación en cinta de película noticiara. Las manifestaciones son ocurrencias diarias en D.C., pero demostraciones de obreros del gobierno son raras especialmente en la hora de sus almuerzos.

La Local 41 de la Federación Americana de Empleados del Gobierno (AFGE) inició una reunión un mes y medio atrás con otras uniones para

Vea pagina 7

IRÁN: “¡LIDERES, LIDERES, DÉNOS ARMAS!”

“¡Muerte a Bakhtiar!” Cada día de su gobierno. Pero protegiendo lo cientos son asesinados en las calles que queda de la dinastía del Sha y según Bakhtiar resiste el fin inevitable, comprando tiempo contra el retorno

de Khomeini sólo acelera su caída. Nada puede parar al pueblo iraní de retroceder ahora. Los miles que se han levantado, armándose con cualquier cosa que puedan encontrar contra las fuerzas armadas de Bakhtiar, están demandando, “¡Lideres! ¡Lideres! ¡Dénos Armas!”

El 17 de enero según unas de las demostraciones más grandes en la historia mundial con más de un millón de gente marchando por las calles de Tehran (5 millones por todo el país) gloriosamente celebraban la salida del Sha se ha convertido en guerra civil abierta. A pesar de las esperanzas de los E.U., la salida del Sha no fue el fin pero sólo el comienzo de sus problemas según el pueblo iraní ganaban impulso con su derroca. Las consignas del pueblo rápidamente cambiaron de “Muerte al Sha” a “El Sha se ha ido, Bakhtiar y américa son los próximos.”

Además, instancias de fraternización entre las tropas de filas y el pueblo ha crecido más común. Regimientos enteros

Vea pagina 9



Las masas iránias demuestran su determinación para sacar a toda dominación extranjera, especialmente ambas superpotencias, los E.U. y la Unión Soviética.

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