

# Bicentennial: Fight Imperialism & Opportunism

It seems like everything capitalist is coming up in red, white and blue these days. The capitalist politicians, radio and papers have been running endlessly about Uncle Sam, pushing the glories of "American democracy," "liberty," "national pride" and even "hard work"! They've even got Ray Charles trying to pump some soul into "America the Beautiful," singing how "God done shed his grace on thee."

This giant sales pitch for U.S. monopoly capitalism is part and parcel of the ruling class' preparations for fascism and world war. It's part of their work among the U.S. working class and masses to numb and disarm us ideologically to prolong their rule.

With their pitch for "American democracy," they're trying to shore up their bourgeois (capitalist) democracy and lay

the groundwork for fascism. With their appeals to "national pride" and anti-communism, they're trying to whip up national chauvinism for war, put down the working class resistance and stifle communist leadership in the struggle.

But for all the work and money the ruling class is putting into it, they aren't getting over. The vast majority of U.S. workers have no faith in this garbage, and many see right through it.

In the past decade, the U.S. working class has struggled against the imperialist war in Vietnam and a series of economic crises that have landed us in the deepest crisis of monopoly capitalism since the '30s Depression, and has seen the ruling class exposed in political crises like Watergate. All these lessons clearly show the reactionary content of

their jive capitalist "national pride," "democracy," and "hard work."

The workers' total disdain for this barrage of capitalist lies is a tremendous show of resistance and the strength of our class. It shows how the masses learn from their own experience in class struggle. It also shows that communists must use these mass lessons to bring the need for socialism to the workers, especially the advanced, and the need to build the genuine communist party of the working class.

PSP-"C" PUSA REVISIONISM ON BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

The revisionist lies of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the "Communist" Party, USA, leaders of the July 4th Coa-

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## WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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### LONG LIVE THE AZANIAN PEOPLE'S NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE!

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

The recent rebellions in Azania (South Africa) clearly point to the two contending trends in the present international situation. On the one hand, the African workers and students rose up and dealt a grave blow to the reactionary, racist Vorster regime in Azania. On the other, the global strategic drive of the two superpowers is clearly shown as the U.S. imperialists attempt to change their tactics in Azania and the Soviet social-imperialists greedily eye all of southern Africa in hopes of establishing their own "spheres of influence." With its rich mineral resources, cheap labor supply and important location for trade and defense, Azania sits directly in the 2 superpowers' schemes for world domination.

The militant protest by thousands of African students in the Black township of Soweto, Azania, outside Johannesburg, on June 16 was sparked off by a law mandating the use of the Afrikaans language in Soweto's elementary and junior high schools. Afrikaans, the language of Azania's racist white minority rulers, is a symbol of the centuries-long colonial oppression of the Azanian people.

The June 16 demonstration had been preceded by at least 5 weeks of sporadic student strikes and widespread boycott of classes in the township. When the revolutionary students, chanting Black power slogans and raising clenched fists in the Black power salute, converged on a local junior high school, they were attacked and fired upon without warning by the vicious South African police in an act of brutal suppression. Scores of unarmed students, mostly teenagers & youth,

were massacred. In retaliation, the students burned government office buildings, the West Rand Bantu Administration Board (that administers Soweto township for the Azanian authorities) and the buses that carry Africans in and out of their townships everyday to work in the white territories. The progressive struggle of the African people surged forward!

The just uprising quickly aroused broad mass support and spread to at least 8 other Black townships in Azania, including Alexandra in northern Johannesburg. South African police again opened fire on more than 1,000 demonstrators as they marched towards the border of their township and headed for Johannesburg, Azania's major industrial and finance center.

At Witwatersrand University for white students in Johannesburg, hundreds showed their unity by protesting the police action in Soweto; they carried placards like "Black Education Kills" and "Power to Soweto." When both white and Black students and workers joined the march and swelled their ranks to over a thousand, they were ruthlessly attacked by frantic South African police.

The 47 member countries of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in the



AFRICAN WORKERS & STUDENTS ARE RISING UP and dealing a death blow to the reactionary, apartheid Vorster regime in Azania.

United Nations gave their immediate and militant support to the Africans' anti-repression struggle and condemned the atrocities of the racist Vorster regime. They were joined by representatives of many other countries, especially those of Asia and Latin America.

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# 1199 Workers Demand to Strike:

The revolutionary spirit of 60,000 hospital workers, members of District 1199, the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, RWDSU, AFL-CIO, to maintain and improve their standard of living and fight national oppression is the main force pushing Leon Davis, President of Local 1199, to half-heartedly call for a New York City-wide voluntary (private, "nonprofit") hospitals strike. The strike vote was overwhelmingly 9 to 1 in favor.

Apologetically "letting the public know", Leon Davis said, "the last thing in the world that hospital workers want is to go out on strike. We're willing to explore every avenue possible...anything...anything...rather than have a strike."

As a trade union misleader, an agent of the bourgeoisie within the working class, former "Communist" Party member, Leon Davis cleverly plays his role as militant crusader for the rights of hospital workers in the face of attacks from corrupt hospital administrators and vicious politicians like Governor Carey and Mayor Beame, who represent the interests of monopoly capitalists, out to cut the throats of workers by slashing Medicaid funds (a major source of income for the voluntary hospitals) that would mean wage freezes and cuts in health care. But we already know that because of his class nature, no matter how militantly he shouts, he's out to sell us out on this strike. Like he said, "we will offer mediation, arbitration and go to hell and back for a fair deal without a strike."

But as workers, if we give up our weapon, the strike, the power to withhold our labor, we become absolutely powerless, at the mercy of the greedy capitalists ready to bring us down to our old wages of \$30 a week, 48-hour week and miserable working conditions. It was through class struggle that we learned that when we withhold our labor, our ability to work, we saw the truth of the German workers' song that says of the working class, "all wheels stand still, if your mighty arm wills it."

It was through such fierce, long struggle, proudly braving attacks from the national guard, police, goons and hospital administrators that we hospital workers won the right to organize into unions in the mid 50's and 60's. These were the first major hospital unionization drives in the country since the first successful drive in San Francisco in 1919 and the sporadic attempts by the CIO in the 30's and 40's. District 1199 founded in 1932, started as a 5,000 member local of registered pharmacists and other drug store workers. Today, there are 100,000 hospital workers organized in the National Union in 12 different states. However, this organized sector is only a tiny part of the total 4 million hospital workers in the U.S.

The majority of hospital workers are oppressed nationalities and national minorities -- 80% Afro-American, Latin and Chicano, Asian, 3 million of whom are women. It is no accident that the organizing of hospital workers had to merge with the struggle against national and women's oppression. In 1962, 1199 rank and file struck for 56 days before they won union recognition. The struggle against discrimination became a main issue among the rank and file. Union misleaders charged that failure to grant union recognition to hospital workers was clearly racism and exploiting the Afro-American and Latin workers. Many unions rallied to support the workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers laundry truck drivers refusing to cross picket lines to deliver linen, electrical workers of Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers giving food and donation, Teachers Guild and Fur Workers Joint Board joining the picket lines. During the strike, Malcolm X and Martin Luther King spoke at 1199 rallies supporting the strikers. Martin Luther King said: "Your campaign to organize all hospital workers, non-professionals and professionals alike, is more than a fight for union rights. It is part of a larger fight in our nation against discrimination and exploitation, against slums, against all forms of degradation and human misery."

The spark for organizing nationally was set off in Charleston, South Carolina in 1969. 500 hospital workers, overwhelming majority Afro-American women, struck 2 public hospitals demanding basic rights of unionization, collective bargaining and wages increased from a scant \$1.30/hour. This strike lasted 113 days during which the state National Guard arrested over a thousand picketers and supporters. A mothers' Day rally gathered several thousand people, mostly Afro-American women who joined hands with South Carolina working class groups and International Ladies' Garment Workers Union workers. Southern Christian Leadership Conference was among the supporters with Coretta King and Ralph Abernathy, leader of SCLC leading rallies and marches, violating court injunctions, getting arrested, using tactics of the old Civil Rights movement.



MALCOLM X, LEADER OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN STRUGGLES OF THE 60'S.. spoke at many 1199 rallies. The organizing of hospital workers was an integral part of the Afro-American struggle against national oppression and for democratic rights.

The rapid growth of the union and the great improvement in the economic life of hospital workers is a testament to the strength of the struggle of the working class united with the movement of oppressed national minorities and nationalities. The Charleston strike represents the merging of the working class fight for unionization with the struggle of Afro-Americans against national oppression and for democratic rights.

## "BEST" MISLEADERS ARE TRAITORS FROM THE RANK AND FILE

Riding in on these heroic struggles of the proletariat, Leon Davis has been able to build up the image of 1199 as a progressive union,

"a different kind of union ... the nature of the union requires a special kind of organizer, one who is not a salesman, promoter or sharpshooter. Our national Union needs organizers who can relate to workers in the health field and help them overcome their fears, suspicions, and reluctance. We need organizers who can help workers stand up for their rights. We need organizers who can help workers pull-together and overcome their petty differences, especially racial prejudices. We need organizers who can translate the unity of workers into an instrument of power where workers can sit down with management and negotiate for terms and conditions of work which have been denied to them. We need organizers who can establish the standards we have achieved in NY in every city...."

("1199 News," July, 1975.)

True, many organizers of 1199 are different from those in other unions where the leadership and organizers are professional trade union misleaders. Many 1199 organizers rose from the ranks of workers. The 1199 leadership seeks out the best union organizers among the workers and trains them to become professional trade union misleaders because when they sell out they make some of the best misleaders in the working class.

As the great Russian revolutionary, Lenin, said:

"Opportunism is our principal enemy ... Practice has shown that the active people in the working class movement who adhere to the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself. Without their leadership of the workers, the bourgeoisie could not have remained in power. This is not only proved by the history of the Kerensky regime in Russia; it is also proved by the democratic republic in Germany, headed by its Social-Democratic government. It is proved by Albert Thomas' attitude toward his bourgeois government. It is proved by the analogous experience in Great Britain and the U.S. This is where our principle enemy is, and we must conquer this enemy. We must leave this congress with firm determination to carry this struggle onto the very end in all parties. This is our main task." (Lenin, "The International Situation and the Fundamental Tasks of the Communist International, Report Delivered at the 2nd Congress of the Communist International.")

Their favorite example is Doris Turner, a dietary worker who grew up on the "worst" block in Harlem and was recruited from Lenox Hill Hospital to be organizer during the unionization drives in the 60's. Today, she keeps company with Democratic Party politicians and is a delegate to the 76 Democratic National Convention and has her picture on the cover of the Daily News. But like all trade union misleaders, Doris Turner collaborates with the capitalists to divert and sell us out. She is part of the labor aristocracy, the bribed strata of the working class. This strata forms the material and social basis for opportunism in the working class, including the particular type, social democracy, which aptly characterizes 1199 leadership. This aristocracy of labor is the main support of Social-Democracy.



TU misleaders, Donna Ford and Doris Turner, are traitors from the rank and file.

Social Democracy is a historical trend in the European working class movement. Social Democratic parties in Germany, Austria, Italy and other European countries developed out of the Second International which went completely bankrupt in 1918 when the imperialist world war broke out. They took the chauvinist stand of "defending the fatherland" instead of turning their guns against their own bourgeois imperialist plunderers. Since then, the Social Democratic parties continued to trumpet the "parliamentary road to socialism" and sell out the working class movement from within. Social

# Social-Democratic Misleaders Sell-out From the Start

Democracy has not been a strong trend in the U.S. but as the crisis of U.S. imperialism deepens, and as the reformist tricks of the bourgeoisie and their collaborators from within the working class is more exposed, they are increasingly building up Social Democratic leaders as last ditch effort to continue their deception of the working class.

## PRESENT DAY SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS SMOTHER THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Leon Davis, one-time member of the "Communist" Party USA, still proclaiming himself a "socialist", is in fact nothing more than a liberal reformist. Under the pretext of supporting the workers, Davis puts out an image of being against the big monopolies and how they rip off the people.

In an 1199 News article on the city budget crisis ("The Big Bite on the Big Apple"), the union misleadership comes out attacking the banks, claiming they are taking control of the city to maximize their own profits.

"Not satisfied with this enormous profit, the banks have moved in to take control of the city entirely to protect their investment. One of the main vehicles for such control is the Municipal Assistance Corporation... Presumably set up by Governor Carey to be a super financial agent for the city, M.A.C. has now come up with plans that assure the money men control and maximum profit opportunities at the city's expense."

But how does "socialist" Leon Davis tell the rank and file workers how to fight?

"We are committed to the struggle for freedom and justice. The political process affects our members almost as fundamentally as management affects our economic positions and we can not and will not ignore our responsibilities to influence the political process in our favor.

Members will continue to be urged to vote and "to put money where our interests lie."  
(1199 News - The State of the Union, 11/75.)

Leon Davis' plan is to straitjacket the workers' struggle into the electoral process. All we have to do is vote a "better" man in who will really represent our interests.

"Social-Democracy -- modern post-1914 Social Democracy -- takes its starting point and origin in the conception of cooperation with capitalism and with the capitalist State. This line is presented as the line of safe and peaceful, harmonious, "democratic" advance towards Socialism, as opposed to the dangers and destruction of the path of violent revolution." (Dutt, Fascism and Social Revolution, p. 196.)

"...concentrating hopes in illusory legal defences, the ballot, "democratic", moderate bourgeois governments and finally even the support of pre-Fascist and near-Fascist dictatorships (Bruning, Dollfuss) as the "lesser-evil." (same as above, p. 186.)

Leon Davis builds illusions that enough liberal politicians in office will change capitalism to serve the workers.

Drumming up support for liberal Democrats like George McGovern for president in '68 and Udall in '76, and Carey for governor in '74, Leon Davis is pushing that by voting for them, we can reform the bourgeois State to serve the working class! At the last delegates

assembly, Leon Davis in face of growing consciousness of workers as to the bankrupt nature of all politicians had to say, "Carey sold us out, Beame sold us out, there's no guarantee that they won't do that. But a union of our size cannot stand apart from the political arena. We need to support politicians who will fight for what we want." In effect, he's saying it's not monopoly capitalism that's wrong, but certain politicians that can't be trusted. Such misleaders are trying to bind us hand and foot to bourgeois legality and the State!

But as communists we must ruthlessly expose this most dangerous trend within the working class movement, rip off the masks of these traitors who dare to divert our struggle into a fight for a few crumbs. Davis claims that this "system can be cured" and that "poverty is the source of all evil". We ask traitor Davis how the working class came to be exploited and oppressed. We did not create our own poverty. It is the system of capitalism that is the source, which we must overthrow through revolutionary violence (not through the so-called democratic voting procedure that Davis pushes) and establishing a dictatorship of the proletariat. Socialism cannot be brought about peacefully, because the capitalists will not willingly relieve itself of its political power. Davis is in fact peddling the same lie as the revisionist "C" PUSA.

We can see the danger of the line put out by Social-Democrats such as Leon Davis, when we look at the international and national situation today. The world today is caught in a fierce race between the trends of revolution and world war and fascism. Either revolution will prevent world war or world war give rise to revolution. As communists our stand is to overthrow capitalism, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in order to prevent world war. But if world war should become the dominant trend, communists must prepare the masses for this and turn the world war into a civil war.

The Social-Democrats' line of the "lesser of two evils", promoting of bourgeois legality, reliance on the electoral process will wreck the working class movement from within and tie us down hand and foot to the capitalist system, and help the bourgeoisie to usher in fascism.

Leon Davis, and the 1199 misleaders help to usher in fascism in many other ways. Their support for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) shows this clearly. "National Hospital Union members in New York and New Jersey will have a rare opportunity November 4 to contribute to America's celebration of our 200th anniversary as a democratic nation." (1199 News - Equal Rights Amendment, Vote Yes, 10/75). In Workers Viewpoint newspaper, Vol. I, No. 1 we clearly explained how the ERA is nothing but a trick, an abstract promise of equality from the bourgeoisie used to divert the working women's struggle into the courts, and used to divide men and women workers. "In our union we can see how this is being used. Under the guise of giving women housekeepers equality with the men housekeepers they have been given extra work such as mopping in order to speed up the workers, blame women for taking these jobs away from men. The 1199 Workers Organizing Committee says of the ERA, "We don't want formal equality like the ERA will give us, but real equality. Equality not only under the law, but equality in reality. To fight for this means to oppose the attacks of the monopoly capitalists that would keep us oppressed as workers, as women, and as national minorities."

## SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS UNDERMINE US FROM WITHIN

"Social-Democracy undermines the class organizations of the workers

from within, building on the basis of the previous independent movement and "Marxist" ideology, which still holds the workers' traditions and discipline, in order more effectively to carry through the policy of capitalism and smash all militant struggle." (Dutt, Fascism and Social Revolution, p. 175.)

This capsulizes the stand and tactics the 1199 misleaders took during the latest wave of spontaneous rank and file resistance to layoffs in hospitals throughout the city. Their strategy to sabotage the local sit-ins, walkouts and demonstrations organized by workers at different hospitals was to try to limit the duration of these action to 8-24 hours so as not to cause disruption yet at the same time seem to be fighting back. To maintain their leadership over the workers and not to expose their real stand, the trade union misleaders had to respond though their real plan was to rely on negotiations with hospital administrators and not mass mobilizations of the workers. Union organizers met with delegates promising the union would secretly back them up but they couldn't do it openly because they would be violating the contract which prohibits wildcats and work stoppages. In this way, they undermined any potential actions of workers that could succeed yet they preserved their image of militancy.



Temple University clerical workers (Philadelphia) protest the monopoly capitalists' attacks on their standard of living.

## STREAMLINING AND CENTRALIZING OF HEALTH CARE

This policy also objectively feeds centralization of hospitals since layoffs are fought at each individual hospital and it's the smaller hospitals being hardest hit. It's the larger complexes that will survive. The effect of this sellout is deep and far reaching -- a lot more than only a cut in our standard of living. As in economic crisis, this is part of the process of centralization -- the big fish, able to weather the storm, eat the little fish who can't. Economic power is wielded by fewer and fewer capitalists. The entire healthcare system is being trimmed and streamlined with tighter power being put into the hands of the state. This is reflected in the latest Medicaid Bill pushed through the State legislature. It gives the State Health Commissioner the power to determine how much Medicaid funds (a major source of income for voluntary hospitals) each hospital will receive so the bourgeoisie can slice health care down to practically nothing and allow even some of these limited resources to be diverted for other purposes if needed by the State (like military or defense preparations for war). To enforce cuts

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# REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT MOVEMENT

"Today we are witnessing a powerful upsurge of the youth and student movement everywhere in the world. The revolts of the younger generation have become an important phenomenon of great political and social significance. They have greatly sharpened the class contradictions in the capitalist world." (The 6th Congress of the Albanian Labor Youth Union, p. 82.)

Students are rising like a mighty storm in resisting savage cutbacks in education; and as the political and economic decay of capitalism grows daily more foul, a revolutionary student movement is emerging.

In June, through its governing body, the Board of Higher Education (BHE), the ruling class imposed tuition at the 270,000-student City University of New York (CUNY), and ended the Open Admissions program that opened the doors to thousands of oppressed nationality and working class students. These moves were the latest in a series of savage cutbacks that include dropping an estimated 40,000 to 100,000 students from the rolls, eliminating "slow moving" students, establishing a "skill" test to deny poor -- especially national minority students -- entrance to college, axing over 2,000 faculty, and slashing special programs -- such as SEEK (benefitting mainly Afro American and Puerto Rican students) -- to the bone.

To stampede the cutbacks through (in the face of massive resistance), the entire 21-college CUNY system was shut down the first 2 weeks of June. This was after months of preparing public opinion: the ruling class one day shed crocodile tears over the ending of 129 years of free tuition that had produced such loyal servants like Abe Beame and the next day proclaimed "courage" to face "fiscal reality", while trying to fool the masses with 5 plans to "save" CUNY, when actually all 5 lead to the same thing -- how to best get away with implementing the cuts.

## RESISTANCE

But thousands of students have seen tuition, the end of Open Admissions and a host of other attacks including cuts in SEEK, Financial Aid, Ethnic Studies, and other programs as a blatant attack on their democratic rights to free and quality education. Thousands of oppressed minority students are clear that the concessions won through hard and bitter struggle in the 60's are being taken back. Thousands recognize the struggle extend beyond just one school, beyond just the education issue, but involve all working and oppressed people, and an ever widening number of students understand the root cause of this crisis as part and parcel of monopoly capitalism, and the need for socialist revolution.

Tens of thousands have demonstrated time and time again their resistance at City Hall, Albany, and Washington, D.C., and at the office of the BHE and the Emergency Financial Control Board (fiscal watchdog of the monopoly capitalists). It was through their own experience and communist propaganda and leadership that many have begun to see the social props like Jay Hershenson and the more "militant" Maynard Jones of the University Student Senate for what they are: misleaders who divert the struggle away from the monopoly capitalists and down the blind alley of legalism.

The consciousness of students has deepened as they have seen the need to go beyond the bounds of bourgeois legality -- expressed by the militant takeovers at campuses like Brooklyn, City, Hunter, Medgar Evers, and Bronx Community Colleges. And as the militancy grows, students begin to be clearer on the carrot-and-stick tactics of the Administration: where they cannot coopt and divert the movement, they never hesitate to call cops on campus to repress students.

Students have recognized the need for stable mass organization to wage protract-



WHILE RIGHT OPPORTUNISTS LIKE THE RSB, THE MAIN DANGER IN THIS PERIOD, BELITTLE THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE STUDENTS, THE "LEFT" OPPORTUNISTS LIKE PRSU AND FFM CHAPTERS UNDER PRRWO/RWL LEADERSHIP FEED THE RIGHT BY ABSTAINING TOTALLY FROM MASS STRUGGLES.

ed struggle. In this spontaneous upsurge, in this period of party building, Communists must provide ideological and political leadership--especially through communist propaganda--to win over the advanced and accumulate revolutionary forces.

## MASS RESISTANCE AT HOSTOS ERUPTS DESPITE MISLEADERSHIP OF PSP

Hostos Community College in the South Bronx is an example of the growing unity among students, the community and the working class. The takeover of the entire college by 1,000 students and faculty on March 25 is a good example of the militancy against the closing of a working class community college which came out of the struggles of the 60's by oppressed nationalities and national minorities for a bilingual college. While the resistance of the masses of students and people from the working class community is a genuine struggle, the ideological and political leadership given by the revisionist Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) through their student arm, Federacion Universitaria Socialista Puertorriquena (FUSP), working in the Community Coalition to save Hostos is opportunist.

## FSP'S REVISIONISM -- PETTY BOURGEOIS REFORMISM AND BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM

PSP's revisionism is shown in their petty bourgeois reformist and bourgeois nationalist outlook which puts a stranglehold on the potentially revolutionary movement. They tried to push illusion in bourgeois democracy by saying that the "highly secretive unelected EFCB has overruled the more liberal BHE..." (Universidad Libre April 20, p. 5), which in essence supports the BHE against the EFCB. They also build up BHE members who resigned in protest over the cuts and closings like Sandra Lopez de Byrd as "our friends".

The BHE is part of the capitalist class that is planning the cuts and centralization process. Their contradiction with the EFCB is one among the capitalists, our enemies, an indirect reserve that we utilize but it doesn't mean we should support one over the other. To do so is to foster the reformist illusion that things can be changed within this system.

Then by narrowing the struggle to a racial conflict, particularly between Puerto Rican and white, the bourgeois nationalism of PSP shows whose side they are really on -- the capitalists -- as they try to straitjacket the multinational working class movement, and to try to divide and weaken us.

## THE STUDENT STRUGGLES ARE LINKING UP WITH THE WORKERS' STRUGGLES

Since last year, when SEEK (a program for oppressed nationality students) was under attack, a wave of resistance follow-

ed as school after school erupted in militant struggle. One such struggle was at the City College of New York.

Fighting to save the SEEK program and for the democratic rights of minority construction workers to obtain employment, the students and minority construction workers (part of the Manhattan North Coalition) linked their struggles and battled the College Administration, union misleaders and their goons, and the cops.

During the whole struggle, the nature of the union misleaders was clearly exposed as they took an active part on the side of the Administration and the cops in a vicious attack against the students and workers. They tried to pit white workers against minority workers -- aiding the fascization process -- to divert the anger of the working class away from their dying capitalist system. Throughout the masses of students were wide open to communist propaganda that was carried out by Marxist-Leninists vividly exposing the class collaboration of the union misleaders, the role of cops as part of the state apparatus, and raising the need for socialist revolution.

## OUT OF THE STRUGGLE FOR OPEN ADMISSIONS, STUDENTS GRADUATED INTO THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

Today, the student movement is at a higher level than that of the 60's. Open Admissions, which guaranteed a place for every high school graduate was the product of a long and militant struggle focused at City College in 1969 led by Afro-American and Puerto Rican students and the Harlem community. And the student movement which brought Open Admissions was, in turn an outgrowth of the Civil Rights and Afro-American liberation movement of the 60's. While the Open Admissions struggle reflected the powerful upsurge of the Afro-American people -- part of the national and student movements (fire at the treetops), today's movement reflects the growing fusion of the working class and Communist movements (fire at the tree trunks). The fighting spirit of students in 1969 shook CUNY to its foundations, but it lacked the scientific analysis that only Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought can bring. Today's movement is beginning to accept the leadership of the working class,

taking up the study and application of MIMTTT. Students today are wide open to socialism. Advanced students have begun to take up the systematic study of MIMTTT and the revolutionary student movement is aligning with definite trends within the Communist movement.

Students constitute a social strata, part of the intelligentsia. As Lenin said:

# SURGES AHEAD: STRUGGLE AT C.U.N.Y.

"...students because they are the most responsive section of the intelligentsia, and the intelligentsia are so-called because they most consciously, most resolutely and most accurately reflect and express the development of class interests and political groupings in society as a whole." (Lenin, On Youth, p. 89)

As the struggles on campuses draw more and more students into motion, their outlook on change reflect the politics of different classes. That is why Communists must win, in the course of struggle, first the advanced and through them the student movement to the leadership of the working class and turn the objectively revolutionary struggles of students into a powerful ally of the working class -- into a consciously revolutionary student movement.

## REVOLUTIONARY STUDENTS AROUND THE WORLD

Students have proven time and again to be a strong ally of the international proletariat. From the May 4th movement in China which played a vanguard role in the struggle against imperialism and feudalism, to the French General Strike of 1968, to the anti-war and Afro-American liberation movements, students have shown their opposition to imperialist wars and aggression and have supported the working class and oppressed peoples. In recent years, students throughout the world have revolted against all forms of exploitation -- whether it be confronting the submachine guns, tear gas, torture, or prisons of fascist regimes in Thailand, South Korea, Iran, Spain, and Azania (South Africa). And as the political-economic crisis of world capitalism intensifies, tens of thousands in England and France have echoed student protests in the US against cutbacks in education.

## ROLE OF EDUCATION UNDER CAPITALISM

Education in the history of class struggle has always served the interests of the ruling class of society at the time. Under capitalism, it has become the institution of indoctrination of bourgeois ideas and "morals". In a word, it has become a major weapon of the monopoly capitalists in their attempt to "create a world according to their own image." To maintain its rule, it brands each of us with the bourgeois ideology and outlook. "The universities aim to turn out ideologists and functionaries of capitalism who propagate ideas to serve imperialism or at least not to challenge it." (from Some Articles on Striving for Marxism-Leninism in Australia).

With developing and expanding capitalism, the need for semi-skilled labor increased. So-called "free" education was implemented to meet these needs.

But throughout this the monopoly capitalists enforced its class and national tracking system, e.g. CUNY is divided into senior academic liberal arts colleges and community vocational schools.

But the working class can use the skills taught to us to overthrow our oppressors. Revolutionary students must use their education to serve what is clearly the rising class in society -- the proletariat. As Chairman Mao pointed out: "In the final analysis, the dividing line between revolutionary intellectuals and non-revolutionary or counter-revolutionary intellectuals is whether or not they are willing to integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and actually do so." (Mao, "May 4th Movement," Selected Works, Vol. II)

Revolutionary students, first and foremost, must have the correct world outlook and firm, proletarian stand, and conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought.

As we can learn from China, education can be a great weapon of the masses in their ongoing struggle to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat by repudiating the bourgeois class and ideology.

## REFORMS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

The cutbacks which are part and parcel of the inevitable crisis of capitalism give rise to resistance -- a massive spontaneous movement of students, and because they are directed at the capitalist class and its agents, they are objectively revolutionary struggles. But the magnificent display of resistance by CUNY students, its determination to wage the battle in its open class character is recognized by the bourgeoisie as well. Using any and all means at their disposal, the monopoly capitalists use their dual tactics of reform and repression, and through their social props, will seek to divert the struggle into safe channels. But when the mass resistance becomes too strong it is forced to grant reforms to prove its "democratic" nature (and in this period, although reform is the main form of rule, they are less and less able to use reforms).



THE TWO CONTENDING TRENDS IN EDUCATION: STUDENTS ARE RISING UP IN RESISTANCE AGAINST ATTACKS ON QUALITY HIGHER EDUCATION

Communists realize that while the nature of reforms is that they are forced from the bourgeoisie which always attempts to undermine them and take them back, communists must scientifically analyze the character of these reforms; and divide one into two, distinguishing between those genuine concessions such as Open Admissions, which can be stepping stones to further advances and bring closer the day of victory of socialism, and those tricks in the guise of reforms that disintegrate and set back the struggle. In CUNY, the liberal maneuver in eliminating SEEK poverty guidelines in 1974 was such a trick by not increasing a penny of funding, and under the cover of "opening up" SEEK, the ruling class divided oppressed nationality against whites and pitted poor working class students against those even poorer.

Communists fight for the immediate gains of the working class and oppressed masses, and the democratic right to quality education, but always link the minimum program to the maximum -- the fight for socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The question is not whether or not we fight for reforms but how: how we can use the immediate demands to further the long range goal and whether we fight for reforms in a revolutionary way, beyond the bounds of bourgeois legality.

Unless class conscious leaders provide conscious direction, the movement will dissipate; unless communists raise the necessity for a true alternative -- socialist revolution -- the bourgeoisie will perpetuate its myth of the durability of capitalism; unless we uphold the subjective factor, the dynamic mobilizing and transforming role of ideology, politics,

and organization of MIMTTT, bourgeois ideology, politics and organization will reign supreme.

## RSB'S ECONOMISM -- TAILING AFTER THE MASSES

But there are those who proclaim themselves Communists yet bring shame to their name. The Revolutionary Student Brigade led by the Revolutionary Communist Party is the representative of the economist trend in the student movement. While talking militant, they talk down to the students: never raising the need for socialism and armed revolution in this country, nor the need to study and practise MIMTTT.

All they say is Fightback! The only thing they can tell the students is "we're going to move on over anyone that gets in our way"!

In practice, their economism often takes a "left" form as they pull off one adventurist action after another (like the occupation of the Statue of Liberty last year), following their "single spark" line. This is pure pragmatism -- just do it in whatever way it works in their petty bourgeois conception.

## RCP'S LIQUIDATION OF 'DIRECTION OF MAIN BLOW' -- NO CONCRETE EXPOSURE

This flows from the line of the RCP that the strategic concept, 'direction of main blow' does not apply to the U.S. Therefore they blind themselves to the existence of the strata of social props (the seemingly militant misleaders who ride on the crest of the spontaneous movement of the masses and divert it from its objective). The RCP's "roll on and roll over" and "single spark" theories as a rule, without gauging at particular moments the masses' understanding of a particular militant misleader, amount to isolating Communists and abandoning the Communist duty of doing education and exposure in order to win over the advanced and the broad masses to our positive program, both minimum and maximum.

This "direct action" line was the anarcho-syndicalist line of the Industrial Workers of the World of the early 1900's which served to strengthen bourgeois ideology by their absurd negation of bourgeois politics but no real Communist politics, line of action and policy.

Advanced students have real disdain for such "leaders" who misleads from the "left" but in essence is to the right. Furthermore, the arrogance and "practice-practice-practice" line of the RSB are isolating them from the advanced elements as well as masses of students.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 23

## WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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

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

## WORKERS VIEWPOINT ORGANIZATION

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# THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY CONVENTION - JIMMY CARTER, CAPITALIST MUMMY WITH NEW MAKE - UP

With the widespread exposure to the masses of capitalist politicians through Watergate and the recent sex scandals, with the rising resistance of the working class in the deepest economic and political capitalist crisis since the Great Depression, the U.S. monopoly capitalists are searching for new ways to keep alive their decaying capitalist system and their dictatorship over the U.S. working class and oppressed nationalities.

The elections, that circus sideshow of the best liars for the capitalists put on every few years, shows this clearly! It's all part of the dictatorship of the capitalist class, cloaked with the cover of bourgeois democracy. That is, democracy for the monopoly capitalists and dictatorship over the working class!

Based in the final analysis on the monopoly over the use of organized violence (the police, military, jails, courts, FBI, and CIA), the capitalist state at all levels is used by the rich to exploit us, the working class, and oppressed nationalities and national minorities. But in imperialist countries like the U.S., the ruling class rules not only (and in fact not mainly) through open armed force and repression, but also by tricking the masses through making us believe that we have "democracy" through fake elections and paper "constitutional rights." These in fact serve to keep the capitalists in power and keep the working class in chains.

The monopoly capitalist ruling class in fact find this system necessary for their rule. The revolutionary Lenin said:

"The reasons why the omnipotence of 'wealth' is better secured in a democratic republic, is that it does not depend on the faulty political shell of capitalism. A democratic republic is the best political shell for capitalism and therefore, once capital has gained control of this very best shell, it establishes its power so securely, so firmly, that no change, either of persons of institutions, or of parties in the bourgeois democratic republic, can shake it. (Lenin, State and Revolution, Peking ed. p. 16)

This means that changing Nixon for Ford, Democrats for Republicans, "new" laws for "old" laws, "better" reforms, and on and on, can never change fundamentally what bourgeois democracy is: the dictatorship of the monopoly capitalists over the working class, oppressed nationalities and national minorities. Bourgeois democracy is the "best political shell" for capitalism because it is far easier for the monopoly capitalists to exploit and oppress the working class if they make us accept the belief that we can make it under capitalism because we are "free"! Like Mark Twain's Tom Sawyer, who got his friends to pay him for painting his fence by making it look like "fun," the monopoly capitalists want us to



CARTER, CAMPAIGNING AMONG MINERS IN PA., uses big smiles and the big lie technique

believe that we are free and happy to be slaving for their profit, to hide the reality of capitalism -- wage-slavery, oppression and exploitation.

The only way in which the exploitation and oppression of the capitalist system can be ended for us, the American working class, is through socialist revolution!! We have to violently overthrow the rule of the capitalists, break up their state apparatus used to oppress us and institute the rule of, by, and for the working class -- the dictatorship of the proletariat -- and build a new socialist United States!

Only a working class socialist revolution led by its own general staff, a genuinely revolutionary communist party guided by its own working class theory -- Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought -- can accomplish this historic mission of the working class!!

JIMMY CARTER: CAPITALIST MUMMY WITH NEW MAKE UP!

As we said in the last article on the elections in the March (Vol. I, No. 1) issue of Workers Viewpoint newspaper, it's no secret that the American masses are disgusted with the capitalist government and capitalist politicians. The monopoly capitalists know this and fear this. That's why they have to try to change their masks, to dress up the living mummies of capitalist politics.

It's no accident that there were so many different candidates ranging from "liberal" and "populist," like Udall, Church, Harris and Bayh, to "conservative" like Jackson, and outright fascist Wallace. It was all a way for the ruling class to see who could best trick the people about the fake democracy of

capitalism under the conditions of economic and political crisis. They had to do this in order to keep the masses from turning to the only solution of proletarian revolution and socialism!

The monopoly capitalist financial groups (like the Rockefeller Group and the Morgan Group) really control both the Republican and Democratic parties through massive financial backing, bribery, party "machines", etc. in order to control the outcome of elections. They were holding back on big financing of candidates (which federal financing of candidates from our tax money allowed them to do) until they could see who the masses were least disgusted with!

The outcome of the Democratic primaries show clearly that the monopoly capitalists had to come up with new "anti-big government" lies to divert us, the working class, from the only solution of socialist revolution. Of course, when the capitalists talk about "cutting down big government," they mean cutting back on daycare, unemployment insurance, food stamps, medical care and everything else we have fought for.

They won't cut down the bail-outs of the monopoly corporations like Lockheed, Penn Central or the massive defense budget, CIA or FBI. In fact, they are going to make these more powerful and spend more on them to prepare for war and fascism and to try to crush our struggle.

Carter, the Democratic candidate, ran in the primaries not on any real positions on how to end the capitalist crisis (for which capitalism has none), but on the width of his smile and by playing on the masses' hatred for the "mess in Washington." He appealed to gut emotions using slick words and anti-big government, fascist ideas like "rebuilding trust in government and politicians." His preaching about his "faith in God" and "love and compassion in government" appealed to the masses' lowest and most backward ideas, much like the gurus, Jesus-freaks, and fundamentalists. His campaign employed the big-lie techniques used by Hitler fascism. Pushing his emotional appeal, Carter went so far as to say that he would never lie or mislead the voters! We know, of course, that for a capitalist politician to say that is the essence of bourgeois politics -- a lie from beginning to end!

CARTER EXPOSED: ALL CAPITALIST POLITICIANS ARE ENEMIES OF THE WORKING CLASS!

Let's look closer at where Carter's really coming from.

Carter is a rich capitalist farmer and politician from Georgia, who up to this day exploits sharecroppers on his farms worth millions of dollars. In his 1970 election for Governor of Georgia, he ran an openly racist campaign, calling himself a "redneck," saying that he would invite George Wallace to Georgia if elected, and visiting a segrega-

tionist private school during his campaign to show clearly where he stands. Even arch-racist Lester Maddox supported him in the campaign. Carter even called Maddox the "essence of the Democratic Party"! It's no accident that in the primaries this year he said that he stood for "ethnic purity" -- that's his real position on

national oppression of Afro-Americans and other oppressed nationalities. He's an old-line segregationist through and through, with a new cover of "concern."

But he's also a pure pragmatist, doing whatever will work for him in the short run. Carter appointed a few petty-bourgeois Afro-American politicians to token positions in the state government when he saw that it would be to his political advantage in the future. The petty-bourgeois Afro-American politicians like Representative Andrew Young support Carter and sell-out the struggle of Afro-Americans, in hopes of getting a few pieces of silver, like a high position for themselves, even though they know that Carter will, as the chief agent of the monopoly capitalists, continue to attack and oppress the Afro-American masses.

What makes Carter so dangerous is that he uses populist methods to divert the genuine anger of the working class into the sham of bourgeois democracy. His "anti-big government," "anti-bureaucracy," "anti-budget deficit," "anti-scandal" rhetoric is carefully designed to exploit the rising rebellion and resistance of the working class. But this is just a trick. During the 1973 Governors' Conference, he tried to pass a resolution to white-wash the entire Watergate affair. And after Lt. Calley was convicted by the bourgeois courts for the U.S. imperialist atrocity at My Lai, Carter came out to declare an "American fighting man's day" and warned against those who would "shake the faith of Americans in their country." Carter's two-faced double-talk is designed to try to deceive the masses.

#### CARTER AND MONOPOLY CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION IN THE SOUTH

With Carter's recent meeting with the monopoly capitalists' top labor lieutenant George Meany, who almost certainly will support Carter, we can see how the agents of the bourgeoisie support each other. We have to remember that Carter comes from the heart of the reactionary open-shop South. The whole capitalist class is working full-time to keep the South that way, in order to superexploit our class brothers and sisters there. Under the whip of the economic crisis, the monopoly capitalists are using the run-away shop to try to escape the rising wave of resistance of the working class nation-wide. They do this to gain the most profit from the misery and horrible conditions of the largely unorganized South. With the government as a tool in the hands of the bosses, organizing efforts have to overcome the capitalists' goons, local police, the KKK, and the reactionary dual tactics of reform and repression. As the monopoly capitalists get kicked out of Latin America, Asia, and Africa by national liberation forces and communists, hundreds of monopoly corporations are firing their workers in the North and are relocating in the South, where they can exploit the unorganized labor.

Carter wholeheartedly supports this open shop and shows him clearly as a chief agent for the monopoly capitalists. He openly says that he will not fight the open shop, and that it's "not a very important question." But we know that now when the capitalists are using every means they have to attack the working class, the question of organizing the unorganized to build up our ability to take the offensive against the capitalists is a burning question for all communists and the working class as a whole.

But watch all the trade union misleaders, like Meany, Leonard Woodcock of the United Auto Workers, Arnold Miller

of the United Mine Workers, Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers, Victor Gotbaum of District Council 37 (AFSCME), and Leon Davis of Local 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, etc. fall behind this fake "friend of labor." Just as Carter is an agent of the monopoly capitalists in the political arena, so the union misleaders who are fully corrupted and bribed by imperialist superprofits by the bourgeoisie, are agents of the capitalists inside the labor movement. And all these agents follow the same politics -- screw the workers for the benefit of the capitalists!



POLITICIANS FOR SALE. The bourgeoisie wants to see which one disgusts the masses the least.

#### WHAT WAS THE STOP-CARTER MOVEMENT?

The anti-Carter activity, at the time when Carter was clearly sewing up the nomination in the primaries, was a move on the part of politicians like Humphrey, Kennedy and others close to the Morgan and other monopoly capitalist groups, to get a trusted representative of their interests into the Presidency. But as Carter began to sweep the primaries, the financial groups switched their bets and the big money began to pour into Carter's coffers. Precisely which financial groups are lining up behind Carter, especially the position of the Morgan group, and the precise nature of their support remains to be seen. But the point is that, as Lenin said, bourgeois politicians are like a commodity on the market place. The monopoly capitalists can pick and choose among the many candidates, depending on who best suits their particular monopoly interests and the interests of U.S. imperialism. Carter, being a relatively lesser-known politician, has the least disgust from the masses and is one choice. A sign that big money is lining the coffers of the Carter bandwagon is that the Democratic Party machinery, like that controlled by gangsters like Mayor Daley of Chicago, is lining up behind Carter. In order to deceive and manipulate the working class, the monopoly capitalist groups also exercise tight control over the lobbyists, the local Party bosses, the "machines," the big bourgeois media, and maintain virtually thousands of intricate deals with corrupt local misleaders and politicians through bribery, payoffs, and cronyism. The monopoly capitalists control over bourgeois politics extends farther than simply bribery through campaign funds!

The winning of the Presidency is important for these monopoly capitalists who contend with each other for top position in imperialist profit and superprofit, especially in this period of economic crisis. The elections represent the ruling class's fight over who gets to exploit and oppress the working class and other countries more for their own benefit and profit.

#### FORD VS. REAGAN: WHO'S THE BETTER PROTECTOR OF U.S. IMPERIALISM?

On the other side of the bourgeoisie's backyard, the Ford-Reagan contest was fought mostly on the question of how the U.S. bourgeoisie should contend for hegemony all over the world with Soviet Social Imperialism, and how best to suppress the struggles of the Third World.

Like Carter, Reagan and Ford are different bourgeois lackeys with different masks, tricks, and deceptions to divert the surging anger of the working class. U.S. imperialism, overwhelmed by the resistance of Third World national movements, caught in the inevitable crisis of capitalism, and preparing for world war with the Soviet Social Imperialists, are forced to use lackeys like Carter, Reagan, and Ford, forced to use different masks and tricks to deceive the working class.

Ford, but in particular Kissinger, represent the dominant Rockefeller financial interests, an empire built on international oil, banking, and the blood of millions of Third World people. The Rockefeller group, through Kissinger, pursues the dual tactics of the "carrot and the stick," especially on detente, which is a much trickier and dangerous policy than the "hard line" tactics of Reagan, who maintains close ties with the aerospace and military interests of the Southwest group. The Rockefeller monopoly interests, unable to beat back the irreversible surge of Third World resistance in Panama and Zimbabwe and the struggle of independence of the Second World, is forced to use either the Marines and outright repression, or the craftier policy of "reforms" and tricks! The Rockefeller group's dual tactics in Panama and Zimbabwe are just as imperialistic, just as brutal and exploitive as the "hard line" policy of Reagan; moreover, they have the dangerous, deceptive cover of "reform." To the U.S. monopoly capitalists, Reagan's "hard line" on Panama and Zimbabwe represents yet another deception, military adventurism and naked imperialism covered by phoney appeals to "honor," "keep the free world strong," "regain the number one spot in the world." Kissinger's and the Rockefeller group's policy of appeasement, of the "Helsinki insecurity treaty" and the "Sommerfeldt doctrine," is precisely the path of Munich appeasement that led to World War II.

All the monopoly capitalists will pursue some form of collusion and contention with the Soviet Social-Imperialists, using "peace" as a cover for preparations for war. But the particular angle that they come from depends on which ever gives them an edge in their fierce struggle with other groups. In order to survive the capitalist crisis, for example, the Morgan group pushes trade with the Soviet Social-Imperialists to strengthen its attacks on other financial groups. In reality, however, detente is nothing but a cover-up by the Soviet and American monopoly capitalists for their crazed, shark-like struggle for the domination of the world. Both superpowers use detente to confuse the workers of the world into believing that they want peace when in fact they are preparing for war!

But the Soviet capitalists are speculating on the internal divisions within the U.S. monopoly capitalists. They have openly come out and said that they would prefer to have "pro-detente" Kennedy as President. They have also tried to set up meetings with Carter, no doubt to further bribe him into a "pro-detente" position, one favorable to the Soviet Social-Imperialists. The revisionists see that they will be in a better position to contend with the U.S. for domination of the world if a "pro-detente" appeaser of the Soviet Social-Imperialists is in the monopoly capitalists top position in the U.S.

Communists use Marxist-Leninist analysis of how the monopoly groups manipulate bourgeois candidates and fight each

## Historical Lessons of Munich

# EXPOSE THE SUPERPOWERS' CONTENTION FOR WORLD HEGEMONY !

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

WE HAVE MUCH TO LEARN FROM HISTORY. BEFORE WORLD WAR II, THE MUNICH PACT WAS AN EXAMPLE OF APPEASEMENT OF THE GERMAN FASCISTS, OF ENCOURAGING HITLER INTO WAR BY FIRST ATTACKING THE WEST AND THEN THE SOVIET UNION.

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

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

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

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

## Chapter 2 -- FOSTERING HITLER'S RISE

### HITLER'S FEINT TO THE EAST

With the assistance of western imperialism, the strength of German monopoly capital was quickly restored and further developed. The forces of fascism, as the political representative of monopoly capital, became ever more unbridled in their activities on the political stage of Germany.

Adolph Hitler, starting out as a soldier of fortune, began to recruit followers at the beginning of 1920 to form the German National Socialist Workers Party (Nazi Party for short, or the National Socialist Party). In 1923, he participated in the conspiratorial activities aimed at seizing the political power of the state of Bavaria, which were unsuccessful, and he was imprisoned. In prison he wrote a book called "Mein Kampf" which, under the signboard of "socialism," brought out a whole bag of fascist arguments, frenziedly attacking Marxism and Leninism. It propagated extreme chauvinism, openly clamored for the establishment of a fascist dictatorship to conquer the world, and capture "living space" through war.

What kind of stuff was this "socialism" advertised by Hitler? He said: "Anyone that takes the cause of the nation as his duty, does not have any ideals above that of the welfare of the nation, and understands the essence of our great national anthem 'Germany Above All,' such a person is a Socialist." Obviously, this "socialism" was Great-Germanism, that is, an extremely reactionary chauvinism. Hitler also declared that his "Germany must include all Germans." With such an argument it was first necessary to take by force all the territories of Germany's eastern neighbors where German was the dominant nationality. These territories primarily included Austria, the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia, western Poland and the city of Danzig. Thereafter, it was to conquer all of Europe, especially grabbing "living space" from "Russia in the East." He said: "Territorial (expansion) policy.... today can only be realized in Europe." "What cannot be achieved by peaceful means,

will be achieved by the fist." Thereupon Hitler laid out the basic guideline of his foreign policy: "We National Socialists... must inherit the cause that was interrupted six hundred years ago. We must put an end to the continuous migration of Germans southward and westward, and turn our view towards the land in the east.... Today, when we speak of territories in Europe, we mean first of all Russia and its subject states." "If we are to gain territories in Europe, it is possible only at the expense of Russia, that is to say, the new Empire must once again advance its troops along the road of the ancient Teuton warriors to get land for Germany's plows with Germany's swords." Hitler therefore derived an aggressive conclusion: "No matter what, it is necessary to advance eastward. Russia must be eliminated from the list of European countries." For this purpose, he called upon the Nazis to "dare to go... from the presently limited space onto the road to the new lands."

At that time, Germany was suffering from a deep economic crisis, the proletariat and the broad masses of the working people were rising up to resist the exploitation and oppression of the monopoly capitalist class, and class struggle became ever more acute. Hitler, flaunting the banner of the "National Socialist Workers Party", used this opportunity to deceive the masses, to divide and attack the revolutionary forces; at the same time he agitated for dictatorship, war, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. In order to maintain their reactionary rule and guarantee a high rate of profit, the German monopoly capitalists had to suppress workers movements at home and pursue policies of aggression abroad, to use war as a way out of the crisis. As to the western countries, they had long coveted the revival of German militarism for the purpose of an eastward expansion to strangle the Soviet Union which was under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Consequently, Hitlerite fascism reflected the demands of German monopoly capital at that time, and also fully satisfied the desires of the western imperialist countries. Therefore, the Nazi Party, with Hitler at its head, was deeply favored by German monopoly capital and western imperialism.

### GIVING HITLER MORE PRIZE-MONEY

Hitler's Nazi Party after its formation, especially after the publication of the concoction "Mein Kampf", received the energetic support of the German monopoly capitalists, the Junker Landlords /half-feudal, half-capitalist aristocratic landlords/ and the aristocrats, and received more and more prize-money from them. Up to 1933, when Hitler came into power, the big capitalist of the steel trust Thyssen had provided a million marks to Hitler's Party. Hitler, furthermore, received two million marks a year from the various heavy industries controlled by Thyssen. The Ruhr coal syndicate adopted a resolution which provided that for every ton of coal sold, 5 pfennig would go to the Nazi Party (1 mark=100 pfennig). Just from this source alone, its income amounted to 6 million marks a year. Up until 1930, the former Kaiser Wilhelm II also provided close to two million marks to Hitler. Hitler used these vast sums provided by monopoly capital to establish massive Nazi Party organizations, buy up newspapers and establish fascist organizations such as the Storm-Troopers or the Schutzstaffel (SS or Blackshirts). By the end of 1930, the Nazi Party and the Schutzstaffel, fostered by the monopolies already numbered over one hundred thousand, becoming a unit that was larger than the national defence forces of the then Weimar Republic. On the 27th of January, 1931, more than 300 representatives of German monopoly capital gathered in the industrial club in Dusseldorf. Hitler was invited to make a long speech to reaffirm the program of fascism. Thereafter, almost all of German monopoly capital supported Hitler.

In order to push Germany eastward, monopoly capital in the U.S., England and France and other countries also did their utmost to support Hitler. As early as 1922, the American king of automobiles - Ford - gave Hitler U.S.\$300,000. Hitler was most grateful for this, and he gave Ford the highest fascist medal after coming to power. The British-Holland king of oil, the French armament concern (concern) and others were all primary benefactors for Hitler. U.S. monopolies paid special attention to Hitler's Nazi Party. In order to get to know Hitler better, Morgan, Rockefeller, DuPont, Lamont and others in 1930, invited the president of the Deutsche Reichsbank, Schacht to visit the U.S., and asked him to present the arguments of Hitler and the activities of the Nazi Party, in a conspiracy to plan out Hitler's takeover of state power and his "leading" Germany in carrying out an anti-Soviet war. Schacht at that time was a frenzied supporter of the Nazi Party. He used his extensive social contacts in the banking and industrial sectors to publicize Hitler's arguments everywhere and to organize the support of the capitalist class for Hitler. Because Hitler's policies corresponded to the needs of the U.S. monopoly capitalists, the "New York Times" openly advocated that it was "obviously more to popular desire" to have Hitler in control of state power in Germany. U.S. President Hoover ordered the State Department to develop activities in assisting the realization of fascist dictatorship in Germany and in pushing it eastward against the Soviet Union to solve the "German problem." He dispatched the Secretary of State, Stimson, to visit Europe to engage in the conspiratorial planning for the soonest realization of this goal. In December 1930, Schacht returned to Germany. As the secret emissary of U.S. monopoly capital, he intensified the development of activities in support of Hitler. He wrote to Hitler: "If the present situation continues, it can only lead to your becoming the premier. I have no doubt as to this.... You will shortly triumph.... No matter where I end up due to my work, even if one day you find me imprisoned, you will forever be able to consider me your loyal supporter."

### BRINGING HITLER TO POWER

Under the joint support of monopoly capital at home and abroad, the political power of Hitler's Nazi Party devel-



ANTI-FASCIST DEMONSTRATION, FRANCE 1934...led by communists, the masses of workers rose up to fight against the fascists, building an anti-fascist united front.

oped quickly. The Nazi Party's seats in the parliament quickly increased from twelve in 1928 to 107 in 1930.

At the beginning of the 30's, economic crises swept through the entire capitalist world. This was particularly acute in Germany. Starting from the end of 1929, Germany's industrial production began to decline in a straight line, reaching its lowest point in August of 1932. Pig-iron production decreased by 77.7%, steel production by 73.1%, coal production by 46%, machinery production by 73%, automobile production dropped by more than 90%, electricity generation by 39.7% and textile production by 38.2%. National industrial production was reduced by 52.1%, returning to the level of production of the end of the nineteenth century. At the worst point of the crisis, hundreds of thousands of small and medium sized enterprises went bankrupt; even some large concerns also went bankrupt (for example, the woolen industry concern), or were forced to reorganize (e.g., the steel trust). The unemployed reached a high of 6-8 million, which was close to half the total number of workers. The deep economic crisis sharpened the class contradiction within Germany to an unprecedented degree. The workers held large scale strikes; a struggle against hunger, against wage cuts, against the reactionary government and against Hitler's fascist bandits rose like a storm; the revolutionary situation gained momentum day by day. Under such circumstances, the monopoly capitalist class had to urgently discard the fig-leaf of "democracy" of the Weimar Republic and bring out Hitler's Nazi Party, which hated the working class and which advocated fascist dictatorship and war, so as to find a way out of the crisis through the suppression of the people's revolutionary movement at home and arms expansion and war preparations abroad.

In the parliamentary election of July 1932, the monopolies provided vast sums of election funds to the Nazi Party to



HINDENBERG & HITLER...To fight Hitler, Social-Democrats voted for Hindenberg who put Hitler into power as soon as he was elected president. This 'lesser of two evils' line paved the way for fascism by diverting the proletariat from revolution

help bring Hitler to power. In three days, Thyssen alone collected 3 million marks for the Nazi Party, and the British-Holland oil king contributed 4 million guildens to Hitler. The Storm Troopers were carrying out white terror on a big scale. In the six weeks prior to election, 133 anti-fascist fighters were killed, 14 more in the two days just before the election. The election resulted in the Nazi Party entering the parliament as the largest political party with 230 representatives. The wild activities of the fascists turned the political situation in Germany into turmoil and the revolutionary situation underwent new developments. Part of the petty-bourgeoisie and the masses, at one time deceived by Hitler, began to awaken. With heightened revolutionary spirit, the masses of the people plunged into the struggle against fascism. In November of the same year, the Nazi Party lost 2 million votes in the parliamentary election. The Fascist Party itself was in a stage of division. Getting nervous and fidgety, Hitler felt that "the future is in a dire crisis." He yelled hysterically, "If the Party collapses, I will end my life with a pistol in three minutes." At this juncture, when the Nazi Party was in a crisis, and the fascist chief was anxious to the point of contemplating suicide, western and German monopoly capital adopted emergency measures to provide further support to Hitler. On the 5th of January, 1933, Schroeder, the head of the international bank which represented the interests of German, British, and U.S. monopoly capital - the Schroeder Bank - called a meeting in his own castle with the representatives of German monopoly capital, Thyssen and Papen (German chancellor from June to November, 1932) to discuss with Hitler the question of organizing the government. With the full support of monopoly capital at home and abroad, the Nazi Party won control of state power. Hitler became the German chancellor on January 30, 1933. In 1934, after the death of President Hindenberg, he declared himself the head of state. The king of armaments, Krupp, sent a letter to Hitler saying: "The change in the political situation is in accordance with the wishes of myself and my managers."

After coming to power, Hitler acted according to the desires of monopoly capital and clamoured for the "prevention of the Communist threat," and the implementing of the fascist dictatorship. On February 7, 1933 he had the Reichstag parliament building burned and blamed the Communists and the revolutionary people. Shortly thereafter, he proclaimed the National Socialist Workers Party the only Party in Germany, abolishing all other political parties.

TALKING ABOUT "PEACE," BUT THINKING ABOUT WAR

When Hitler first came to power, German militarism was not yet full grown, its military strength was no match for the western countries. Hitler told his

followers privately that the German government, at the present stage, must tolerate dealings with the western countries; he told them to use anti-Bolshevism to restrict and disintegrate the limits imposed on Germany by the Versailles system. He said: "We can talk about peace, but we must be thinking about war at heart." Thus this fascist chief, who had once frenziedly advocated war, decided to talk glibly about peace to the west in public. He also decided to use anti-communist and anti-Soviet clamours to satisfy western foreign policy so as to get more hand-outs and the abolition of military limitations imposed on Germany by the Versailles Treaty.

At that time, the western countries were waging a long and drawn out struggle in Geneva over the "disarmament negotiations." Germany was invited to participate. On May 16, 1933, U.S. President Roosevelt sent a letter to 44 heads of state, putting forward a "peaceful disarmament" program, urging the "abolition of all offensive weapons." Hitler knew very well what was behind the disarmament program of the western countries; he was certainly unwilling to lag behind in spreading illusions of peace. The day after Roosevelt made his appeal, Hitler immediately made a speech in "active response" to this appeal. He put on an act and stated that so long as "all countries with a military force destroy their offensive weapons, Germany will agree entirely with this method of overcoming international crisis" and that "it is willing to give up all offensive weapons and dissolve all armed forces." He even stated that "war is crazy to the extreme" and "will bring about the collapse of the present social and political order," etc. However, while loudly singing the tune of "prayers of peace," Hitler also put forward the demand for "equal rights for Germany, especially with regard to armaments," so as to deal with the "eastern Bolsheviks' threats." Unless this demand was accepted, he said that he "would rather withdraw from the disarmament conference and the League of Nations."

The western countries were very pleased with such statements by Hitler. They thought that this would lure the waters of disaster toward the east and the west would then be able to rest comfortably without any worries. U.S. President Roosevelt's press secretary said to reporters: "The President was encouraged by Hitler's acceptance of his proposal." The "Thames" newspaper, the mouthpiece of the British capitalist class felt that Hitler's demand for equal treatment was "irrefutable." The weekly "Observer" of the British Conservative Party stated that "this posture adopted by Hitler gave the disturbed west new hope." Therefore, the western countries continued to strengthen their financial and economic support to Germany. Vast sums of loans and investments flowed in an endless stream into Germany. At the same time, they started to revise the various limitations imposed on Germany by the Versailles Treaty, thus further arming Fascist Germany. ●

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# SUPER- POWERS OUT OF AFRICA!

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

Arch-racist Prime Minister Vorster of the Union of South Africa, on the third day after Soweto, characterized it as a "race riot" and banned outdoor gatherings for 2 weeks. "Instructions have been given to maintain law and order at all costs." This meant S. African police armed with submachine guns and patrolling with helicopters.

So far, over 1,000 people have been killed, the vast majority being Black Azanians and including many children, but the heroic resistance of the Africans is continuing to grow and represents a new stage in their struggle against oppression.

## AFRICAN COUNTRIES WIN INDEPENDENCE THROUGH ANTI-COLONIAL, ANTI-IMPERIALIST STRUGGLES

Beyond the immediate issue of the Afrikaans language lie the much deeper historical reasons for the revolutionary upsurge in Azania. The majority of the countries in Africa were under colonial rule ever since the Portuguese colonialists arrived in the 15th century, followed by the British, French, Dutch, German, U.S. and Soviet colonialists. Among themselves, they carved up Africa's rich territories and enslaved the oppressed African people to create superprofits for their foreign monopoly capital, especially in the rich diamond and ore mines.

More recently, in 1959, the racist S. African government hatched its racist Bantustan ("homelands") self-government scheme to perpetuate apartheid, the forced separation of the races. It set up on so-called African "reserves" Bantu autonomous regions along racial and tribal lines, presumably so tribes can achieve their independence separately. But this is nothing but an out and out divide and rule tactic!

In Azania, the Africans number 20 million, while white settlers account for only 4.5 million. Yet Africans are kept prisoner on only 13% of the land. All political power lies in the hands of white racist S. A. officials, while the "homelands" leaders have no power at all. The African people are totally denied rights or freedoms, including the rights to vote and strike, and are constantly harassed and surveilled by the racist S. African police.

Furthermore, their "reserves" are on the very worst tracts of land where there are few industries and no major sources of employment, so that Africans are forced to commute to white areas where many contract out their labor and get only 1/20th the pay of white settlers, one of the lowest wages anywhere in the world. At all times they must carry identification passes or risk arrest in case they're searched.

In blatant contrast, the white settler areas contain all the major seaports and diamond mines. This hideous policy of apartheid and the racist Vorster regime behind it are the enemies of all the African people.

But wherever there is oppression, there is resistance! Throughout the centuries, the African people have consistently fought imperialist and colonialist invasion and rule. Defying vicious repression, wave upon wave of African people have risen up, each time stronger. This shows that the racist apartheid regimes in southern Africa are doomed! Especially since World War II, resistance has mounted



THE WEALTH AND LABOR OF AZANIA are superexploited by the superpowers and all imperialists, but their days in southern Africa are numbered as the revolutionary upsurges of the African peoples advance wave upon wave!

and country after country (today 47 countries, or over 90% of Africa's population) has won independence and kicked out the colonialists and imperialists!

On March 21, 1960, in Sharpeville, the police of the racist Vorster regime fired on more than 5,000 unarmed Africans protesting the pass card system. 72 were brutally killed and hundreds more injured. This atrocity was a turning point and strengthened the resistance of the millions of Africans and their determination to carry through to the end their heroic struggle against racism and apartheid and for national liberation and independence. In June of the same year, 1,300,000 African people in the Transkei's "reserves" in eastern Azania staged an uprising against the Bantu self-government act.

In April 1969, more than 3,000 African dockworkers went on strike for higher wages in Durban, Azania's largest port. And in February 1973, 50,000 African workers in that same city struck for higher wages and against racial discrimination. This action quickly spread to other major cities in Azania and scared the racist S. African authorities into thinking Sharpeville was about to be repeated.

Upholding this glorious tradition of struggle for independence and national liberation, the Zimbabwean people are intensifying their armed struggle for liberation against the racist Smith regime, the Azanian people's mass movement against apartheid and racial discrimination is deepening, and the Namibian people are determined to kick the S. African authorities out of their country. It is only a matter of time before these countries, too, win their independence. All Africa is standing up!

## WHO ARE THE MAIN ENEMIES OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE

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

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

The inter-imperialist conflicts lead to many hotspots around the world that flare up: the Middle East, Cyprus, Portugal, and recently Angola and entire southern Africa.

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

The 2 superpowers are also attracted

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

in the area are well over \$2 billion. U.S. multinational corporations participate directly in the exploitation of African people in the area. So the African people are vigilant on the U.S. aggressors.

#### SIGNIFICANCE OF KISSINGER'S TRIP TO AFRICA

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

To contend with the Soviet Union, the U.S. imperialists are compelled to pretend to support national liberation struggles and come out for majority rule. No longer able to justify their collaboration with apartheid regimes and in light of the strength of the national liberation movements in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania, they are being forced to change their image. For example, Kissinger said the U.S. was now willing to honor the U.N. boycott of Zimbabwean chrome. So in the Lusaka, Zambia, statement, Kissinger laid out the long-range policy of the U.S. imperialists: support of majority rule in Zimbabwe, self-determination of the Namibian people, and urged Azania to end institutionalized apartheid. He also promised aid to Mozambique for revenue lost in their sanction against the racist Smith regime.

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

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

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

The Soviet social-imperialists are

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

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

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



WITH THE GROWING ARMED RESISTANCE of the peoples of southern Africa, the U.S. imperialists are forced to change their tactics. Kissinger and Vorster collaborate on selling out the national liberation movement in Zimbabwe.

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

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

#### RIGHT OPPORTUNISTS OCTOBER LEAGUE ENGAGES IN BOURGEOISE'S "DEBATE" OVER DETENTE

In the communist movement today, there are right tailist lines and "left" opportunist lines, which both stifle the U.S. multinational proletariat's support for national liberation struggles in Africa.

The right line is best represented by the October League (OL). Though the OL attacks the cruder political aspects of revisionism and international centrism, they nevertheless suffer from a centrist tendency. For example, in their May 10 (The "Call") headline article on Kissinger's trip to Africa, they stated

"The Africa trip provided Kissinger with some temporary support against

his critics. The New York Times, associated with the pro-'detente' wing of the ruling class, hailed the trip as a 'great forward step.' The Times commended Kissinger for his 'humanitarianism' and saluted him for downplaying the 'spectre of Soviet hegemony' which, it said, was the only way to defeat Soviet influence in Africa.

"Voices from anti-'detente' circles within the ruling class, however, attacked the trip. Ronald Reagan charged that Kissinger was laying the groundwork for 'giving up all of Africa to the Russians.' He also opposed Kissinger's stand on the chrome boycott, pointing out that the only other major source of chrome in the world is the USSR. U.S. interests, he said, dictated support for the Smith regime.

"This debate shows that the goal of all the imperialists is their continued domination over Africa, although different sections of the ruling class have different views on how to carry it out."

OL first laid out the two different views held by "different sections of the ruling class." Then they proceeded to describe them as a debate -- on the one side the pro, and on the other side the con. OL does not see that the line of the U.S. imperialists on southern Africa is already set. OL refers to the Lusaka statement made by Kissinger as "his 'major policy speech'" as if the line of the Lusaka speech were Kissinger's "preferred policy." So in the OL's eyes, there are the stone racists in the U.S. ruling class and there are the "liberal" bourgeoisie who are more sensible, and the U.S. imperialist policy on southern Africa vacillates between these two poles of pros and cons -- undecided, or subject to preference

The October League's centrist position on the international situation (failure to take a firm position on the essence of detente by speculating on the "pro- and anti-detente policies" within the bourgeoisie) is a direct continuation of the bankrupt line held by the renegade Kautsky of the Second International. Lenin waged fierce polemics against this centrist position during his time:

"The argument about words which Kautsky raises /OL's "pro-detente and anti-detente debate" - ed./ as to whether the latest stage of capitalism should be 'imperialism' or 'the stage of finance capital' is not worth serious attention. Call it what you will, it makes no difference. The essence of the matter is that Kautsky detaches the politics of imperialism from its economics, speaks of annexations as being a policy 'preferred' by finance capital and opposes to it another bourgeois policy." ("Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism; Chap. 7)

Comrades, is this not the OL through and through, with their muddle about the personal policy speech of Kissinger and how the "anti-detente and pro-detente" sections of the ruling class are still debating on what is their policy toward southern Africa?! The OL fails to comprehend that far from debating, the already established politics of the bourgeoisie were decided by the objective developments of imperialism economics.

What the OL liberals forgot is precisely the role of the Soviet social-imperialists. Though they put quotation marks around the word detente, what they are blind to is the decisive effect that the Soviet social-imperialists, the other relatively rising superpower, has on the U.S. imperialists. Lenin said that imperialism always, by its own laws, seeks to weaken its adversaries in order to gain hegemony. This fight for world hegemony and in southern Africa in particular is what determines U.S. foreign policy in southern Africa. So for communists, the U.S. imperialist line on southern Africa is already decided, especially after Angola. In the face of the powerful national liberation struggles there and the sealed fate of the racist regimes, the U.S. imperialists would "support," as the Soviet social-imperialists do, one of the national liberation groups, to attempt to gain a sphere of influence through this Trojan horse approach.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 12

# AZANIA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

The Lusaka speech delivered by Kissinger is not Kissinger's personal preferred policy, as bourgeois journalists and "analysts" try to say. It is the policy statement of the U.S. State Department, of U.S. imperialism, and is a product of careful analysis and long-range imperialist line designed to counter the rapidly rising Soviet social-imperialists' attempt to gain control there.

In fact, Kissinger himself said that he himself will leave the office but the Lusaka policy is there to stay for succeeding Secretaries of State!

In the same article the OL said "The only difference between Kissinger's old Africa policy and the 'new' one is that now he is trying to undermine liberation by getting Africans to disarm themselves and submit to a superpower 'settlement.' In the face of growing Soviet expansion he has clearly gone on the defensive."!

The OL, by saying that Kissinger's new policy is aimed at disarming the liberation movements and forcing them to submit to a "superpower settlement," objectively misses the point. Detente is a smokescreen for superpower contention and arms buildup for war.

Even with its "change" of line on the international situation, OL still does not understand the role of Soviet social-imperialism and the danger of world war. By failing to point out the true nature of detente and by focusing on detente as Kissinger's "preferred policy" for disarming liberation groups, OL objectively unites with the revisionist CPSU slogan that "Detente Means Peace."

On the question of detente, the "left" again unites with the right. RWL spoke in the section of "The Bolshevik" on the international situation that "The Chinese have not put forth the line that revolution is no longer the main trend. They have struggled against the notion that detente is the main trend and in doing so raise the danger of war." RWL is saying that the Chinese Communist Party is struggling against a smoke-screen (i.e., detente). They fail to see that the CPC is not struggling against a "notion" but has made an objective scientific analysis of the international situation which clearly shows both factors of war and revolution are on the rise. Here RWL uses the "notion" of detente to mean peace, just as the revisionists do! Whereas clearly the CPC characterizes detente for what it is -- superpower contention and arms buildup for war.

Stalin once remarked, "Lenin has said more than once that the 'ultra left' opposition is the reverse side of the right wing Mensheviks." ("Marxism and Revisionism," 1941) This is a classic example of how right and "left" unite!

Lenin teaches us that inter-imperialist collusion is relative and conditional but contention is absolute. Here the OL would like us to believe that "in the face of growing Soviet expansion he (sic) has clearly gone on the defensive."

Haven't the OL comrades heard of Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld's recent visit to Africa? What kind of delegation was that? What was the U.S. imperialist Secretary of Defense doing in southern Africa, a place the racist U.S. "high official" never visited and hardly paid any attention to before Angola?? For OL's information, that Rumsfeld delegation was a military delegation, a delegation to finalize arms deals to southern African countries to counter and undermine Soviet social-imperialist arms deals militarily tit for tat! And yet our OL comrades try to have us believe that "The only difference between Kissinger's (sic) old Africa policy and the 'new' one is that now he is trying to undermine liberation by getting Africans to disarm themselves and submit to superpower 'settlement.'"

What a way to "disarm" themselves and submit to a superpower "settlement"! So after all these quotation marks around the word detente and their debate on the danger of Soviet social-imperialism, the OL apparently still doesn't believe it.

The latest "Call" (June 21) responded to the revolutionary upsurge of the Azanians with a call for a demonstration against apartheid. But it is not sufficient to say that the demonstration was called just to expose apartheid. Apartheid rule is being increasingly exposed and is doomed. The struggle against apartheid and for national liberation must be linked and viewed today within the context of rising superpower politics, of "support" for majority rule, of "support" for national liberation struggles. Communists must march at the head of the masses; communists armed with the microscope and telescope of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought must apply it and thus have foresight on these questions. A call for a demonstration against apartheid, particularly a call issued by a communist organization, without explicitly laying out the need to struggle against the 2 superpowers, in the context of fighting against apartheid and for national liberation, makes the OL indistinguishable from YAWF and SWP, the Trotskyites who opportunistically exploited the issue of apartheid. This is not the correct way to build an anti-imperialist struggle today. For today, apartheid rule, as zionism, must be linked with superpower imperialism.

The OL's white blindspot has blocked them from seeing through not only the Boston forced busing plan, superseniority, and other domestic lines of the U.S. imperialists. It has finally spread to their analysis of the international situation and particularly the role of the Soviet social-imperialists.

## LEFT OPPORTUNISTS ARE DIVORCED FROM CLASS STRUGGLE

The "left" self-proclaimed Bolsheviks (PRRWO and RWL) have recently revealed their reactionary character around the southern African issue. Seeing the revolutionary upsurge of the Azanian masses as a mere "current issue" and not a particular issue where political line on the international situation and other lines are concentrated, they do no propaganda or agitation around this question. Recently an RWL spokesperson in Washington, D.C., even went so far as to say that the Angola situation clearly shows that "revolution is the main trend." This totally belittles the contention factor between the 2 superpowers and the danger of world war.

In wrecking the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) by purging all those who disagreed with their anarchist-otzovist line on "party building," they are giving defeated bourgeois nationalists like Stokeley Carmichael and an assorted pack of revisionists, centrists, and Trotskyites a chance to split the working class and exploit the apartheid issue.

By viewing party building as the central and the only task, the "left" opportunists divorce the question of party building from class struggle and from the task of identifying and winning over the advanced who are in the thick of struggle. By holding to party building as the only task, the "left" otzovists practice the Trotskyite "theory of cadres," divorce their cadres from class struggle, split the objective and the subjective and theory and practice -- the hallmark of opportunism. This creates the conditions for the political swindlers in RWL and PRRWO to mesmerize their cadres with slogans and phrases and egg them on to split and wreck to serve the bourgeoisie.

## GLORIOUS TRADITION OF SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES IN AFRICA

ALSC organized African Liberation Days and led hundreds of thousands of people between 1972 and 1975 to expose the racist regimes of Azania and Zimbabwe and their connections with imperialism. The U.S. multinational proletariat as a whole and Afro-Americans in particular have a great and glorious history of support for national liberation struggles in Africa.

In recent years, the boycott of Zimbabwean chrome by dockworkers, the boycott against Azanian coal, the support work of Polaroid workers are all examples of the spontaneous expression of proletarian internationalism of the U.S. proletariat against racism, neo-colonialism and hegemonism in Africa.

Communists must do propaganda as our chief form of activity, give support and leadership, and also provide immediate analyses and direction to these spontaneous movements of proletarian internationalism. A "Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement" stated "The working class in every socialist country and in every capitalist country must truly put into effect the fighting slogans, 'Workers of all countries, unite!' and 'Workers and oppressed nations of the world, unite!'; it must study the revolutionary experience of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, firmly support their revolutionary actions and regard the cause of their liberation as a most dependable support for itself and as directly in accord with its own interests. This is the only effective way to break down the barriers of nationality, colour and geographical location and this is the only genuine proletarian internationalism."

The "left" opportunists, by wrecking the ALSC and smothering every event of support for the African liberation struggles, and under the pretext that party building is the only task and demonstrations are only for the advanced, practice social-chauvinism against the people of the Third World. They, along with the right opportunists, must be thoroughly exposed and defeated! ●

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF ALL AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES!

PEOPLES OF AZANIA AND THE U.S., UNITE!

KICK THE SUPERPOWERS OUT OF AFRICA!

THE AZANIAN PEOPLE WILL SURELY WIN COMPLETE LIBERATION THROUGH SELF-RELIANCE AND ARMED STRUGGLE!

SMASH APARTHEID!

## WV Journal

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WHAT IS REALLY BEHIND THE "CIA SCANDAL"?

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1199 WORKERS DEMAND TO STRIKE  
(continued from page 3)

and tighten up the reins on workers through layoffs and speed-ups, the bourgeoisie is forced to centralize power in a tighter and more strict bureaucracy like the one now being created.

The 1199 misleaders support the centralization process, though under the cover of providing better health care and not for profits. Leon Davis has been pushing for a one health care system but objectively what's he supporting? He says the public hospitals are "an institution for the poor and being a poor institution", it's like a car without a motor (without its own resources, like doctors) "not going any place and not providing real services". At a recent delegate assembly, Leon Davis said that the reason why Gouverneur Hospital [a municipal hospital built as a result of protracted, fierce struggle by the workers and the community] is being closed is because \$15 million has been spent on it and the beds are half empty. But we know that Gouverneur Hospital was never able to utilize all its beds because the city would never give it the funding for surgical and obstetrical services and in fact was cutting services all along.

At the same time, he refused to organize his rank and file to fight the massive layoffs, all of which are taking place in hospitals servicing working and oppressed national minority communities. Objectively, what he's pushing is cuts in public hospitals, Mayor Beame's master plan that eliminates all but 5 major municipal hospitals, 1 for each borough (there are presently 17 municipal hospitals). Closings of small private hospitals that serve the poor and working class, while promoting the growth of a few large private hospitals which serve the wealthy and which will absorb the remnants of the others.

While 1199 workers are actively supporting the resistance of the municipal hospital workers against the waves of cuts and closings, Leon Davis refuses to come to the aid of these workers of D.C. 37 (municipal workers union). Misleaders like Davis serve to divide the class, workers of one union against another, aid the cuts and closings that most affect working and oppressed national minority communities. He plays his role as a Social-Democrat very well.

"...Social-Democracy disorganizes the proletariat and the proletarian struggle. The Social Democrats and trade union leadership act as an agency of the employers and of the ruling class within the working class ranks, preaching defeatism and opposition to struggle, and, where the outbreak of working class struggle becomes inevitable directly disrupting the struggle from within." (Dutt, Fascism and Social Revolution, p. 183.)

## SOCIAL-DEMOCRATS STRANGLE STRIKE -- TASKS OF COMMUNISTS

"This is most clearly seen in the role of Social-Democracy in strikes ... The Social-Democratic leaders... by decision of their Executive, took over the direction of the strike even calling on the workers to disobey mobilization orders. Yet their objective in coming on the strike committee, as declared by them many years later, was to strangle the strike. (same as above)

This is exactly what Leon Davis and the other trade union misleaders of 1199 are doing. Instead of recognizing the strike as one of the major weapons of the working class in its fight against capitalist exploitation and oppression, Leon Davis is trying to divert the struggle away from the initiative of the rank and file into relying on binding arbitration

The trade union misleaders disguise their class collaboration by making "management" seem to be the bad guys who won't "compromise". The fact-finding panel -- representative of the bourgeoisie -- recommended a cost of living increase, benefit increase, joint union-management productivity committees and everything else for arbitration. That's



SD trade union misleader Leon Davis would rather channel our struggle into bourgeois pacifism, instead of relying on the strength of the rank and file. The union misleadership supports binding arbitration. "The last thing in the world hospital workers want is to go out on strike."

what the trade union misleaders are supporting. The only banner at the demonstration says: "1199 supports arbitration -- binding arbitration. This means that an "impartial" committee -- right from the bourgeoisie -- will decide what we will gain and what we will lose, and once we submit to it, we must accept this decision, the strike will be sold out if we end by submitting to binding arbitration.

Davis only wants to use the strike as last resort, but not as the way to wrest concessions from the capitalists. Davis says, "the last thing in the world we want is a strike". "We would even be willing to submit all issues to binding arbitration before any impartial agency." (1199 News, June 1976.)

"A major service is rendered to the bourgeoisie by the leaders of the reformist and revisionist trade unions, who strive to prevent clashes between antagonistic classes, to dampen social conflicts by intervening to have them settled by those at the top, as well as to take control of and put the brakes on the actions of the working class. There are cases when the reformist trade union leaders feel obliged to approve strikes, but they do this under pressure from the workers or for demagogical purposes; they try, not always successfully, to have the strikes conducted peacefully and quietly, without demonstrations, without creating any disturbances, and within the bounds of bourgeois norms and legality. They want to lead the strike movement towards pacifism and bourgeois reformism, to make it apolitical." (Filip Kota, Two Opposing Lines in the World Trade Union Movement)

We must be fully aware that the bourgeoisie, along with their trade union misleaders such as Leon Davis, will do everything they can to put a stop to the working class movement, to put a stop to the growing consciousness of the workers. The bourgeoisie has many tactics to draw from -- collective bargaining, compulsory arbitration and mediation -- all of which gives the working class more illusions that bourgeois democracy is there to help them. But the bourgeoisie also draws from the tactics of the working class to split the movement from within.

"In order to avoid being exposed and to avoid being left at the tail-end of things, the reformist and revisionist trade union leaders try to seize the reins of strikes in order to sabotage them from within." (Filip Kota, Two Opposing Lines in the World Trade Union Movement)

The 1199 misleaders want to maintain a tight control of the strike. But the method they use is slicker than most unions. Unions like D.C. 37 in New York, on the recent strike vote, did not let the workers participate in any level of work. Instead the trade union misleaders, Victor Gotbaum and Lillian Roberts, by themselves negotiated away the rights of the city hospital workers by giving up their pension fund. The rank and file was never asked how they felt about this

"compromise". The decision on whether to strike or not was left with the misleaders. With 1199, the misleaders set up these strike committees that are supposedly democratically-elected from the delegates. But the trade union misleaders are the ones who are really still in command of this working class battle. By having a 137-person negotiating committee elected from the delegates, this central coordinating body of the strike, because it is too large cannot really function effectively. Also its main task is to promote collective bargaining -- class collaboration -- rather than organizing the strike itself. The union misleadership's intention is really not to strike.

Local strike committees were also set up at each hospital. This is another attempt by the 1199 misleaders to make us believe that we have some say in how the strike will go. But each strike committee is autonomous, dealing only with its local problems. Lack of coordination and centralized propaganda means that if 1199 chooses to go out on strike, the possibility of the splitting and weakening of the strike can happen. Hospitals may go back one by one, at different times, on different demands. The strike must be as united as possible, with the best coordination among the local and central strike bodies.

Communists should strive to turn this set-up by the misleaders to the advantage of the working class. The trade union misleaders want to centralize the control into their own hands, in fear of the growing strength of the rank and file. Communists must work to take over these local committees to win leadership of the workers within each workplace, and then pressure the trade union misleaders to have a central strike body that will truly represent the interests of the rank and file, instead of the negotiating committee that now exists. We must organize the rank and file to demand genuine trade union democracy.

The most important task of communists, particularly during the period of party building, is to put out communist agitation and propaganda in the preparation and waging of this strike. Because strikes "represent nothing more nor less than consciousness in an embryonic form." "...The systematic strikes represented the class struggle in embryo, but only in embryo. Taken by themselves, these strikes were simply trade union struggles, not yet Social-Democratic (Communist) struggles. They marked the awakening antagonism between workers and employers; but the workers were not, and could not be, conscious of the irreconcilable antagonism of their interests of the whole of the modern political and social system, i.e., theirs was not yet Social-Democratic consciousness." (Lenin, "What Is To Be Done?")

Communists should use these strike movements to identify and win over the advanced, and accumulate more forces for the revolution. In our preparation for a strike, in order to win leadership, we must do concrete exposure of the trade union misleaders' program and attitude towards the strike. Before, during, and after, as O. Piatnitsky of the 3rd Communist International said:

"The Communist Parties, the red trade unions, and all the mass revolutionary organizations, must tirelessly expose the Social-Democrats and the reformists, for unless the workers are freed from their influence the Communist Parties cannot win the majority of the working class, without which it will be impossible to fight successfully against the bourgeoisie. (CI, 1934 - The Bolshevization of the CPs by Eradicating the Social-Democratic Traditions).

As communists, we must concretely explain what the demands of 1199 misleaders mean, and what we see as the concrete program to fight around. As we can see, Leon Davis, and the rest of the traitors of 1199 want to limit our fight to just an economic battle with "management," as they put it. But our fight is not with just one or two bosses, but with the entire capitalist class that has exploited and enslaved us. Our program must include, not only demands for higher wages and improved working conditions, but also political demands that reflect the larger struggle that 1199 workers are a part of - the struggle to overthrow the capitalist state,

# PARTY SPIRIT OR CIRCLE SPIRIT ?

## Expose RWL/PRRWO's Menshevism on the Organizational Question

THE CORRECTNESS OR INCORRECTNESS OF IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL LINE DECIDES EVERYTHING

The struggle to forge a U.S. anti-revisionist communist party has sharply exposed the opportunist lines on organization: who practices party spirit and who practices circle spirit.

The fundamental criteria we use to determine whether one practices party spirit or circle spirit in our party building tasks is Chairman Mao's teaching that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything."

A firm proletarian stand, "serving the interests of the vast majority," dictates that genuine communists and the advanced must actively work to liquidate their present circles, based on unity of ideological and political line to form the great whole - the party of a new type.

Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO) has consistently practiced this Bolshevik principle and has taken the stand of liquidating itself. This was shown by the plan to merge with the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) before the split between us occurred.

The present day Otzovists, in order to cover their tracks for their Menshevik line on organization, are now racking their brains, sinking deeper into opportunism, in an attempt to find the "line of demarcation" with the WVO - to show that they never had unity with the WVO in the past. These lines are that party building is the central and only task; the broad stratum of workers are backward; the situation in Angola shows that revolution is the main trend and contention between the two superpowers is a secondary trend; that there is no such Leninist tactic of "supporting the misleaders like a rope supports a hanging man" and that Owusu Sadaukai's participation in the October 27th Rally in Support of Puerto Rico's Independence was "right opportunist," repudiating the former line on his participation; that bourgeois ideology and opportunism is always conscious; and a whole array of opportunist positions which have caused their dive towards the marsh, from the "left".

Unity between WVO and RWL was reached when there were no organization-to-organization ideological and political differences to speak of. Rather, it was RWL's and Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO's) petty bourgeois careerist, Menshevik line on organization that unleashed the present flood of opportunism, quickly washing them into the marsh.

Their opportunism on the organizational question is classical Menshevism. For it was exactly on the organizational question - over paragraph one of the Rules - that the Mensheviks first got their stinking names. Since then, not without good basis, Menshevism has developed further and acquired a broader meaning - now being associated with the general character of renegades, of scabs, of traitors to the working class.

### FOOTNOTE:

\* Before the split, through a process of struggle between WVO and RWL, line by line, over the questions on 1) building the party on the ideological plane, 2) the international situation, 3) fascization, 4) advanced worker and fusion, 5) trade union question, 6) strategy and tactics, 7) unite to expose, etc., we had achieved unity.

We had historically struggled with PRRWO on these same questions. Their dogmatist tendency had been rampant, but then it was still a tendency and had shown certain signs of moving away from it.

But when the opportunist leadership in PRRWO took the Menshevik organizational line of "every organization stand abreast, with no organization representing an overall relatively correct line, merger is hegemonic," it unleashed the floodgate of opportunism.

The Menshevism of RWL and PRRWO which jumped out on the organizational question has since spread wide, and gone beyond questions in the organizational sphere to political, philosophical, economic, and numerous other spheres - as the development of RWL has clearly shown. As Lenin put it concisely, "it is highly interesting to note that these fundamental characteristics of opportunism in matters of organization (autonomism, aristocratic or intellectual anarchism, tailism, and Girondism) are, mutatis mutandi, (with appropriate modifications), to be observed in all the Social-Democratic parties in the world, wherever there is a division into a revolutionary and an opportunist wing (and where is there not?)" ("One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," LCW, Vol. 7, p. 397)

What is the theoretical justification for this Menshevism? What is their favorite catchword, the hallmark of their opportunism? What's the relation between the October League's (OL) infamous line on party building which promises "democracy for all" but without a program, congress or leading body, and this Menshevism of the "left" opportunists?

Though Martov, the original Menshevik in Russia is dead, Menshevism as an ideological trend in the organizational sphere remains. And unless we understand its content, its class basis, its catchwords, and identify its forms, it will surely repeat and plague the effort to build a genuine communist party. In this spirit, we would also like to dissect and criticize the Marxist Leninist Organizing Committee (MLOC) on their party building strategy, to show how it, too, is nothing but old wine in a new bottle. MLOC's line is nothing but Menshevism through and through, dressed up - cloaked in grandiose formulations of strategy and tactics - appeals to the worst retrograde instincts for equality and democracy, etc., to cover its sham character.

"KEEP IN LINE, DON'T RUN AHEAD;  
EVERYBODY STANDS ABREAST!"

To deny the higher ideological and political unity between WVO and RWL, in order to prevent our merger, PRRWO first laid out their notorious thesis that WVO and RWL cannot have a higher basis of unity, not because we objectively didn't, but because "within the revolutionary wing, no one organization has an overall most correct line. Therefore merger would mean stacking up the cards for the Party." According to them, to say that RWL and WVO had overall a higher level of unity is "hegemonic" and merger of two organizations is "against a third organization." The correct approach to build the party according to PRRWO, and later opportunist elements in the RWL leadership, is to prevent the development of the correct line emerging in one or two organizational forms, but instead, individual organizational forms should naturally and gradually wither away, followed by the simultaneous emergence of one organization, as the struggle for the political line of the party develops.

In WV#4, we have shown how PRRWO's sophistries and mutation of line have transformed from a "left" dogmatic tendency to a whole system of anarcho-socialist politics and line.

As Lenin characterized the otzovists:

"We in the Proletary have long been strongly opposing otzovism, and have definitely stated that otzovism - to the extent that it is evolving from a mere mood into a trend, a system of politics - is departing from revolutionary Marxism and breaking completely with the principles of Bolshevism." (LCW, Question of the Day, Vol. 15, p. 356)

He continued:

"But inasmuch as otzovism is being erected into a theory, reduced to a complete system of politics - by a small group imagining itself to be the repre-

What this line denies is 1) the concrete unity between WVO and RWL, and concrete differences on a whole array of ideological and political lines between WVO-RWL and PRRWO at that time, stemming from the historical two-line struggle within what we called the revolutionary theory trend - namely dogmatism vs. Marxism-Leninism; and 2) to say that no one has the overall correct line denies the question of the representative of any line which exists objectively, independent of our will. There are no lines without some individual or organization there to promote and practice it; and 3) theoretically, it reflects a view of only seeing organizational unity as a question of pure form, and doesn't see that once ideological and political unity is achieved, higher organizational form, in turn, serves to promote the higher development of ideological and political line through the concentration of political, ideological and organizational leadership.

RWL/PRRWO'S MENSHEVIK ORGANIZATIONAL LINE: TAILISM, AUTONOMISM, INTELLECTUAL ANARCHISM

Lenin joked about the bankrupt arguments of the Mensheviks on precisely this question. He wrote:

Finally consider the profound wisdom of the new Iskra's 'Practical Worker'. 'Properly understood,' he says, 'the idea of a militant centralist organization uniting and centralizing the revolutionaries' activities [the italics are to make it look more profound] can only materialize naturally if such activities exist [both new and clever!]; organization itself, being a form [mark that!], can only grow simultaneously [the italics are the author's, as throughout this quotation] with the growth of the revolutionary work which is its content.' (No. 57) Does this not remind you very much of the character in the folktale who, on seeing a funeral, cried: 'Many happy returns of the day'? I am sure there is not a practical worker (in the genuine sense of the term) in our Party who does not understand that it is precisely the form of our activities (i.e. our organization) that has long been lagging, and lagging desperately, behind their content, and that only the Simple Simons in the Party could shout to people who are lagging: 'Keep in line; don't run ahead!' (LCW, One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, Vol. 7, pg. 387) (all emphases and parentheses in original)

Comrades, this is precisely the Menshevik line of PRRWO which argues, "keep in line, don't run ahead because no one has the overall correct line." "The organizations in the revolutionary wing must merge simultaneously and naturally with the development of the content."

Lenin mercilessly whipped the Mensheviks on this question:

The philosophy of tailism which flourished three years ago in questions of tactics, is being resurrected today in relation to questions of organization. Take the following argument of the new editors.

sentative of 'true' revolutionism - a relentless ideological war must be launched against it ... the principles which certain otzovists urge in support of their trend - whether they are conscious of it or not - threaten to lead them to anarcho-syndicalism or to just plain anarchism." (IBID, p. 357)

The opportunists in RWL, in collaboration with PRRWO on this Menshevik organizational line, have resorted to a sophist philistine explanation to justify "every organization in the wing is equally correct." This precisely liquidates the historical two-line struggle in the wing between Marxism-Leninism and dogmatism, which collapsed line by line into PRRWO's "left" opportunism.

Pressured by internal struggle for the correct line plus the WVO's hot pursuit of their otzovist line, PRRWO/RWL has degenerated completely into an opportunist trend opposing Bolshevism.

# Farmworkers' Struggle: Merging of the Chicano and Working Class Movements is an Irreversible Trend

Since the 1965 Delano grape strike, the struggle of farmworkers represents the ever-growing consciousness among the unorganized sectors of the working class, for our right to organize into trade unions, and the lead that workers from oppressed nationalities such as Chicanos and Mexicans are taking in fighting against national oppression. This current struggle of the farmworkers is linked to our proud heritage of over 100 years of fighting against slave labor, low wages, and oppressive conditions, that has been waged by the entire working class.

## PART I: A HISTORY OF STRUGGLE

In the late 1800's, when U.S. capitalism reached its monopoly capitalist stage, it had turned essentially reactionary. This reactionary essence comes out most clearly today as U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social-Imperialism contend for top dog position over the world's people and as the danger of world war increases.

Yet we can see that at the turn of the century the U.S. launched wars of aggression to rob especially Third World countries, which plundered many semi-feudal economies and drove many to seek their livelihood elsewhere. Many workers and the laboring masses from the oppressed countries of Asia, Latin America, and Africa, as well as from European countries, came to the U.S. as part of the vast cheap labor pool of American industry.

In the western U.S., waves of workers, including Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese, East Indian, and Filipino, came to the railroads, mines, and later the great agricultural fields.

These workers from oppressed nationalities faced both the severest exploitation and the brunt of violent suppression, as they strove valiantly to unite against their imperialist and class oppressors.

Afro-Americans in the South, after heroically breaking the chains of chattel slave bondage in the Civil War, faced a new form of bondage to the land economy, as semi-feudal sharecroppers. They resisted the most virulent form of chauvinism, the outlook and practice of white supremacy and Jim Crow oppression. In the West, such national oppression took the form of mass deportations of Mexican workers, or the earlier "Exclusion" laws passed against Chinese and other Asian laborers.

The U.S. imperialists plundered other countries in the early 1900s. Chicanos, along with workers of many nationalities, united with their class brothers and sisters overseas by organizing against their common oppressor, the U.S. monopoly capitalists.

The Chicano workers in the mines and in the fields, fought for the right to organize into unions, especially the Western Federation of Miners (1915) and the Industrial Workers of the World (1926), demanding higher wages and better working conditions and showing fierce resistance to the national oppression. Many of the battles against oppression were organized around Chicano national organizations, the

"mutualitas." From this base in the 1920's, the great huelga (strikes) of the Imperial Valley proceeded!

The Communist Party of the 1930's, when it played a revolutionary role in the U.S., provided leadership to many important farmworker struggles. In leading the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (CAWIU), communists united the farmworkers in important battles against the monopoly capitalists and helped merge the national struggle with the overall class struggle. The CAWIU led dozens of strikes in 1933-4 and, for example, in the El Monte Strike, united Chicanos, Japanese, Filipino, and other American workers.

## SCAPEGOATS FOR THE CAPITALIST CRISIS

Mexican and Chicano workers, in the course of struggle, have had to face not only exploitation as workers, but oppression as a national group, too. During times of capitalist prosperity, the monopoly capitalists import labor from other countries to work cheaply so that they can increase their superprofits. But when production is on the decline and the job market begins to shrink, the capitalists blame immigrant workers for high unemployment, especially Mexican workers, thus trying to pit the native-born workers against them. We saw this earlier with the Exclusion Acts against the Chinese and Japanese. Capitalists found the border convenient for shipping workers back and forth whenever they were or weren't needed. They were exploited by the U.S. monopoly capitalist class as a reserve army of labor.

During the Great Depression, Mexican workers became the target of capitalist oppression - they were considered a burden by the capitalists and many were forced onto government relief.

If Feb. 1931, many Mexican and Chicano workers were forced out of the U.S. on the pretext of getting them off the relief rolls. Currently, these capitalist tactics are being used to trump up an "illegal" alien scare. (See *Workers Viewpoint Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 1 - "Illegal" Aliens - Legal Exploitation)

To intensify the chauvinism and splitting of the working class, and the oppression of Mexican and Chicano workers, the capitalists spread chauvinist ideas which caught on among the more backward sectors of the workers. Mexicans were not permitted in certain places; signs went up that said "No Dogs or Mexicans Allowed." Vigilante groups, as well as the brutal "Texas Rangers," also formed to intimidate and force these "foreigners" out.

But in spite of all these obstacles, Mexicans fought back heroically. They united with all workers to fight against their common oppression to push the struggle of farmworkers and the whole working class forward.

## THE FUSION OF THE NATIONAL AND WORKING CLASS MOVEMENTS

In this recent upsurge among the farmworkers, we see the growing unity of the Mexican and Filipino workers who brought their unions together (Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee and the National Farmworkers Association) and formed the United Farm Workers of



The struggle of the Chicano and Mexican farmworkers played a leading role in the upsurge of the Chicano national movement.

America. We also see the unity expressed in the solidarity of the rank and file of other unions towards the farmworkers' struggle. Longshoremen refused to load non-union products, for example.

Under the pressure of their membership, even AFL-CIO misleader George Meany and United Auto Workers misleader Walter Reuther (a great percentage of UAW workers in the Southwest are Chicano) were forced to support the struggle by contributing strike funds. Workers from the Operating Engineers Union in San Francisco, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Cement Masons Union, and the Carpet and Linoleum Workers organization helped the UFW to build their union hall. We see the increasing unity also between American-born and immigrant workers in the in the recent resolution pushed by the workers themselves at the UFW convention opposing Chavez's position against "illegal" aliens.

Chicano and Mexican farmworkers, along with other workers, have taken the lead in their own national struggle. Along with the great upsurge of the Afro-American people in the 1960's against national oppression and for their democratic rights, the farmworkers' struggle was the impetus for the rise of the Chicano national movement at that time. Chicano students youths, for example, struck back on the campuses and high schools for ethnic studies and fought against oppression in the communities (e.g. MECHA, MAYO). Chicano parents demanded better education for their kids and for bi-lingual programs and their right to know their own history. And nationalist militants agitated around the historic land confiscations in the Southwest and demanded the restoration of national rights.

Consciousness against the imperialist war in Vietnam and its link to national oppression at home arose. On Aug. 29, 1970, 15,000 people marched in Los Angeles - this is the famous Chicano Moratorium. The state attacked with their police, injuring hundreds and murdering three demonstrators. Through these struggles, many Chicano political organizations formed to fight their oppression: the Brown Berets, La Raza Unida Party, La Alianza Federal de Mercedes, Crusade for Justice, etc.

As with all these national movements, organizations, because of their petty-bourgeois leadership, could not offer

## PARTY SPIRIT OR CIRCLE SPIRIT? (continued from p. 14)

'The militant Social-Democratic trend in the Party,' says Comrade Alexandrov, 'should be maintained not only by an ideological struggle but by definite forms of organization.' Whereupon the editors edifying remark: 'Not bad, this juxtaposition of ideological struggle and forms of organization. The ideological struggle is a process, whereas the forms of organization are only ... forms [believe it or not, that is what they say - No. 56, Supplement, p. 4, bottom of col. 1.] designed to clothe a fluid and developing content - the developing practical work of the Party.' That is positively in the style of the joke about a cannonball being a cannonball and a bomb a bomb! The ideological struggle is a process, whereas the forms of organization are only forms clothing the content! The point at issue is whether our ideological struggle is to have forms of a higher type to clothe it, the forms of a party organization, binding on all, or the forms of the old disunity and the old circles. We have been dragged back from higher to more primitive forms, and this is being justified on the plea that the ideological struggle is a process whereas forms - are only forms.' (LCW, One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, Vol. 7, p. 386)

This is the Leninist position on party organization and party spirit.

PRRWO/RWL's line that merger between two organizations with higher ideological and political unity means unity against a third organization, is a thoroughly Menshevik line. It disregards ideological and political content, and elevates the organizational question above everything. That line was covered up by the correct understanding that differences between the revolutionary wing and the opportunist wing are absolute, while differences within the revolutionary wing are relative. PRRWO tried to interpret this to mean that differences within the revolutionary wing are insignificant, that "unity is the principal aspect." They interpreted this to mean that differences between right and wrong, differences between dogmatism and Marxism-Leninism are not absolute. To us there are absolute differences, which if not properly identified and struggled out, will lead to a split.

The view that merger of two organizations goes against a third, and is an act of "stacking the cards," is a blatantly petty bourgeois proprietor's viewpoint. As Chairman Mao said, every idea and every viewpoint is stamped with the brand of a definite class. What class does this viewpoint stem from if it views the forward motion and unity of two fraternal organizations as hegemonism? Only a capitalist would view the unity of two capitalist organizations as a threat to them, only a petty proprietor would view this unity as "stacking the cards," - either you win or he wins - rather than a progressive step in the struggle against the bourgeoisie.

#### BUILD THE PARTY FROM BOTTOM UP: OL'S MENSHEVISM

OL's November "call to the Party," is the epitome of the lowest common denominator approach to party building, the classical epitome of the anti-party circle spirit. With promises of full democracy, no program, no congress, no established leading body, etc., the anti-party circle spirit has been visible for all to see.

OL's opportunist call for the party, instead of being based on a principled Marxist-Leninist line, is reduced to nothing but a "plan" (scheme!) To begin with, these Mensheviks hold on to what Lenin called the "bottom upward" line: "wherever possible and as far as possible, upholds autonomism and 'democracy' to the point of anarchism" (LCW, Vol. 7, p. 394 as revealed in their "unity discussion" and "unity conference."

Secondly, in the absence of principle and line, whatever works is correct and whatever works better is more correct. This is out and out pragmatism. This is the basis, the real content, of the recent "modifications" by the OL of the old "plan." We agree with the OL that the basic features of the plan remain the same, i.e., Menshevism, because the "modifications" do not repudiate the old lines. (The Call, March 1976)

The anti-party circle spirit of the OL is promoted in their line of the "growing unity trend," "the main trend is unity," "desire to unite" etc., without drawing lines of demarcation. A trend, whether Marxist-Leninist

or opportunist, is characterized by certain ideological and political physiognomy. The opportunist OL, by pushing this "unity trend" without going into the ideological and political line, is therefore precisely putting organization as key and promoting "unity" without class content -- devoid of line. Under the outcry of "unity," but standing for unprincipled unity is diametrically opposed to genuine party spirit.

Comrades, doesn't this Menshevism of putting unity above everything else remind you of RWL's one-sidedly putting "daring above everything else" (Palante, June 1976, p. 8) without upholding the ability to differentiate lines (as our Chinese comrades sum up in their Tenth Party Congress)? Yes! Both the right and the "left" opportunists throw out the window the fundamental principle of "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." Hence both uphold organization as key. Once again, these otzovists are Mensheviks-inside-out!

#### "HEGEMONISM" - THE CATCHWORD OF BOTH THE RIGHT AND 'LEFT' MENSHEVIKS

Another interesting characteristic of this Menshevism on the organizational question is that whether they take a right or "left" form, they all use the same catchword: "hegemonism" in relation to questions of party building. We pointed out in our September 1974 issue of Workers Viewpoint Journal that this term was first raised by none other than the now fully-degenerated Guardian, and that we should have no sham unity with this opposition. It was later picked up and used by the OL in relation to the RU's party building motion. "And so, insofar as the new catchwords of the new Iskra on organization contain any principles at all, there can be no doubt that they are opportunist principles. This conclusion is confirmed both by the whole analysis of our Party Congress, which divided into a revolutionary and an opportunist wing, and by the example of all European Social-Democratic parties, where opportunism in organization finds expression in the same tendencies, in the same accusations, and very often in the same catchwords." ("One Step Forward, Two Steps Back")

In our opinion, there is no such thing as "hegemonism" in relation to party building affairs. There is only the question of the correctness or incorrectness of ideological and political line, and the question of circle spirit or party spirit in the organizational sphere.

Hegemonism versus anti-hegemonism, which according to these opportunists would mean "no one has an overall correct line," is really nothing but tailism and autonomism on the question of organization, and intellectual anarchism in regard to proletarian discipline. Lenin says of these Mensheviks: "Their 'principles' of organization therefore display all the colours of the rainbow. The predominant item consists of innocent passionate declamations against autocracy and bureaucracy, against blind obedience and cogs and wheels -- declamations so innocent that it is still very difficult to discern in them what is really concerned with principle and what is really concerned with co-optation.... Sneering at discipline-autonomism-anarchism -- there you have the ladder which our opportunism in matters of organization now climbs and now descends, skipping from rung to rung and skillfully dodging any definite statement of its principles. Exactly the same stages are displayed by opportunism in matters of programme and tactics: sneering at 'orthodoxy,' narrowness, and immobility - revisionist criticism' and ministerialism - bourgeois democracy." ("One Step Forward, Two Steps Back")

"There is a close psychological connection between this hatred of discipline and that incessant nagging note of injury which is to be detected in all the writings of all opportunists today in general, and of our minority in particular. They are being persecuted, hounded, ejected, besieged, and bullied. There is far more psychological and political truth in these catchwords than was probably suspected even by the author of the pleasant and witty joke about bullies and bullied." Then Lenin raised some examples of these Mensheviks.

"There are the Bundists and the Rabocheye Dyelo-ists," he said, "whom we offended so badly that they withdrew from the Congress; there are the Yuzhny Rabochey-ists, who were mortally offended by the slaughter of organizations in general and of their own in particular...." ("One Step Forward, Two Steps Back")

In the communist movement today, the term "circle spirit" is generally viewed as an autonomous line practiced by a small organization. And larger

organizational "chauvinism" is referred to as "hegemonism". This is incorrect. Circle spirit refers to a line which builds upon narrow autonomous organizational interests and not the interests of party building. It is not something intrinsic in smaller collectives. Likewise, party spirit is not necessarily practiced by larger organizations. Before the party is built, large organizational chauvinism, in fact, is a particular form of circle spirit, as distinct from party spirit. So in our opinion, OL's line that bases "success" and "ideological leap" of an organization on whether or not an organization has increased in numbers, "whether it has grown," is an appeal to anti-party, retrograde "circle spirit." They use organization as key -- not ideological and political line -- to build their party.

#### IDEOLOGICAL AND CLASS BASIS; PROLETARIAT VS PETTY BOURGEOISIE ON ORGANIZATION

Is there any wonder then, that our Mensheviks - inside-out, the present day otzovists, scream "hegemonism," as all petty bourgeois opportunists do? Is it any wonder that a dying class fearful of being swallowed by these Monopolies, yell "equality," "fairness," the loudest, yet play the dirtiest? Aren't the OL Mensheviks and the PRRWO/RWL Mensheviks inside-out, made of the same stuff, except covered up with a more hypocritical, even more pretentious "proletarian" facade? Yes they are!!

Lenin also pointed out that "...defenses of autonomism as against centralism..." is "inseparably connected with Girondism and aristocratic anarchism..."

Comrades, this is the characteristic of Menshevism.

This characteristic is very pronounced in Palante, the sham Bolshevik and the IWK Journal. These opportunist "theoreticians" all have the most vulgar habit of taking line struggles out of the concrete context of time, place, condition and the main danger.

They have inherited their best tradition from Martov and Axelrod, practice revisionism and make a career out of lumping together particular statements and particular developmental factors with zeal.

Circle spirit is the vulgar habit, mode of thinking and mood of Mensheviks and Mensheviks inside-out otzovists. This is the pattern of behavior of the Mensheviks and Mensheviks inside-out otzovists, of worshipping organizational tailism elevated to the level of principle, of intellectual anarchism that stems from the mode of life of the unstable petty bourgeois class - unstable because they are threatened from both sides.

The petty bourgeoisie view discipline and organization and division of labor as "cogs and wheels" of a large "impersonal" machinery. They are suspicious of discipline as a form of slavery and "servile subordination" and resent political centralization, thinking it will "turn(ing) me into a political corpse". They view this as something that deprives them of their "distinctiveness of personality" and the necessary "spontaneity", as something that kills their "creativity and imagination."

The proletariat, on the other hand, is schooled in 'factory life', spirit of cooperation and mutual trust and comradeship. It views recognition of and action to change necessity as freedom. It embraces collectivism and cooperation with pleasure and delight. It is inspired with the lofty goal of communism, stemming from the proletarian class stand which works for the interests of the vast majority, dares to go against Menshevik and otzovist tides. For the same reason it despises circle spirit and all the philistine arguments and systems of views that justify and lead towards it.

Struggle over the party spirit or the circle spirit is a class struggle; the one class against another; the proletariat versus the petty bourgeoisie. Either one prevails or the other prevails. There is no middle road. The various lines in the communist movement are representative lines of different classes and class views.

Comrades, it is for this reason the struggle for party spirit, for the party and struggle over the "slaughter of organizations has to be terribly fierce."

As Lenin put it "The fresh breeze (of party spirit) proved too fresh as yet for people used to musty philistinism. The furious gale raised all the mud from the bottom of our Party stream. And this is a good thing, an excellent thing indeed. Only through tit for tat, vigorous struggle, and through the sorting out process, can the party foundation be laid.

Comrades,

"In its struggle for power the proletariat has no

## PARTY SPIRIT OR CIRCLE SPIRIT? (continued from p. 16)

other weapon but organisation. Disunited by the rule of anarchic competition in the bourgeois world, ground down by forced labour for capital, constantly thrust back to the 'lower depths' of utter destitution, savagery, and degeneration, the proletariat can, and inevitably will, become an invincible force only through its ideological unification on the principles of Marxism being reinforced by the material unity of organisation, which welds millions of toilers into an army of the working class. Neither the senile rule of the Russian autocracy nor the senescent rule of international capital will be able to withstand this army. It will more and more firmly close its ranks, in spite of all zigzags and backward steps, in spite of the opportunist phrase-mongering of the Girondists of present-day Social-Democracy, in spite of the self-satisfied exaltation of the retrograde circle spirit, and in spite of the tinsel and fuss of intellectual anarchism. ("One Step Forward, Two Steps Back," LCW, Vol. 7, p. 412-413)

## PARTY SPIRIT VS CIRCLE SPIRIT ON POLEMICS

A good example of this kind of political opportunism can be seen in the IWK. IWK charges that WVO is guilty of ossifying Marxism and is guilty of scholasticism -- because WVO dares to exaggerate the role of theory against practice and its application to the concrete conditions in the U.S.

Of course, these opportunists also hope that people have had memories. Comrades should recall that the line IWK held during the period 1971 to 1975 was the same practice, practice, practice line of the RU. At that time, throughout our struggle with the RU, all we heard from the IWK quarter was the same kind of slander we got from the RU: "all theory and no practice."

It reminds us of a struggle Lenin had with the Mensheviks over "What Is To Be Done?" The Mensheviks accused Lenin of having "exaggerated" the concept of professional revolutionaries. Lenin replied to these Mensheviks in kind:

"The basic mistake made by those who now criticize What Is To Be Done? is to treat the pamphlet apart from its connection with the concrete historical situation of a definite, and now long past, period in the development of our Party. This mistake was strikingly demonstrated, for instance, by Parvus (not to mention numerous Mensheviks), who, many years after the pamphlet appeared, wrote about its incorrect or exaggerated ideas on the subject of an organisation of professional revolutionaries.

"Today these statements look ridiculous, as if their authors want to dismiss a whole period in the development of our Party, to dismiss gains which, in their time, had to be fought for, but which have long ago been consolidated and have served their purpose.

"To maintain today that Iskra exaggerated (in 1901 and 1902!) the idea of an organisation of professional revolutionaries, is like reproaching the Japanese, after the Russo-Japanese War, for having exaggerated the strength of Russia's armed forces, for having prior to the war exaggerated the need to prepare for fighting these forces. To win victory the Japanese had to marshal all their forces against the probable maximum of Russian forces. Unfortunately, many of those who judge our Party are outsiders, who do not know the subject, who do not realise that today the idea of an organisation of professional revolutionaries has already scored a complete victory. That victory would have been impossible if this idea had not been pushed to the forefront at the time, if we had not 'exaggerated' so as to drive it home to people who were trying to prevent it from being realised.

"... But to pass judgement on that summary without knowing Iskra's struggle against the then dominant trend of Economism, without understanding that struggle, is sheer idle talk.

"... And now, when the fight for this organisation has long been won, when the seed has ripened, and the harvest gathered, people come along and tell us: 'You exaggerated the idea of an organisation of professional revolutionaries!' Is this not ridiculous?" (Lenin, "Preface to the Collection Twelve Years," LCW, Vol. 13)

Is it not ridiculous for IWK to accuse WVO of having

exaggerated theory and its concrete application to the conditions in the U.S., particularly since their positions on various burning questions are nowhere to be found? They held such a line before, which affected not only their line on party building (they didn't even see it as the principal task until the end of 1975!) but hosts of other fundamental questions. Is it not ridiculous, for example, for PRRWO/RWL to accuse WVO of having "exaggerated the question of ideology" especially since they don't even know the difference between Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought as the "theoretical basis that guides our thinking" and our thinking itself? This paves fertile ground for opportunism to develop into full-blown revisionism.

The WVO has also made deviations in attempting to understand the relationship between political line and ideological deviations, and has tried to discern opportunism beyond the cruder political aspects of the line. We have also tried to understand and prevent through identifying and grasping, the particular class basis of the communist movement, those ideological deviations and ideological trends which are based on the objective conditions which make these ideological trends inevitable and independent of our will and bound to repeat themselves.

However, the main danger in the U.S. communist movement, as represented by the RCP and the OL, as well as the "left," has been and still is and will continue to be mechanical materialism and pragmatism -- only seeing the cruder political or organizational aspects of deviations and not probe deeper into the finer ideological deviations which are more commonplace and universal in the communist movement (as distinct from the "CP" USA and other consolidated revisionists). It is infinitely better that we tackle this question and make mistakes, than not deal with it at all and continue to be satisfied with the cruder aspects of revisionism. It would be ridiculous to talk about the building of an anti-revisionist party if we didn't understand deeply the question of development of revisionism. But amazingly enough, our "left" opportunists today criticize WVO for "exaggerating the role of ideology." They still believe that bourgeois ideology is always conscious and that the struggle for proletarian ideology is in the main over ("we had still to struggle for proletarian ideology in the last period" !.) ("The Bolshevik")

When Lenin exposed the Mensheviks for charging him with exaggerating the "concept of professional revolutionaries," that was at least when the "battle (on this question) was already won." The present-day otzovists accuse WVO of "exaggerating the role of ideology" when they themselves still don't understand this question of ideological deviations, or the question of how bourgeois ideology accentuates revisionism given the class and historical basis of the present-day communist movement. This is not only ridiculous. This is absurd!!!

These are some examples of "polemics" which we think represent intellectual anarchism. They are the necessary accompanying characteristics of autonomism, and taken together, they define anti-party circle spirit.

Lenin laid out the correct view on polemics and ideological struggle, as distinct from circle squabbling and circle wriggling -- the circle spirit. On genuine principled ideological struggle:

"In each of these stages the circumstances of the struggle and the immediate object of the attack are materially different; each stage is, as it were, a separate battle in one general military campaign. Our struggle cannot be understood at all unless the concrete circumstances of each battle are studied.

"... But the great Hegelian dialectics which Marxism made its own, having first turned it right side up, must never be confused with the vulgar trick of justifying the zigzags of politicians who swing over from the revolutionary to the opportunist wing of the Party, with the vulgar habit of lumping together particular statements, and particular developmental factors, belonging to different stages of a single process. Genuine dialectics does not justify the errors of individuals, but studies the inevitable turns, proving that they were inevitable by a detailed study of the process of development in all its concreteness. One of the basic principles of dialectics is that there is no such thing as abstract truth, truth is always concrete...." (One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, LCW, Vol. 7, p. 409)

This in our view demarcates the methodology of circle spirit from the methodology in ideological struggle of genuine party spirit.

There is yet another impostor of Marxism-Leninism who tries to hide under the signboard of uniting Marxist-Leninists around ideological and theoretical tasks -- the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee (MLOC). But once you scratch their thin surface, you hit Menshevism through and through, with all of their so-called strategy to unite Marxist-Leninists actually being nothing but the same appeal for "organizational equality", the same appeal to the same petty bourgeois outlook.

MLOC sees the party building strategy as identical with military strategy -- with the method of warfare. MLOC sees that opportunism within the communist movement must be fought by concentrating a superior force on local and national levels, then working in a quiet, secretive manner, until such time as a maximum force can be assembled. This strategy has to be carried out by "not arousing the watchdogs at the gate before we're inside!"

Comrades, MLOC's approach is a sham Marxist approach. The strategy to unite Marxist-Leninists, to fight opportunism within the communist movement, is an ideological war. It cannot be compared to a military war.

MLOC's approach belittles polemics, and they essentially view polemics the same way as the RCP and OL. Namely, polemics are a bad thing. They deny that the principal danger in the U.S. communist movement up to this point, as represented and promoted by the RCP and OL's line, has been concealment of opportunism and primitiveness because of lack of principled open polemics.

As Lenin said in the "Draft Declaration of the Editorial Board of Iskra,"

"Open polemics, conducted in full view of all Russian Social-Democrats and class conscious workers, are necessary and desirable in order to clarify the depth of existing differences, in order to afford discussion of disputed questions from all angles, in order to combat the extremes into which representatives of various views, various localities, or various 'specialties' of the revolutionary movement inevitably fall. Indeed, we regard one of the drawbacks of the present-day movement to be the absence of open polemics between avowedly differing views, the effort to conceal differences from fundamental questions."

Certainly MLOC's line of taking the opportunists' by surprise, "of not arousing the watchdogs at the gate before we're inside," as MLOC claims, is a far cry from Lenin's line of "open polemics, conducted in full view of all Russian Social-Democrats and class conscious workers". Certainly Lenin's view on open polemics "to clarify the depth of existing differences, in order to afford discussion of disputed questions from all angles" is a far cry from MLOC's military strategy of concentrating superior forces to destroy the enemy one by one and by surprise.

MLOC fears struggle and hard knocks; "Leninists" do not! Lenin in a letter to Apollinaria Yakubova commented:

"How to draw the line between the sound and useful tendency and the harmful one? ... And would it not be ridiculous to fear examination of the question in print since it has already been discussed for a long time in letters and debates. Why should debates at meetings and writing letters be considered permissible and elucidation of controversial issues in the press a 'most harmful thing capable only (??) of amusing our enemies'? This I cannot understand. Only polemics in the press can precisely establish the dividing line I am referring to, for some people are often bound to go to extremes. Of course struggle in the press will cause more ill feeling and give us a good many hard knocks, but we are not so thin-skinned as to fear knocks! To wish for struggle without knocks, differences without struggle, would be the height of naivete, and if the struggle is waged openly (original emphasis) it will be a hundred times better than foreign and Russian 'Gubarevism' and will lead, I repeat, a hundred times faster to lasting unity. (Oct. 26, 1900, Vol. 43, p. 48)

MARXIST-LENINISTS UNITE!  
IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE OR  
MILITARY CAMPAIGN

What's the fundamental fallacy in MLOC's line here, in mixing up ideological struggle and military



Chicano Moratorium - Chicano and Mexican organizations in support of the Vietnamese liberation struggle!!

the correct leadership for the working class and Chicano struggles. But from these struggles also came many Chicano comrades who turned towards Marxism-Leninism. The August Twenty-Ninth Movement (ATM), who took their name from the Moratorium, was one of those organizations adopting Marxism-Leninism.

The merging of the national and working class movements is an irreversible trend. Historically, these two movements move towards ever closer unity! Chairman Mao, in his statement in support of the Afro-American struggle, talked of this growing trend: "The struggle of the Black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class." (Statement by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, In Support of the Afro-American Struggle Against Violent Repression, April 16, 1968).

In light of the current international situation, where both the factors for revolution and world war are on the rise and contending fiercely with each other, in a situation where either revolution will prevent world war, or world war will lead to revolution, the situation in the U.S. reflects this great storm on the horizon. Along with the growing consciousness of our multi-national working class (the fusion of the national and working class movements as an indication of this) is the trend of fascization - the splitting of the mighty working class upsurge that the U.S. monopoly capitalists, on its deathbed, is trying to put down in order to save itself, is one aspect of this process. Using every trick in the book, playing on national differences, busting our unions, stirring up chauvinism and diverting our struggles with abstract calls for "equality" and shoring up the facade of the U.S. Constitution, the U.S. monopoly capitalists are desperately trying to delay the revolutionary trend from overtaking and destroying them.

The fusion of the national and working class movements is significant in fighting these attempts by the monopoly capitalists to usher in fascism, because chauvinism and racism are the main vehicles for this process. We can see this very clearly with the Boston forced busing plan. Under the guise of giving quality education to Afro-Americans, the monopoly capitalists have whipped up racist hysteria, splitting the Afro-American and white working class communities of Boston. (See Workers Viewpoint Journal, Vol. 2, No. 1 - The Boston Forced Busing Plan: Dialectics of Bourgeois Formal Democracy and Fascism.)

For us, the most important step to fusing the national and working class movements is the building of our multi-national vanguard party of the proletariat. That task must be grasped tightly.

To build the vanguard party that will unite and lead the multi-national working class to overthrow the capitalist state, communists must fuse with the multi-national working class movement and national movements.

A vanguard cannot go into battle alone; it must win over the vast majority to either actively fight in the proletarian army or support us in our activities. In this period of party-building, the first step is winning over to communism the advanced in the working class and national movement. In order to win advanced workers to communism, we must do communist propaganda/agitation in the thick of the class struggle.

**PART II: ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED - ORGANIZATION IS THE WEAPON OF THE PROLETARIAT.**

**MAKE THE TRADE UNIONS REVOLUTIONARY FIGHTING ORGANIZATIONS!!**

Organizing the unorganized is an important task for communists. Trade unions are necessary organizations for the working class struggle. Under communist leadership, trade unions can and will unite the vast majority of workers to fight in our common interests; under the leadership of the genuine communist party, communists and the advanced will lead the proletariat to socialist revolution!

"Let every worker who understands the need to unite for the struggle against the employers and the government join the trade unions. The very aim of the trade unions would be impossible of achievement, if they did not unite all who have attained at least this elementary degree of understanding, if they were not very broad organizations. The broader these organizations, the broader will be our influence over them - an influence due, not only to the "spontaneous" development of the economic struggle, but to the direct and conscious effort of the socialist trade union members to influence their comrades." (Lenin, What Is To Be Done? "On Trade Unions," p. 129)

"During the period of capitalism, Lenin considered the trade unions to be necessary and essential organizations for the working class, as centers of resistance, organization and joint action against the bourgeoisie, and as elementary schools for the class education of the workers in which they would form and develop their class consciousness, and wage an active campaign against capitalist oppression and exploitation." (Filip Kota - Two Opposing Lines in the World Trade Union Movement, p. 26).

Trade unions are the most basic form of organization for the entire working class. They unite all workers to fight as a class against our common oppression. The formation of trade unions represents a significant victory in the working class struggle; it brings workers out of isolation and unites us in our resistance and our struggle for immediate concessions from the capitalists. Trade unions fight not only for the economic interests of workers, but are an essential tool in the working class's political struggle, in our fight for the overthrow of the system of wage-slavery.



Farmworkers have up to today faced some of the worst working and living conditions. Child labor was still used in the fields.

The farmworkers, just like any other sector of the working class, see this need to organize together as a force. In the U. S., farmworkers have faced some of the worst living and working conditions, which have improved very little up to this day. Farmworkers have also had to face laws that restricted them from the right to organize - a right that was legally given to most workers in the Wagner Act in 1935, and the chauvinism of the trade union misleaders who either outright refused or made weak attempts to organize them. But attempts were made at organizing this sector of the working class by the IWW, the CPUSA in the 1930's, etc. Many of the oppressed nationalities within the farmworkers' movement also attempted to form their own organization, such as the Mexicans - the Confederacion de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas (CUOM) - the Federation of Mexican Workers Unions. Also, because of the uneven development of capitalism, the industrialization of agriculture did not start until much later than in the manufacturing industries, and the organization of farmworkers was held back. The recent struggles of the Chicano, Mexican, Filipino, and other farmworkers under the UFW was a response to the demand for organization among this sector of the working class.

A favorable condition for the recent farmworkers movement lies in the greater centralization of farmland into fewer and fewer hands, making farm labor more and more socialized, and eliminating the difficulty of farmwork being migratory, seasonal, and scattered. The fields have become factories. Also, because the capitalists have relied mainly on immigrant labor from Third World countries to work in the fields, workers were exploited not only as workers, but doubly exploited as an oppressed nationality. This has led to great militancy and determination to organize the oppressed to fight against both national oppression and working class exploitation.

In spite of the many obstacles placed before them, farmworkers have and still do see the need to organize. That's why the early attempts of the IWW and the CPUSA to organize among field workers were able to happen; and why the UFW was able to form in the 1960's. The determination, militancy, and recognition of this need for organization has been a driving force behind all attempts at organizing farmworkers. What has been lacking has been the correct leadership - a vanguard communist party. Farmworkers must get organized so that they can become a part of the proletarian army that will overthrow the bourgeois state.

**ORGANIZING THE UNORGANIZED IS EVEN MORE IMPORTANT UNDER THE PRESENT ECONOMIC CRISIS**

With the deepening of the economic and political crisis of the monopoly capitalists, the need to organize the unorganized becomes even more pressing. As unemployment grows rapidly each day, more and more workers are being forced out of the unions and are unable to find work. The organized sector of the working class represents less than 20% of the entire working class.

The monopoly capitalists, with the aid of their trade union lackeys who have been bribed by capitalist super-profits, are resorting to new and better ways to bust the unions, to bust the unity and strength of the working class. For example, while throwing their members onto the streets, the trade union misleaders of AFSCME in District Council 37 in New York City, along with the monopoly capitalists - in this case represented by the New York City government - have pushed for a volunteer program

Playing on the genuine sentiments of the people concerned because of the deteriorating conditions in hospitals, schools, etc. due to the budget crisis, the monopoly capitalists and trade union misleaders are encouraging these volunteers to come in and take the jobs of many workers in these places. This splits the working class, and busts our unions because volunteers are unpaid labor, not covered by the unions.

Previously, trade union misleaders in New York City used other methods to bust unions, such as hiring CETA (Comprehensive UFW continued on page 19

UFW continued from page 18

sive Employment Training Act) workers to replace regular workers, or using students on a part-time or temporary basis also to replace the workers who regularly do the job.

In steel, the trade union misleader Abel, pushed the ENA - a no-strike clause in the contract. In the recent iron molders struggle on the West Coast, "trusteeship" was used to smash one of the locals and put it under the direct control of the International's misleadership. The passing of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act by the California State Legislature, under the guise of granting farmworkers the right to organize is used to split the working class and break the unions. It makes the focus of struggle the elections as to which union (UFW or Teamsters) will represent the workers rather than the strike by workers against the monopoly capitalists for union recognition, heightening the already existing contradiction between the union leaderships pushed by the monopoly capitalists to shift away the attacks from themselves. (See the section on the ALRA). These are just a few examples of the busting of unions that is going on now, and how our trade union misleaders are working within to disrupt our movement.

With the crisis intensifying, our resistance is growing. This being a contract year for many workers, strikes around job security and Cost of Living clauses are becoming more and more widespread. With this growing consciousness of the working class against the capitalist crisis, and with the increasing intensity of our struggles, the bourgeoisie and their misleaders will try to break the back of the movement by bringing in scabs. Strike breakers from among the ranks of the unemployed and unorganized. With jobs scarcer and scarcer, workers are fighting to survive. But this fight must be directed in the right direction - at the capitalist class which has created this crisis and has thrown thousands upon thousands heartlessly into the streets with no means of survival.

We must fight for the right of workers who have been pushed into unemployment by the worsening economic conditions to remain in the union. This task is becoming more pressing. Communists and advanced workers must take up this struggle to organize the entire working class into one invincible force, to strengthen the unity of the class, and resist all attempts to split and divide us.

#### BUILD THE SOLIDARITY OF THE MULTI-NATIONAL WORKING CLASS. EXPOSE CHAVEZ'S CHAUVINIST LIES

The organization of the unorganized in this period also represents a significant gain for the working class in organizing workers of oppressed nationalities, who have been systematically excluded from the unions in the past. It will further the fusion of the national and working class movements, and provide a better base for the fusion of the communist and working class movements, bringing us closer to the final onslaught on the bourgeois state!

Traditionally, trade union misleaders have supported the monopoly capitalists in it's attacks on immigrant workers, such as the Exclusion Acts of the Chinese in 1882 and the Japanese in 1917. AFL misleaders refused to organize immigrant and unskilled labor. This chauvinism was based on their craft union policy of wanting to preserve their "privileged" status. Instead of representing the interests of all workers, they sided with the monopoly capitalists to split the class by blaming the oppressed nationality and national minority workers for taking away jobs from native-born workers. The AFL, under the misleadership of Samuel Gompers, said:

"The more recent immigrant employees from southern and eastern Europe and Asia...have been a constant menace to labor organization and have been directly and indirectly threatening their influence." (Abstract of Reports of the Immigration Committee, Vol.1 p. 8)

In the IWW organizing effort at the Pressed Steel Car Company at McKees Rocks, Pa., the AFL misleaders attacked immi-

grant labor for causing the "trouble" there. But this strike showed the unity of the native-born and foreign-born workers in their fight for union recognition and for better working conditions. Currently, the trade union misleaders are following a similar chauvinist policy in their attempts to aid the monopoly capitalists in splitting the ranks of the working class. The ILGWU (International Ladies' Garment Workers Union) misleaders are pushing a "Buy American" campaign. The UFW misleader, Chavez, supports the Rodino Bill, blaming "illegal" aliens for the current economic crisis.

We said in Workers Viewpoint Journal, Vol. 2, No. 1, that it is misleaders like Chavez who "once expressed the just aspirations of the oppressed farmworkers and Chicanos -- who captured the mass sentiment of militant workers -- who has now proven to be one of the better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself." (p. 66).

For years, Chavez has collaborated with the capitalists to split the immigrant workers and U.S.-born workers, telling them that the so-called "illegals" are scabs and strike-breakers, and that they must be driven away from the fields.

Under Chavez, the UFW called for the deportation of "illegals," going to the extent of turning over "illegals" to the Immigration Department. This is an outrageous betrayal of the union, which was founded by the Chicano and Filipino workers (who played a leading role in the recent upsurge of the farmworkers struggle.) In our struggle against the real enemy - the monopoly capitalists - we must stop all scabs and all forces who betray the unity of the working class. But we define scabs and enemies by which side they fight for, not by their status under law. Our duty as communists is to link up firmly the immigrant workers with the U.S.-born workers to fight for the democratic rights and to educate the whole working class to the real nature of the monopoly capitalists and the common interests of the working class. In particular, we must fight the super-exploitation of immigrant workers.

An earlier example of Chavez's support of chauvinist policies and his collaboration with the capitalists to split the working class, was his attitude towards the Bracero Program. The Bracero Program, set up during World War II, when the capitalists were in desperate need of cheap labor, brought in contract labor from Mexico.

Chavez, as well as many other union misleaders, church officials, liberal politicians, some Chicano activists, and of course, the "C" PUSA, attacked the Bracero Program as the main obstacle to organizing farmworkers because they said these workers were scabbing on the unionization drives. They said that once the Bracero Program was eliminated, unionizing the workers in the fields would be easier - mainly by eliminating the ready supply of cheap labor that the growers have available to them through this program. These misleaders blame the braceros for the difficulty in organizing farmworkers and pitted the immigrant workers against the U.S.-born workers.

The point, however, is not whether the Braceros are "legal" or "illegal", native-born or immigrant. Chavez and these misleaders are shifting the focus of attack away from the monopoly capitalists to the braceros, letting the monopoly capitalists off the hook, by pointing their fingers at the braceros rather than the monopoly capitalists! Of course, we're against the Bracero Program! As communists, we're against it because the monopoly capitalists are super-exploiting the Mexican workers. The monopoly capitalists bring them into this country, desperately need cheap labor, and want to break up the unionization efforts by creating their own hiring halls! Our stand is that all workers should be organized and only through the unity of all farmworkers can the unionization drives succeed!

From the time the Bracero Program began, to when it was terminated, there were many instances of braceros supporting the strikers in the fields. Many times, braceros were brought in by the monopoly capitalists to work the fields

where strikes were taking place. When the braceros learned of this, they would join their fellow workers, refusing to break picket lines. The unity of the workers is much stronger than any splitting tactic of the capitalists and their lackeys.



Cesar Chavez - class collaborationist misleader of the UFW, sells out the workers' strike and boycott weapons for the bourgeois trick, the ALRA.

Chavez is dangerous, because pretending to be a militant fighter for us, he in fact helps the capitalists to split the working class from within. Under the revolt of the rank and file against his support of chauvinist policies, the misleaders were forced to back down from this anti-working class stand. At the recent Second Convention of the UFW, attended by over 5,000 farmworkers and supporters, the rank and file were able to force through a resolution that states that "if growers can bring illegal workers here for the purpose of exploiting them...we can organize illegal workers to liberate them." In fact, immigrant workers have historically fought along side the U.S.-born workers in the spirit of multi-national unity of the entire working class who faces the same oppression. The wave upon wave of strikes by immigrant workers in the factories of the Southwest and in the fields has provided a major driving force to expose the treachery of the UFW misleadership.

#### MERGE THE WORKING WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AND THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT!

With women workers, too, the policy of the trade union misleaders has been to oppose their right to organize. Instead of admitting them into the trade unions, women workers had to form their separate unions. In many instances, the rank-and-file workers in the existing trade unions saw the need to organize women workers, and pushed the trade union misleaders to admit them into the union.

Women textile and garment workers have played a key role in many of the strike struggles and organizing attempts from the late 1800's and early 1900's up until today. But women workers were always looked upon as temporary workers because their main role was as wife and mother. They worked only to have some extra pocket money. But we know that this is not true. Many women are the sole supporters of their families, especially oppressed national minority and oppressed national communities.

Male supremacist ideology has been used by the monopoly capitalists and their misleaders to keep women as a reserve labor force used only when the capitalists need a cheap labor force, and thrown out in times of economic crisis.

In World Wars I and II, many men workers were drafted into the monopoly capitalists' army to fight, leaving the factories short of the labor needed to produce the necessary war goods. At those times, women became an accepted part of the labor force. In the current imperialist crisis, we see how the monopoly capitalists, by cutting back and closing daycare centers, want to eliminate women from the few jobs that the capitalists have to offer. But in order to eliminate the oppression of women and push the revolutionary struggle forward, women workers must be organized as an integral part of the working class.

Organizing the unorganized means not only bringing the vast majority of work-

ers into the trade unions, but also the merging of the movement of oppressed nationalities and national minorities with the working class movement, and the working and oppressed women's movement with the working class movement. This is an irreversible trend.

Organizing the unorganized in this period also aids communists in identifying and winning over the advanced to communism. Advanced workers are open to socialism, willing to study it and apply it in struggle. These advanced workers, with communists, openly and actively leading this working class fight for the right to organize, we will be able to win over more and more sectors of the working class directly to communist leadership.

"Organize" Rabochaya Mysl keeps repeating to the workers in all keys, and all the adherents of the 'Economist' trend echo the cry. We, of course, wholly endorse this appeal, but we will not fail to add: organize, but not only in mutual benefit societies, strike funds, and workers' circles; organize also in a political party; organize for the determined struggle against the autocratic government and against the whole of capitalist society. Without such organization the proletariat will never rise to the class-conscious struggle; without such organization the working class movement is doomed to impotency." (Lenin-Urgent Tasks of Our Movement)

In organizing the unorganized today, we must never forget that the principal task is party building. For us, in this period, it means winning over the advanced workers, chiefly through communist propaganda, and furthering the fusion of the communist and working class movements. To forget this task, is to tail after the spontaneous struggle, "fight back," and lose the communist initiative, like the RCP and the OL.

#### THE STRIKE AND BOYCOTT ARE MAJOR WEAPONS OF THE WORKING CLASS

The strike is one of the major weapons used by the working class in its fight against capitalist exploitation and oppression. Strikes are a primitive form of class struggle, where the workers learn to feel their own strength and to confront the capitalist class in their two faces: one of pretending to help and pretending to side with us through their concessions, and the other of sending out troops and police to squash our movement.

The farmworkers' struggle effectively used the strike to win union recognition from the monopoly capitalists. The workers did not need the monopoly capitalists to approve their right to organize together into a trade union, but used their united strength and militant tactics to win this right. In 1970, after 5 years of intensive strikes, the farmworkers in the grape fields of California won contracts.

Lenin said that strikes are "a school of war," "...a school in which the workers learn to make war on their enemies for the liberation of the whole people, of all who labour, from the yoke of government officials and from the yoke of capital." (Lenin, "On Strikes"). We will not allow the monopoly capitalists to tell us when and how to strike!

In the farmworkers' struggle, we see another mighty weapon of the working class in the fight for union recognition. This weapon is the boycott.

In an effort to undermine the farmworkers' militancy and unity developed during many strikes, the UFW misleader Chavez pushed the boycott as the major weapon for the farmworkers' fight, rather than the strike. Like the monopoly capitalists, he too feared the power of the rank and file, and tried to use the boycott to divert and disorganize the struggle, under the guise of protecting the workers' lives on the picket lines. Repression from the state had stepped up in response to the growing consciousness of the farmworkers. "Far from the fields whose dust is forever stained with the blood of our sisters and brothers, far from the police and courts controlled by those who seek to destroy our union - we seek justice. The boycott is the one non-violent response left us. And there-

in lies our hope." (UFW - "Why We Boycott?")

The rank and file farmworkers did not fall for this "non-violent" tactic of the UFW misleaders and their attempts to substitute the boycott for the strike, but instead used the boycott successfully, along with the strike, to build up support among the working class and other sectors of society. This support was not only national: the working class in other countries also supported the farmworkers' struggle. In London, the dockworkers, in Feb. 1969, refused to unload 70,000 pounds of grapes. Many of the European trade unions supported the strike. Proletarian internationalism is much stronger than any attempts of the monopoly capitalists to weaken and divide us!

Within the U.S., the struggle of the farmworkers won support from many sectors of society, not just the working class. Students, teachers, the church, and many other progressive petty-bourgeois forces also aided the struggle.

#### HOW THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS ATTEMPT TO TAKE AWAY OUR RIGHT TO STRIKE AND BOYCOTT

In the history of the farmworkers' struggle, the monopoly capitalists have always tried to rob the working class of these two precious weapons and each time the farmworkers have fought back these attacks. Since the 1965 Delano grape strike, we can see the flip-flop the UFW misleaders made on the right to strike and organize. First, they said that farmworkers should be covered under the National Labor Relations Act of 1947 (Taft-Hartly Act) which would give the farmworkers the right to secret ballot elections, but limit the strike and take away the boycott tactic. But during the course of the struggle, the militancy and determination of the workers shown in the many strikes and boycotts forced the UFW misleaders to change their position in order not to be exposed. The demand then was to place the farm workers under the original Wagner Act of 1935, that gave workers the right to organize without taking away the right to strike. (At this point, WVO does not have positions on either the Wagner Act or the Taft-Hartley Act, or whether they were genuine concessions or tricks by the monopoly capitalists to divert the working class struggle. A concrete analysis needs to be made of both these acts, in their historical context. We cannot accept them just at face value because they say they give the workers the right to organize.)

In 1972, the monopoly capitalists again tried the same tactics through Proposition 22, which would give farmworkers the right to organize, but take away the rights to strike and boycott. At that time, too, the pressure from the rank and file was strong and the UFW misleadership had to take a position against it. The farmworkers, along with the support they were receiving from fellow workers and sympathizers from other oppressed classes, forced the defeat of the bill in the November elections.

But in 1973, the UFW contracts expired and the Teamster misleadership came to the aid of the monopoly capitalists and signed sweetheart contracts with a large



The monopoly capitalists use both reform and repression to stifle the growing farmworkers' struggle. Many farmworkers met with the most brutal police repression in their fight for the right to organize.

percentage of the growers originally signed to the UFW. This splitting tactic of the Teamsters was temporarily allowed to succeed because the UFW misleadership was becoming more exposed, and was not giving the farmworkers the leadership they sorely needed. Instead of concentrating on organizing the farmworkers, they relied mainly on the boycott tactic. The UFW and Teamster misleaders have been able to divide and confuse the farmworkers at this point.

This weakened the position of the workers in 1975. The monopoly capitalists were able to pass the ALRA (Agricultural Labor Relations Act), with the UFW misleaders selling out the right to strike and boycott for an empty promise of the right to organize for farmworkers. With the ALRA, the UFW misleaders have come full circle to the original demand to be covered under the federal labor law, whose provisions are similar.

The ALRA has temporarily setback the farmworkers' movement. Since its passage, the misleader Chavez has cooled off the boycotts and stopped the strikes in the fields. Besides that, the so-called secret ballot elections promised to the farmworkers were never meant to come off. With the passage of the ALRA, the Farm Labor Board was set up to supervise all elections and disputes that arose from the elections.

In Feb. 1976, the money for the Farm Labor Board ran out. Of the 340 elections held, only 60 were certified. With the exception of Interharvest, none of the major grape and lettuce elections have been certified. They have no unions to represent him, because there is no money in the state government "to give" them that right. Currently, the UFW misleaders are working full-time to get the Farm Labor Board refunded in the November state ballot.

Workers were disarmed because the act took away our right to the recognitional strike, i.e. winning the right to unionize by mass walkout.

The recognitional strike had been the most effective weapon of the farm workers against the monopoly capitalists. The farm workers had used the strike to force the monopoly capitalists to sign contracts without going through elections, certification, etc. With the support of the farm workers, the strike was the primary means of building up one strong militant union that directly confronted the monopoly capitalists. Now the strike would only be used to get an election if the grower refused or after a long election and certification process, the monopoly capitalists refused to sign a contract, then a strike would be OK.

In 1973, more than 14,000 farmworkers went out on strike; in 1974, there were 10,000; but in 1975, the year the ALRA was passed, only 13 strikers struck a small nursery near Salinas. The bourgeoisie, in fear of the power of the workers, has used the ALRA to take away this mighty weapon from the working class.

With the passing of the ALRA, the workers' right to the secondary boycott was taken away! The ALRA forbids workers to organize a strike or picket against companies or supermarkets that are buying non-union products from the monopoly capitalists.

With the recent upsurge in the farmworkers' movement in 1965, the attacks have clearly been aimed at the monopoly capitalists. When the UFW contracts ran out in 1973, the Teamster misleaders, coming to the aid of the bourgeoisie, signed sweetheart contracts. At this point, the farmworkers began to shift their focus, with the UFW misleaders now aiming their blow at the Teamsters. The ALRA further helped to shift the focus of

the struggle to what seems to be a fight between the two unions, and took the attack off the monopoly capitalists and the misleaders themselves. The workers' struggle for the right to unionize became a struggle for which union - just what the bourgeoisie needed so that they would not be seen as the main enemy.

With the elections last fall, battles between the UFW and Teamster misleadership took place over petitions, election procedures, etc. In Feb. 1976, a fight

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occurred between the UFW and Teamster organizers at a farm where the UFW had won the election, but the monopoly capitalists continued to recognize the Teamsters. Chavez's response to this was that it marked a return to "the law of the jungle" and that the solution was to put the ALRB back into operation, further fostering illusions in the Act and the so-called "neutral" Farm Labor Board, which actually is packed by the monopoly capitalists.

Under this current crisis of imperialism, the monopoly capitalist has found itself in a permanent bind, and are unable to pacify us with the crumbs that they used to throw at us.

The content of reforms are changing in this period. "Two major characteristics of today's reforms distinguish them from those of the previous decade: (1) Reforms are increasingly used to pit workers against each other to usher in fascism; (2) today's reforms are becoming increasingly hollow and deceptive." (Workers Viewpoint Newspaper, Vol. 1, No. 1 - ERA: A Bourgeois Trick to Divert the Workers Movement.) This is clearly illustrated in the ALRA.

The farmworkers are beginning to see more and more through this trick and all attempts by the UFW and Teamster misleaders in aiding the monopoly capitalists. One of the militant signs from the farmworkers recently was the wildcat strike at the grape ranches throughout the Coachella Valley on June 8, 1976. Close to 100 farmworkers, covered under sweetheart Teamster contracts, were arrested, fighting to win wage hikes now, a year in advance of the regular contract negotiations. The Teamsters denied that they were responsible for the strikes. The workers refused to stop striking until the capitalists met their demand to raise the minimum wage from \$2.70/ hour to \$3.25 and hike the per box bonus from the present 25¢ to 35¢. The struggle of the farmworkers continues, as the misleaders become more and more exposed in all their class-collaborationist tactics.

#### RCP AND OL - PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION OR REFORMISM?

How do the right opportunists, such as the RCP and the OL, look at this reform? Do they analyze its contents concretely in relation to our overall struggle to overthrow the monopoly capitalist state? Both the RCP and the OL look at the ALRA as an important concession won in the course of the farmworkers struggle. "The new bill is in fact a victory, a concession wrung from the growers and the whole ruling class by long years of struggle." (Revolution, June 1975, "War in the Fields Enters New Stage"). "While the new law prohibits boycotts against farms that have held elections and where the UFW might lose, it is clearly a step forward for farmworkers, and was passed after 10 years of hard-fought battles in the fields." (Call, July, 1975 - Farmworkers Get Elections, But the Fight is not Over).

The premise that both the RCP and the OL are working from is that reform that comes as a by-product of the working class struggle is genuine, and something to be supported and fought for. All reforms are by-products of the mass movement; it is through pressure from below that the monopoly capitalists must grant some concessions. But whether that concession can be used to further our struggle or stifle it determines whether it is a reform to fight for or just a trick to divert us.

"The most effective way to secure real reforms is to pursue the tactics of the revolutionary class struggle. Actually, reforms are won as a result of the revolutionary class struggle, as a result of its independence, mass force and steadfastness. Reforms are always false, ambiguous and permeated with the spirit of Zubatovism; They are real only in proportion to the intensity of the class struggle. (Lenin - Once Again About the Duma Cabinet, Vol. 11)

The RCP and the OL have failed to make concrete analysis of concrete conditions;

they have failed to give leadership to the farmworker's struggle by not exposing the ALRA for the trick that it is. Instead, like the trade union misleader Chavez, they are aiding the monopoly capitalists in straitjacketing the movement into bourgeois legality. They say that the working class, through their own experience, will learn that these bourgeois laws will not end their problems. Yes, the working class must learn through their own experience, but communists must explain before, during, and after how these so-called reforms are tricks used by the monopoly capitalists to take us off the path of revolutionary struggle.

The OL's illusions of bourgeois democracy have come through very clearly, evidenced by their positions on the Boston Busing Plan, the use of federal troops, the ERA, etc. They cannot look at reforms in any way except through the eyes of capitalism. Their position on the ALRA reflects this same ideological deviation. And today, though they are playing lip service to the dangerous nature of seemingly militant misleaders, they still haven't taken a position on Chavez.

And the RCP is hypnotized by the movement of the workers. Whenever they see action, they will do anything to promote it. They do not concretely analyze the struggle - in whose class interests is it? The motion and dust itself is revolution to the RCP.

#### UFW: CONCLUSION

As communists and advanced workers, our principal task in this period is building the new communist party on the firm proletarian ideological plane with the development of correct political lines as key, so that we can carry out our responsibility of overthrowing the monopoly capitalists and making socialist revolution in the U.S.!! However, unlike the "left" opportunists PRRWO and RFL, we do not see that "party building is the central and the only task." We hold that party building must be done in the thick of class struggle, to forge our programme of the future party, to win over the advanced to communism, to build communist leadership in different fronts of struggle and to temper ourselves in the process of transforming the world.

At present, unorganized workers make up over 80% of the working class. A correct political line on how to organize the unorganized and developing programmatic demands on this crucial front of struggle is part of our task of building the party. We must deepen our general lines on the trade union question, the reform and repression tactics of the bourgeoisie, the dialectics between fascism and bourgeois democracy through summing up of the historical lessons on the struggle to organize the unorganized, and concrete analysis of the struggles waged by the farmworkers, the Farah workers, the textile workers in the South, and the masses of workers. Striving to provide communist leadership to these struggles, we will be able to deepen, test, and develop our line on the organizing of the unorganized, leading us closer to our future party programme. Through struggles, advanced workers will also come forward. It is our responsibility to train and consolidate the advanced workers and build the cadre core of the party. As



we said in Workers Viewpoint Journal, Vol. II, No. 2:

"Propaganda -- the chief form of communist activity -- must be done in the thick of class struggle, aided by agitation, linked up to concrete issues, and must be done in the context of providing communists political leadership to the day to day immediate struggles of the workers. ○

## ELECTION

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other, in order to expose their contradictions to the masses. The splits and fierce dog-eat-dog infights, like Watergate, are indirect reserves of the proletariat, which we expose and propagandize at every turn. But the question of stand must be crystal clear! Communists do not idly speculate on differences within the enemy camp and take sides! Communists use strict Marxist-Leninist analysis of bourgeois politics and monopoly groups to do exposure work of their tricks and infights to the proletariat.

This analysis serves to deepen our understanding of an even more key point: exposing to the masses how the monopoly capitalists parade lackeys of all stripes (liberals, conservatives, populists, fascists, etc.) in front of us in order to see who will best deceive the masses. After Humphrey, Jackson, and Harris were eliminated, the monopoly capitalists paraded liberals like Frank Church and Jerry Brown in front of the masses to see who would best fool the people.

#### THE ONLY SOLUTION: SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

Already, spontaneous forms of resistance to the 1976 elections are forming. Even the monopoly capitalists are forced to admit that fewer and fewer workers are registering, and of those that register, fewer are voting. More than half of all people registered to vote did not do so in the 1972 elections, and the number went down in the 1974 House and Senate elections, especially among workers and national minorities. This year, even the bourgeois press was forced to report that there was widespread voter resistance to candidates with old, established links to the capitalists! The monopoly capitalists are clearly aware that millions of workers are deserting the disintegrating two-party system, and are desperately, frantically searching for new faces, new tricks to deceive us! Elections are ever increasingly being exposed to the working class! But this spontaneous resistance of middle to backward workers to bourgeois politics, and especially the heroic upsurge of all working class resistance spearheaded by the advanced and communists, needs the new Communist Party to lead our battles against the monopoly capitalists!!

Elections, in a bourgeois democracy like the U.S., as the great teacher Lenin said, are spectacular duels between the capitalist parties over how best to exploit the working class. The interests of the working class and oppressed nationalities cannot and will not be served by capitalist elections. Only by taking up the offensive against capitalism, by winning the vanguard of the proletariat, by building the only true party of the working class, a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist communist party guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, and carrying out the proletarian revolution, can we free ourselves from the wage-slavery and oppression of monopoly capitalism!! ○

## PARTY SPIRIT OR CIRCLE SPIRIT? (continued from p. 17)

struggle? It is that it does not submit itself to the vigorous process of principled polemics, of taking the best arguments of the other side and aiming for principled resolution to push the communist movement forward? They view polemics as inherently evil and sectarian, as the last thing to do until "every possible effort" is made so that "differences become matters of public accord." (Unite, Vol. 2, #2) This is the same as what OL historically does and is diametrically opposed to our view on principled, open polemics as we laid out in WV #3:

"Under the discipline of constant and vigorous practice and struggle -- and under the higher form of democracy and centralized guidance -- the process of struggle, formulation, practice and reformulation, all based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, can bring about the speedier affirmation of the correct aspects of the line and rejection of the incorrect aspects along with the basis for deviations. And with a similar process going on all around the country under different particular conditions and among different sectors of the population -- all based on the guidance of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought -- and open, principled and vigorous polemics in a healthy atmosphere between all these different individuals and organizations (grouping and regrouping as a result of struggle) we can best develop the lines and programme and draw lines of demarcation.

"Polemics are for struggle for a correct line. If the line or an aspect of the line is wrong, then it should be acknowledged. This will help the speedy resolution of line struggle and push the movement to a higher level.

"The power of the theory of Marxism and polemics in the communist movement lies with their criticalness, their combative quality. Polemics based on MLMtT forces out to the light of day all primitiveness and opportunism. It serves the proletariat by pressuring the movement, by ruthlessly exposing all deviations, by analyzing its class content and vacillations, and by steering the movement back to a proper path. Theory and polemics should be used to push the movement forward. They should not be used as decoration or to justify incorrect lines." (pp. 31-32)

First of all, opportunism in the communist movement, though more dangerous than the imperialists and other overt enemies, is a problem of a different character. It can be exposed and prevented, provided it is disclosed and identified in time and not allowed to develop and consolidate into full-blown revisionism. Ideological struggle must be waged on two fronts, while the military battle should, as a rule, be waged only on one front at a time.

While there can only be one correct Marxist-Leninist position on any one point, opportunism can take a variety of shades and forms, both right and "left." In ideological struggle, one trend can easily cover another. If we don't "fight on two fronts," we will fall into letting one trend covering and feeding the other. This has historically been summed up by Lenin in building the Bolshevik party as well as by the Chinese comrades in the history of line struggles in the Chinese Communist Party. The same law of dialectics applies here.

For example, historically the right opportunist OL first hid behind the RU's deviations, and now the "left" opportunist PRRWO and RWL hide behind OL's right opportunism and WVO's right deviations. For that reason, ideological struggle must be waged on two fronts. As Lenin put it in his "Notes of a Publicist," (chapter on "The Fight on Two Fronts" and the Overcoming of Deviations):

"Nothing at the plenum aroused more furious -- and often comical -- indignation than the idea of a 'fight on two fronts'. The very mention of this infuriated both the Vperyodists and the Mensheviks. This indignation can be fully explained on historical grounds, for the Bolsheviks have in fact from August 1908 to January 1910 waged a struggle on two fronts, i.e., a struggle against the liquidators and against the otzovists. This indignation was comical because those who waxed angry at the Bolsheviks were thereby only proving their own guilt, showing that they were still very touchy about condemnation of liquidationism and otzovism. A guilty conscience is never at ease." (LCW, V. 16)

This is a far cry from MLOC's "destroy the enemy one by one!!! This difference in principle on the character of the struggle perhaps is best illustrated

by MLOC's conduct: they refused to struggle against OL's opportunism until the beginning of 1976. Meanwhile they have defended and called OL a genuine and honest Marxist - Leninist organization, after their right opportunism had been as full-blown as any right opportunism in the communist movement can get. This was done, of course, in the name of the RCP's being the main danger. Meanwhile MLOC has fed and aided the cancerous growth of OL and retarded the drawing of a principled line of demarcation on party building. This is in fact a sectarian line which has helped to conceal its opportunism.

Chairman Mao has taught us in party affairs to practice Marxism and not revisionism, unite and don't split, be open and aboveboard and don't intrigue and conspire. MLOC's line on the strategy of uniting Marxist-Leninists and fighting opportunism, of sneaking in before the watchdog notices, and destroying the enemy one by one, and by surprise, is precisely to practice revisionism and not Marxism, to split and not unite, to intrigue and conspire and not be aboveboard. The fundamental question they conveniently "skip" is the question of drawing the line of demarcation.

## WHO IS TRYING TO DESTROY WHOM ONE BY ONE?

When MLOC raised the slogan of concentrating superior forces, they conveniently skipped the question of who are those forces that can be united with to constitute their "superior force". And that's where their opportunism pours in. The question is, how and what is the basis of unity of their "superior force." And that's where their "unity" and "all standing abreast" line comes in. This is evident and explicit in their Unite (Vol. 2, #2) "Regardless of size, previous achievement and past records, Marxist-Leninists sit down together as equals. No one waves a baton over the others. Without strict equality among ML, genuine unity can't be achieved." (emphasis ours)

But "previous achievements" and "past records" are matters of line which must be accountable to and are the basis to guide relations among Marxist-Leninists. "Strict equality" regardless of line is the same Menshevik line as OL's and RWL/PRRWO's "all organizations stand abreast." They even went so far as to say "It is completely incorrect to break or stop organizational relationship..." This again sounds fair and in the spirit of unity, but actually portrays the worst kind of philistinism.

What was Lenin's line towards opportunists, once they are demarcated? Did he say don't break organizational relations with them? No, he never did. Remember his struggle with the centrist Plekhanov? Remember how Plekhanov wanted to invite the opportunists onto the editorial board to "kill them with kindness" and change them through "atmosphere"? The one that was "killed" and "surprised" was non other than Plekhanov himself, who degenerated from a good Marxist into a "tactical revisionist" as Lenin called it, to a full-blown revisionist. The notorious political broker and renegade Trotsky preached the same stuff, which Lenin exposed:

"One view on unity may place in the forefront the 'reconciliation' of 'given persons, groups and institutions.' The identity of their views on Party work, on the policy of that work, is a secondary matter. One should keep silent about differences of opinion and not elucidate their causes, their significance, their objective conditions. The chief thing is to 'reconcile' persons and groups. If they do not agree on carrying out a common policy, that policy must be interpreted in such a way as to be acceptable to all. Live and let live. This is philistine 'conciliation,' which inevitably leads to sectarian diplomacy. To 'stop up' the sources of disagreement, to keep silent about them, to 'adjust' 'conflicts' at all costs, to neutralize the conflicting trends -- it is this that the main attention of such 'conciliation' is directed." (Lenin, "Notes of a Publicist," LCW, Vol. 16, p. 212)

In practice, MLOC carries out "sectarian diplomacy" under the policy of "one to one organizational relationships in a secretive manner."

Following MLOC's line of fighting opportunism through surprise, the one that will be surprised will be the genuine communists and not the opportunists. The ones who will be "destroyed one by one" will not be the opportunists but the genuine Marxist-Leninists!

## CONCLUSION: PARTY SPIRIT IS THE CONCENTRATED EXPRESSION OF CLASS CHARACTER!

Comrades, we have attempted to show first that the arguments of the "left" opportunist PRRWO/RWL that "no one has an overall most correct line," that "forms can only grow simultaneously and naturally with the content," and "don't run ahead" are classical Menshevism and are questions which the Mensheviks got their rotten name from.

We have shown how this seeming appeal to "equality" and "fairness" on organizational questions has the same form and same content as the OL Mensheviks' promise of "full democracy" for all, of build the party from the bottom up rather than from the top down, and of party spirit defined as an organization grows from small to large.

We have shown how both the "left" and the right historically use the same notorious catchword hegemonism in discussing questions of party affairs, and raise the organizational question in order to obscure the ideological and political content of the line struggles involved.

They all publically parade a sense of nagging and injury, of how others want to swallow them up. It really conceals their greatest longing for autonomism.

We have shown the Leninist view that autonomism is inseparably linked with anarchist-intellectualism. And the characteristics of intellectual anarchism are unprincipled polemics out of context of the main danger, time, place and conditions, and the concrete circumstances of the struggle. These opportunists have the vulgar habit of bourgeois politicians to lump particular statements and particular development factors together to play with them to build their "case."

That autonomism and tailism taken together with anarchist-intellectualism as a whole, is circle spirit. Circle spirit can be held by larger national organizations as well. This depends on whether they believe that the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.

Anti-party, circle spirit takes on a new variant form today as represented by the MLOC, who equates military campaigns with ideological struggle against opportunism to draw lines of demarcation to unite Marxist-Leninists. This line of concentrating superior forces requires unprincipled unity, requires that "all stand abreast" without consideration to line. The idea of destroying the enemy one by one, by surprise, also negates the Marxist-Leninist teaching that one trend covers another and that ideological struggle must be waged on two fronts.

Genuine communists do not need to surprise opportunists; but opportunists can surely surprise genuine forces. Therefore, when this line is applied, it can only force one to practice revisionism and not Marxism, to split and not unite, to intrigue, conspire and not be open and aboveboard. This is precisely circle spirit defined.

Comrades, the only correct approach is mutual discussion combined with open polemics which discloses all that's opportunist and forces primitiveness out into the light of day. Lenin said that "Tailism on questions of organization is a natural and inevitable product of the mentality of the anarchistic individualist when he starts to elevate his anarchistic deviations (which at the outset may have been accidental) to a system of views, to special differences of principle."

"In the view of Marxist-Leninists, there is no such thing as a non-class or supra-class political party. All political parties have a class character. Party spirit is the concentrated expression of class character." ("A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement", p. 42). ●

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

Their chauvinism runs rampant. They never once mention the special attacks faced by national minorities and oppressed nationalities with the imposition of tuition and cutbacks in ethnic studies and other special programs. On most campuses in CUNY they are exposed as a bunch of action freaks with no consistent work and base among the students.

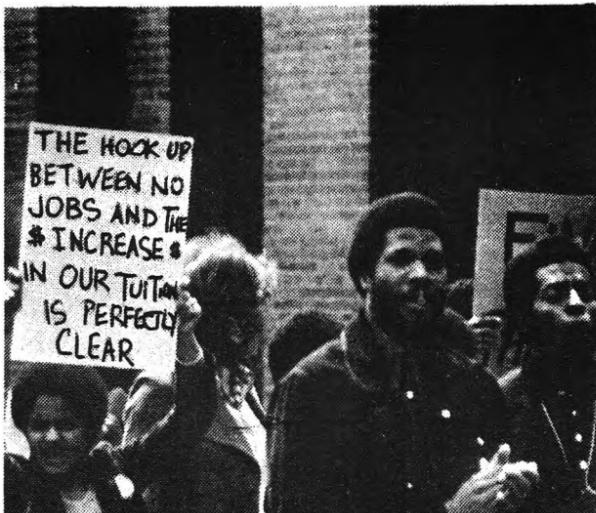
Although right opportunism is the main danger in this period, we must be vigilant about one trend covering another and fight "left" opportunism as well.

### FIGHT "LEFT" OPPORTUNISM

The best representatives of "left" opportunism in the student movement are the Puerto Rican Student Union (PRSU) and the February First Movement (FFM) chapters under RWL (Revolutionary Workers League) leadership. Since last year they've spent all their time talking about the principles of unity of their "Mass" Anti-Imperialist Coalition without doing any concrete work. Then this year, to further isolate themselves, they made PRRWO/RWL's party-building line a principle of unity in their Anti-Imperialist Coalition. To justify this "left" opportunism, they say it is "bowing to spontaneity" to give communist leadership in mass struggle and that "party building is the only task". This exposes their anti-working class stand and disdain for the masses.

### TASKS OF COMMUNISTS IN SPONTANEOUS STRUGGLES

Communists should always try to win advanced students to communism in the context of providing ideological and political leadership in spontaneous struggles even if we do not have organizational leadership or the initiative in orga-



TODAY'S STUDENT MOVEMENT IS BEGINNING TO LINK UP WITH THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT AND ACCEPT PROLETARIAN LEADERSHIP

nizing the resistance. Only in the thick of class struggle can we identify and win over advanced students to help build a strong Bolshevik Party. By withdrawing from the mass struggle altogether, these "left" opportunists help feed the right opportunists, and help the misleadership of USS (a "student front" of the whole CUNY system set up by the BHE in face of the rising student and Civil Rights movements of the 60's. Its role is to function "in accordance with the BHE".) cash in on the student upsurge.

### 2 CONTENDING TRENDS IN THE HIGHER EDUCATION STRUGGLE

The wholesale denial of higher education to working class and oppressed nationality students is not limited to CUNY. New York is only a test case, where the

# 1199 STRIKE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 13

In this period of the intensification of all the contradictions of capitalism, reflected in the fiercely contending trends of revolution and world war, our demands must also speak to the rising national liberation movements of the

Third World, the growing danger of world war with the U.S. and Soviet Social imperialists contending for top dog position, the struggle of the oppressed minorities and nationalities, the working class struggle against women's oppression the growing centralization of the U.S. bourgeoisie in their attempts to usher in fascism. These concrete demands must be integrated with our economic demands of the strike.

The 1199 misleadership's demands represent their attempts to keep us within the confines of trade unionism, thereby tying us down to the capitalist class. In this period of soaring inflation, we should demand short term contracts, such as the one-year contract, so that we can negotiate wage increases year by year, instead of being tied down to demands made 3-years ago. But we must expose why the 1199 union misleaders are supporting this one-year contract now. This is part of their scheme to stifle the growing revolutionary consciousness of the working class. They are afraid that with a 3 year contract, it is most likely that we will strike before the contract is up in order to defend our standard of living. The trade union misleaders in order to maintain their militant image, and at the same time keep us within the confines of bourgeois legality, want to insure that our strikes are legal. The NLRA, under which hospital workers were recently covered, we were "given" the right to strike at contract time after we give a 10-day notice. The trade union misleaders of 1199 want to make sure that the initiative is not in our hands, but in theirs, and that the bourgeoisie gets fair warning about our plans.

The 1199 misleaders also propose "improved language to strengthen seniority and lay-off provisions of the present contract." What does this mean, but

that the misleaders have accepted the bourgeoisie's plan to lay-off workers. We cannot, in the spirit and unity of the entire working class, accept this type of demand. Our demand should read NO LAY-OFFS at all. We will not accept any attempts of the bourgeoisie and their representatives within the working class to make us pay for their economic crisis.

The demand for "every weekend off to those currently getting it. Every other weekend off for all others" is another disguised attempt by the trade union misleaders to aid the bourgeoisie in dividing the class. All workers should have every weekend off. Our demands should be the same throughout the entire working class.

The value of the the strikes does not lie in certain immediate economic advantages alone, as the reformists and revisionists claim, but above all, in the moral and political consequences they bring about, because it is only through these actions and the class struggle that the proletariat can strengthen its revolutionary spirit and raise its consciousness." (Filip Kota - Two Opposing Lines in the World Trade Union Movement)

"The achievement of the strike is not so much this fragment of a victory over the government as the success of the organization, discipline, fighting spirit and enthusiasm for the struggle displayed by the mass of the Belgian working class." (Lenin, Lessons of the Belgian Strike)

As communists we are not in the struggle to win a few economic concessions although we still must fight for them, but our main purpose is to win the advanced to communism, help fuse the communist and working class movement through doing propaganda and agitation, and concrete political exposure of the trade union misleaders and their demands, putting forward our own demands so that we take the initiative of the strike out of their hands and place it with ourselves. ●

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contradictions are especially sharp, where the students are rising up against increasing attacks by the monopoly capitalists. The consolidation of the education system, the heightening of control over curriculum and the moves toward greater repression at CUNY are being repeated at campuses all over the country. These are features of preparation for the larger revolutionary upsurges to come. This is all part of the larger process of fascistization -- of which centralization of all levels of the state machinery is only one aspect -- as the bourgeoisie must seek a way out of the political-economic crisis. The only "solution" for them is through world war with the other imperialist power (the Soviet social-imperialists) and naked terrorist fascist rule at home. But for the masses of oppressed people, socialist revolution is the only solution. The Marxist-Leninist outlook on this situation is: either revolution will prevent world war or world war will give rise to revolution.

### PARTY BUILDING IS THE PRINCIPAL TASK

Our work in the revolutionary student movement should be guided by the 4 components of the party-building task: the study of MIMTTT, its application to concrete conditions and criticize revisionism; winning the advanced to communism; engagement in polemics within the communist movement for the correct program; and uniting Marxist-Leninists. We must grasp that propaganda is our chief form of activity in this period. We must do this consistently, not only to carry out the 4 components of party building, but also to raise the overall consciousness of the broad masses through the advanced, as we try to provide theoretical as well as practical leadership in the immediate struggles of the students and working class.

In the thick of class struggle, we will accumulate revolutionary forces, fuse the working class and revolutionary student movements with the communist movement in order to build a truly anti-revisionist vanguard party on the proletarian ideological plane, grasping the key link of political line.

The trend of socialist revolution is inevitable and irreversible! The future is bright for the working class. For revolutionary students, the future is bright in uniting firmly with and accepting the leadership of the working class and its party. In the struggles immediately ahead of us, we must do constant exposure of the treachery of misleaders, liberal politicians, and opportunist elements within the movement, always put forth our correct positive program. Grasping this tightly, we will surely gain greater victories in our future struggles. ●

**BICENTENNIAL:****OPPORTUNISTS ASSIST CAPITALIST LIES****'CP/PSP Revisionism, RCP Opportunism Exposed!**

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

lition demonstration in Philadelphia, serve the capitalists well in their campaign to smother proletarian revolution with illusions of bourgeois democracy and appeals to national chauvinism.

This mixed-bag of reactionary social movements, including "gay liberation" and petty bourgeois "socialist feminist" groups, calls on us to "Continue the American Revolution" by "the universal application of those rights proclaimed to the world from Philadelphia two hundred years ago." One of their main slogans is for "Democracy and Equality."

Ignoring the scientific principle that there can be no democracy, equality, or rights except those of a particular class, these revisionists appeal to the masses' illusions in the bourgeois heaven of capitalism under a thin veil of "anti-imperialism" and "socialism." By spreading these bourgeois democratic illusions among the masses, they attempt to stifle class struggle.

The bourgeois democratic revolution can never be continued or finished. Bourgeois democracy turned reactionary long ago. Even when it was progressive, it took its strength from the exploitation of the working class. It has had the blood of profits on its hands from the jump. These revisionists will never point out the reactionary nature of bourgeois democracy, because they stand with the monopoly capitalists in their fear of proletarian revolution.

The only way out for the working class is to make proletarian revolution to smash the capitalist state and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The need to smash the capitalist state is the most fundamental Marxist lesson on the state. Following Marx, Lenin put it this way:

"...all the revolutions which have occurred up to now perfected the state machine, whereas it must be broken, smashed.

"This conclusion is the chief and fundamental point in the Marxian teaching on the state."  
(Lenin, The State and Revolution, 1917. Peking edition)

Faith in bourgeois democracy is particularly deep here in the U.S. where capitalism perfected its "best political shell" to maintain its rip-off system. These illusions inevitably lead, in the communist and working class movements, to revisionist concepts of the capitalist state as neutral, and capable of "peaceful transition to socialism." All this is reflected in PSP's latest hustle on the working class: "A Bicentennial without Repression."

We aren't surprised when the "C" PUSA-PSP never once raise the necessity of class struggle and the revolutionary role of the working class. They raise only various economic demands and thoroughly reformist calls for liberation, divorced from the leading role of the working class in wars of national liberation and revolution.

**"BICENTENNIAL WITHOUT COLONIES"**

The PSP-"C" PUSA-Guardian slogan for a "Bicentennial without Colonies" tries to cash in on the worst patriotic chauvinism among the U.S. working class. They beg the ruling class to celebrate 200 years of exploitation and almost 100 years of imperialist plunder, without colonies! But imperialism can't exist for a moment without colonies and oppressed nations.

Like the notorious Kautsky, renegade from the communist movement during the first inter-imperialist war in 1914,

these modern-day revisionists separate imperialist politics from imperialist economics, separating imperialism's political exploitation of them. Like Kautsky, they treat national oppression as nothing but a "preferred policy" of the imperialists which they can change if we ask them.

They are no different from the outright petty bourgeois appeal of the Peoples Bicentennial Commission Rally for Economic Democracy (PBC), demonstrating in Washington D.C. and also supported by the "C" P, which calls for "Independence from Big Business" and "The Second American Revolution for a Democratic Economy." Both celebrate two hundred years of capitalist exploitation and yearn for the return to a never-never yesterday when capitalism was clean and huge monopoly giants didn't straddle the globe, when every small-time capitalist had a

Independence is a tremendous step forward in anti-colonial struggles. Countries want independence, nations want liberation, people want revolution!! It is our proletarian internationalist duty to support the just struggles of the colonies and oppressed nations as our own, and to support them against the oppressor nations, particularly against "our own" U.S. imperialists. But the PSP-"C" PUSA try to make us believe that formal independence for colonies in-and-of itself can free the working class and oppressed masses of the world from the yoke of imperialism. In fact, most of imperialism's bloody plunder today comes out of nations which are independent countries, but whose politics and economy actually remain dominated by imperialism. Haven't PSP-"C" PUSA ever heard of the U.S. imperialists plundering pre-liberation Vietnam or the Dominican Republic?

In the Puerto Rican independence struggle, we must expose the dangers of both U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, and the treacherous role of revisionists like PSP.

PSP, like all revisionists, line up wholeheartedly in support of the other imperialist superpower, the Soviet social-imperialists. The PSP-"C" P-Guardian slander and distort the stand of the People's Republic of China and the leadership of the correct line of the CPC under Chairman Mao Tse-tung. These revisionists sell out the revolutionary struggle of all Third World peoples, including the Puerto Rican masses, against hegemony and imperialist domination. They add to the imperialist bag of tricks by trying to deceive the masses as to the true nature of the thoroughly social-imperialist USSR. They try to cover up Soviet social-imperialism's growing plunder in Cuba, Malaysia, Egypt, Angola, and other Third World and Second World countries.

**UPHOLD THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION OF PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION**

It's true, it is hard to tell where the crass bourgeois eulogists of the arch-imperialist Kennedys and Khrushchevs and their like, of the brutal oppressors of the Afro-American, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian and all oppressed masses ends, and where these common philistines, who from sheer stupidity or spinelessness drift with the bourgeois winds, begin. Nor is that distinction important. We must defeat in our movement an extensive and very deep ideological trend, whose origins are closely interwoven with the interests of the capitalists. Not only during the Bicentennial year, the bourgeoisie every year spends billions for the propaganda of just such national chauvinist and reactionary ideas as these revisionists of the PSP and "C" PUSA are appealing to among the masses. In this the bourgeoisie are getting a good deal,

since such reactionary propaganda among the working class comes free of charge! These revisionists are truly "better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself!"

All appeals to U.S. patriotism in this era of imperialism and the eve of proletarian revolution are reactionary and breed chauvinism. Is this to say that we have no heritage, no national pride? Certainly not!

We love our languages and our country, and we are fighting all-round every day to raise our working class struggle to the level of proletarian revolutionary consciousness. We take pride in the tremendous resistance and revolutionary spirit of the multi-national U.S. working class and oppressed masses of the past and present. With equal enthusiasm, we support and are proud of the great heritage of struggle of the world's people, especially the great struggles against U.S. imperialism and for national liberation of the Palestinian, Azanian, Kampuchean, Vietnamese, and all other Third World peoples. We are full of pride because the U.S. working class and oppressed masses also have created a revolutionary class, because we also have struggled to create great models of the class struggle for proletarian revolution.

In every country, there is a dominant ruling class culture and ideology, and the elements of socialist ideology. The U.S. working class, together with the entire international proletariat, holds aloft only the revolutionary traditions, which are the answer to the starvation, torture, exploitation, maiming, and degradation, to the oppression and brutality of imperialism. This is our answer to the capitalists' Bicentennial barrage, and the revisionists fear such an answer.

We say that the only way to correctly uphold this great heritage is to call for proletarian revolution, for revolutionary war against the monopoly capitalists in their Third Century of plunder. We must expose all appeals to reactionary patriotism. Imperialism not only oppresses the U.S. working class economically and politically, but also tries to demoralize, degrade, dishonor and prostitute us by teaching us to oppress other nations and to cover up this sham with hypocritical and chauvinist patriotic phrases. Such appeals continue to hamstring the communist and working class movements, and we must fight these reactionary appeals on July 4th and in the struggles to come.

**THE REVOLUTIONARY EPOCH OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY - 18th CENTURY TO 1877**

Unlike these traitors to the working class, communists understand that this build-up for capitalist "American democracy" and "national pride" is a lot of jive, and we have to answer it from the stand, viewpoint, and method of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought! With the ruling class spending so much time and effort, twisting the revolutionary traditions of the U.S. masses to meet their ends, communists and workers have to take a scientific look at U.S. history. We must define exactly what we uphold, and what we condemn.

**THE U.S. WAR OF INDEPENDENCE**

The focus of the whole Bicentennial campaign is 1776, the War of Independence against British colonialism. The ruling class is doing everything they can to twist and distort the history of the class struggle of this first and revolutionary epoch in capitalism's history, in order to build up U.S. monopoly capitalism today.

The foundations of capitalism were steeped in the blood of class oppression. The slave trade and the slave system was used to build up profits by the northern merchants, ship owners, and manufacturers. They used slavery until it got in their way of their requirements for a pool of free laborers -- free to sell their labor and become wave-slaves. Early economic development was on land stolen from Native Americans, who were almost totally wiped out by the capitalists. And as the capitalists built up their hold, they encouraged immigrant workers to slave at low wages in their shops, farms, and factories and to blaze the trails and bust the sod of the frontier.

The capitalists used the peasants and workers from Europe as their shock troops in expanding their control across the continent. Besides Africans, other non-European immigrants -- Mexicans and Chinese -- were cruelly exploited in the construction of the transcontinental railroad, and then forced into menial jobs, and even run out of the country. The rise of capitalist rule, in its progressive stage, meant forced labor, starvation and sickness for the U.S. workers, and inflamed national oppression and chauvinism on the oppressed nationalities. Capitalism arose on this. This brutal reality of capitalist rule was and still is covered over with talk of "freedom and equality," "justice for all", and so on.

This was the background for the U.S. War of Independence. As Marx said, capitalism comes into the world dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt.

From the proletarian standpoint, the bourgeois democratic revolution against British colonialism was historically progressive because the consolidation of capitalism opened up the broadest field for the growth and political development of the working class and its class struggle to overthrow capitalism. Lenin wrote:

"...we have no illusions about the significance of broad democracy. No democracy in the world can eliminate the class struggle and the omnipotence of money. It is not this that it makes the class struggle broad, open and conscious." (Lenin, "The Successes of the American Workers. 1912. Collected Works, Vol. 18. Lenin on the USA, p. 47)

The War of Independence was, as Lenin said, "...one of those great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars... That was the war the American people waged against the British robbers who oppressed America and held her in colonial slavery..." (Letter to American Workers, Lenin Collected Works, Vol. 28). The war was fought by the American people to win independence. The leaders, and those who took power, were the merchant capitalists of the North and the big slave, plantation-owning class of the South. They used the words "freedom," "equality," and "inalienable rights" to draw the masses into battle for bourgeois democracy, as well as to hide the true nature of their rule, the rule of capital.

The War of Independence was a bourgeois democratic revolution against the reaction and oppression of feudalism and colonialism. It was a violent revolutionary war waged directly by the masses. Workers, small farmers, and handicraftsmen were its main force. Women and Afro-American slaves also made great contributions to the struggle. Despite the capitalists' and plantation owners' strict prohibitions against their fighting in the war, 5,000 Afro-Americans fought for independence.

Ruling colonialist England held down the growth of American capitalism, restricting and monopolizing the growth of manufacture, land settlement, and trade, as well as the politics and culture of the emerging nation.

By the middle of the 18th. century, the battle was sharpening between the British colonialists and the rising capitalist class in North America, which demanded the development of the national economy.

The masses spontaneously built many revolutionary independence organizations. Handicraftsmen, small farmers, small shop

owners, seamen, and fishermen organized the Sons of Liberty, which carried out revolutionary activities such as the storming of the British Governor's mansion in New York. The Daughters of Liberty spearheaded the widespread boycotts against British goods.

After the Boston massacre on March 5, 1770, where 5 American protesters were shot down by British troops, mass protest and rallies were held in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, South Carolina and Georgia. This marked a turning point in the formation of nation wide resistance organizations, since up until then they had been isolated in the separate colonies. Counties and towns throughout the colonies began setting up revolutionary headquarters and militias, often with the troops electing their own officers.

In response to the struggle of the masses for political rights, all thirteen colonies established the bourgeois representative system. Because the capitalists and landowning classes had the economic power over the embryonic working class, the Congress was overwhelmingly composed of these classes. By the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the only representatives in Philadelphia were bourgeois attorneys, big merchants, some plantation slave owners and a few petty bourgeois professionals. "The right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" was an extension of bourgeois property rights, the right to invest and make a profit.

But as Engels taught:

"The demand for equality in the mouth of the proletariat... in one of its aspects / has arisen as a reaction against the bourgeois demand for equality, drawing more or less correct and far-reaching demands from this bourgeois demand, and serving an agitational means in order to stir up the workers against the capitalist's own assertions..." (Engels, Anti-Duhring)

It was the revolutionary masses in almost every case who pushed for the organization of the rebellion against colonial oppression and who fought and paid for it with their lives.

Again, hesitancy on the part of the merchant capitalists and landowning class was overcome by the resoluteness of the masses in building revolutionary organizations at the local level, such as the committees of correspondence and security. Lexington and Concord are examples of the swift organization and revolutionary fervor of the people, who in two days' time massed 20,000 militia, armed and ready. Time and again, the swiftness with which mass strikes and shop closings were organized against the British demonstrated the power of unity of the workers, craftsmen, peasants, and slaves. Nationwide reaction to the colonial administration's Acts of Intolerance against the port of Boston saw Boston laborers refuse to build quarters for British troops, New York workers refuse to scab, and the whole nation sending supplies into the besieged port.

The War of Independence greatly sharpened the class struggle in the U.S. During the War and in the following recovery, the ruling classes stepped up their exploitation of the masses. Resistance increased in the rise of grassroots rebellions among workers, small farmers, handicraftsmen, and slaves.

This came out sharply in the passage of the Constitution itself, which was a tool of the ruling classes to consolidate the state machinery and their rule. The Constitution recognized slavery, denied women the right to hold property or vote, and above all consolidated capitalism.

The original draft in 1787 didn't even include the Bill of Rights, saying nothing about freedom of speech, press, belief, etc. Only because of the widespread and strong protest of the masses and the influence of the French bourgeois revolution was the Bill of Rights added later. The amended Constitution was historically progressive, and the amendments were one of the partial gains of the U.S. masses in the Independence War.

#### THE CIVIL WAR

By the mid-nineteenth century, there were still feudal remnants within capitalism -- the brutal

## WVO CALLS FOR LETTERS

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

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

Write to: Workers Viewpoint Org.  
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slave trade and plantation system of the South. The development of U.S. capitalism to a large extent was dependent on the enslavement and trading of Afro-Americans. As Chairman Mao says:

"The evil system of colonialism and imperialism rose up following the enslavement and trading of Afro-American people, it will also end with the complete liberation of Afro-American people."

("Statement in Support of the Just Struggles of the U.S. Black People Against the Racial Discrimination of U.S. Imperialism," People's Daily, 1963.8.9)

While in the 1770's, the U.S. and the world's working class was small, new-born, and politically inexperienced. By the Civil War, the U.S. workers and masses were far more organized and class conscious. At that time, Marxism, the working class science, the theory of scientific socialism, was being developed by Marx and Engels.

By then, the working class was organizing into trade unions, and many entire unions signed up into the Union Army. In fact, workers made up almost half of that Army. Workers in Britain fully supported the North and demanded that the pro-slave British government stop its support for the South and stay out of the war.

Communists played an active, leading role. Marx and Engels and the First International they organized were leading many workers' struggles in Europe and the U.S. During the Civil War, they issued the slogan "Death to Slavery!" and demanded uncompromising struggle, criticizing the vacillations of the northern U.S. capitalists. Joseph Weydemeyer, a German immigrant to the U.S. and a communist and member of the International, served as a colonel in the Union Army.

The Afro-American masses played a tremendous role. They organized hundreds of slave revolts behind the lines, along with the Underground Railroad. Over 200,000 Afro-Americans fought in the Union Army, against the suppression by the capitalists. These few examples show the tremendous political advances the U.S. masses have made since the 1700's, because of their heroic resistance to oppression.

#### THE SECOND EPOCH OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY -- 1871-1914

After the consolidation of bourgeois democracy in the Civil War, capitalism entered the second epoch of leveling off and transition to its decline. After the

Civil War the capitalist class was firmly in control. Toward the end of the 1800s, the economic system developed from ordinary capitalism to monopoly capitalism, or imperialism. The last of the

# BICENTENNIAL

CONTINUED FROM P. 25

Indian wars was in 1890. And by this time, too, the freed slaves in the South had been forced back into the semi-slavery of the share-cropping system. Big depressions in the 1870s and 1890s showed the weakness underlying the growth of big monopolies, or trusts, in steel and other basic production.

It was during this epoch that the historic struggle for the eight hour day began and was carried to victory by the U.S. working class. The rise of the Second International, giving communist leadership to the sharpening working class struggle mark this transitional stage, in which bourgeois democracy was turning reactionary.

## THE THIRD AND FINAL EPOCH OF BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

The third epoch of bourgeois democracy -- imperialism and the eve of proletarian revolution -- exposes the thoroughly reactionary character of capitalism.

Due to the crisis of overproduction, monopoly capitalism was forced to seek new markets. The Spanish-American War of 1898 was the entrance of the U.S. bourgeoisie as an imperialist power on the world scene. By World War I, the U.S. had the most powerful economy in the world. And by the end of World War II, the U.S. ruling class was the leading center of international monopoly capitalism. The European powers -- Britain, France and Germany -- and Japan were ruined in two world wars. The colonial empires of these old powers came under the control of the U.S. ruling class. Based on their economic and political rule over the workers and oppressed nationalities here at home, the U.S. monopoly capitalists had moved to a point of world domination. Or nearly so.

Nearly so, because the world's peoples rose up everywhere to fight the monopoly capitalist cultures. The progressive days of capitalist rule were long gone. When imperialism became established on a world scale at the turn of the century, the historic yet bloody and brutal role of capitalism had come to a close.

The First World War led to the first successful proletarian revolution, the creation of the first socialist state, and spurred national liberation struggles. The Second World War led to the creation of the socialist camp and to the world-wide spread of national liberation struggles.

And so, over against the rule of imperialism has grown the rising, victorious struggles of the world's workers and oppressed peoples. Throughout this century revolutions and national liberation wars have cut down the area on which imperialism can feed; thereby lessening the danger of world war. But in recent years, since capitalism has been restored in the Soviet Union, we are faced with a new and dangerous situation. New in form, but in reality it's the same inter-imperialist rivalry that led to World Wars I and II. The Soviet Union is now the rising imperialist power. Seeking to expand wherever it can, like Nazi Germany in the past, it is the most dangerous source of a new world war. The two superpowers contend and stir up trouble everywhere.

Before, American patriotism was progressive because it was aimed against the British colonialists. Today, it is nothing but imperialist chauvinism. It is an ideological weapon of the monopoly capitalists for preparing for war against the oppressed nations and world war against the Soviet Union, an imperialist super-power.

Before, bourgeois democracy was progressive because it was aimed against feudalism, colonialism, and slavery. Today, it is a stranglehold on the workers' movement. In today's situation of two contending trends, of proletarian revolution and the trend toward fascism and world war, bourgeois democracy is nothing but a dead weight to hold revolution down while providing soil for the growth of fascism.

Just because bourgeois democracy once

was progressive, the ruling class can try to use it to fool people today and smother the workers' movement.

Lenin said:

"Without parliamentarism, without an electoral system, this development of the working classes would have been impossible. That is why all these things have acquired such importance in the eyes of the broad masses of people. That is why a radical change seems to be so difficult. It is not only the conscious hypocrites, scientists and priests that uphold and defend the bourgeois lie that the state is free and that it is its mission to defend the interests of all; so also do a large number of people who sincerely adhere to the old prejudices and who cannot understand the transition from the old capitalist society to Socialism." (Lenin, The State. 1919. Peking e. p. 22)

## THE RCP'S BIG STEP BACK

Working in the Rich Off Our Backs-July 4th Coalition, the Revolutionary Communist Party is also holding its own demonstration in Philadelphia under the main slogan, "We've Carried the Rich for 200 Years -- Let's Get Them Off Our Backs!"

This "rich off our backs" slogan reflects the rock-bottom, right opportunist politics that the RCP is trying to build on. Their whole Bicentennial campaign is solid economism.

The call for their demonstration by the Rich Off Our Backs Coalition completely ignores the existence of chattel slavery in the history of the U.S., the existence of a world-wide system of imperialism, one of whose centers is the U.S. superpower. The call is pure anti-rich, anti-monopoly populism.

Yet with this, and with declarations like their "rich off our backs" slogan, the RCP says they are out to build a "conscious movement of the working class against capital." (Revolution, 4-76). We just want to ask, what kind of consciousness? Communist consciousness or militant economism?

Lenin wrote:

"Working-class consciousness cannot be genuine political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to all cases of tyranny, oppression, violence, and abuse, no matter what class is affected -- unless they are trained, moreover, to respond from a Social-Democratic [communist] point of view and no other."

(Lenin, What is To Be Done?)

Coming from their solid right opportunism, the RCP isn't doing any real communist propaganda around the Bicentennial.

In Revolution they repeatedly claim that the demonstration will "point the finger of blame at the capitalist class and indict them for their crimes," "saying No! -- saying that the rule of the rich doesn't cut it -- saying 'Get off our backs,' 'throwing the bourgeoisie's lies of 'common interests' back in their faces," waging the battle "against capital" and "against their system."

But they never raise the communist solution, for they never once even mention the task of making proletarian revolution to smash the capitalist state and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is not only tailing what the masses already know, but also objectively pushing the same garbage as those petty bourgeois hippie-radicals and right-wing populists who are with the PSP-"C" PUSA. This is their unbridled, right opportunism!

In place of politics, the RCP are trying to get over with a bunch of flashy stunts and gimmicks. This is what their Statue of Liberty takeovers and numbers-game approach to their demonstration are all about. A bourgeois publicity campaign!

Instead of moving forward to higher level political workers' demonstrations in 1976, openly led by Communists, they are moving back to the 1960's anti-war, "anti-establishment" level politics. Without communist politics, their July 4th demonstration will be nothing but a throwback to the tradition of anti-war moratoriums and radical student demonstrations.

## RCP'S CHAUVINISM ON THE DANGER OF WORLD WAR

In raising the question of imperialist war to the masses, the RCP's imperialist chauvinist character is exposed to the bone. Throughout their economist propaganda, like "On the Slogan 'We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War'" (Revolution, 6-76), never do they uphold the proletarian internationalism of supporting Third World liberation movements.

The two superpowers' preparations for world war and the war itself will mean tremendous suffering for workers and oppressed people around the world. The Third World countries will be the battlegrounds for much of those preparations, just as the superpowers are contending today in the Middle East and Angola. There is also the danger of imperialist attack on socialist countries, like the danger of Soviet social-imperialist attack on socialist China. Workers in all capitalist and imperialist countries will suffer greater exploitation and political oppression, especially in Europe, which is the focus of superpower contention for the workers in other communist countries.

U.S. Communists must raise our support for socialist countries and for national liberation struggles in the oppressed nations as an integral part of our struggle here against the growing danger of war. Victory and unity of the national liberation movements will lessen the danger of world war and create more favorable conditions for us to overthrow our bourgeoisie.

This is what RCP liquidates, as expressed in their main slogan: "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War". This is their unbridled imperialist chauvinism!

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The massive campaign the ruling class is doing around the Bicentennial shows that communists must expose thoroughly bourgeois democratic and chauvinist ideology among the U.S. working class and the masses. This is a long-term struggle on the ideological front and an essential preparation for proletarian revolution.

Communists must cut through all the ruling class and revisionist lies about "American democracy" and "national pride" to find and promote the really revolutionary traditions of the U.S. workers, the traditions of the workers, Afro-American slaves and working people in the traditions of the War of Independence and the Civil War, and in the fight for the eight hour day.

We must use these traditions to bring communist propaganda to the workers, especially to the advanced, educating them to the nature of bourgeois democracy and U.S. imperialism, and the need to smash the capitalist state.

The economism and chauvinism of the RCP and their failure to draw a clear line against the ruling class' and revisionists' bourgeois democratic and chauvinist lies, shows the bankruptcy of this right opportunism in the anti-revisionist communist movement.

The workers' spontaneous disdain for the ruling class Bicentennial shows their tremendous strength and the essential weakness of capitalist rule. Through communist propaganda, Marxist-Leninists will raise this beginning consciousness to win the advanced to communism and build the genuine anti-revisionist communist party of the working class! ●