

UNITE!



Political Newspaper of the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee

Volume 4, No. 19

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Wrong Culprit - Wrong Solution

Carter's 'Cure' For Inflation



the conditions of the working class.

"What Kind of People Do They Think We Are?"

Although Mr. Carter tried to blur the distinction between friends and enemies, we do not. Throughout his speech, Carter referred to "business, government and labor" as equally to blame and said they must equally share the burden of the "cure" for inflation. He said everyone, regardless of class, must "act as a nation rather than a collection of special interests."

But there are two interests in this country - those of the capitalists and those of the working and oppressed people. These

interests are irreconcilable. Government is not above this basic conflict, serving as a mediator between the two; it is an active participant in the suppression and exploitation of the working class.

So Who Is To Blame?

Carter says the responsibility for inflation rests with all parties - business, government and labor. Mr. Carter however, is wrong. The working class bears no responsibility for inflation. Carter tries to tell us we are greedy and ask for too much, that our demands are excessive. According to Carter one would think it is not the working masses who have difficulty paying their

bills, buying food and clothing for their families. Are we not the ones forever indebted to car payments, house payments and loan companies?

No, Mr. Carter is wrong. Our wage demands are not excessive; the wage settlements are too small. Even Carter had to admit that wages run after prices, not the other way around.

But still he is not satisfied with simply calling the working class greedy. Carter says we are not productive enough; that another cause of inflation is a "slow-down in productive growth." Apparently Mr. Carter, like the capitalist class as a whole, thinks there is not enough speed-up (Continued on page 6)

President Carter closed his nationally-televised speech on inflation with a call for national unity and a challenge to all those who think a "free economy cannot cope with inflation." He asked, "What kind of people do they think we are?"

We will respond to Mr. Carter's question and we will take up his challenge regarding his policies for fighting inflation to, in Car-

ter's words, "ridicule them and pick them apart." Yes, in the interests of the working masses of this country we will take his plan apart in the upcoming issues of UNITE! and show how and why it is designed to place the full burden of the "disease" of inflation on the backs of the working masses. We condemn Carter's policies and we will fight these attempts to worsen

Cries of "Human Rights" Hard-Pressed to Cover Imperialist Arms Dealing

Promises Aside, Arms Sales Soar

Remember Jimmy Carter's campaign promises? Part of his pledge to work for human rights was to reduce the role of the U.S. as the arms merchant to the world. What has happened since he stepped into the White House in 1977?

Two months after Carter arrived at the White House he stated, "We are now the number 1 exporter or salesman of arms of all kinds. We have been working with our allies to cut down this traffic." (March 1977).

And again in May of 1977, Carter said, "The U.S. will henceforth view arms transfers as an exceptional foreign policy, to be used only in instances where it can be clearly demonstrated that the transfer contributes to our national security interests."

"But the policies I have pursued will be for much greater constraint on arms sales than has been the policy in the past." (July 29, 1977).

"Because of the threat to world peace embodied in this

spiralling arms traffic, and because of the special responsibility we bear as the largest arms seller, I believe that the U.S. must take steps to restrain its arms transfers." (September 24, 1977).

And in February of this year Carter said arms sales agreements for the fiscal year of 1978 would be reduced by \$740 million from fiscal year 1977.

A list of promises which coincide with Carter's Sunday preaching on human rights and world peace. So how has he done in the almost two years since he became president? On October 3rd the Pentagon released its figures on arms sales for fiscal year 1978, which just ended. It showed a record amount of sales in U.S. history: \$13.6 billion compared with \$11.4 billion in 1977. A mere \$2 billion increase! This certainly shows a lot of constraint and concern! So much for campaign promises.

And just take a look at some of the countries these arms were sold to: Saudi Arabia for a total

of \$4.13 billion, the fascist Shah of Iran bought \$2.59 billions worth of arms and the Zionist aggressors bought \$1.32 billions worth.

Carter's cries of "human rights" are hard-pressed to cover over the very real support by U.S. imperialism to some of the most reactionary regimes in the world.

Despite promises, Carter has already outstripped 1977 sales. In addition to the regular clients, new markets are opening up. With the arms market lifted to

Turkey, military hardware will once again flow into that country. A major arms agreement has just been concluded with Yugoslavia for the first time in 17 years to the tune of \$10 million. And who knows what the prospects may be with China?

False promises, sermons about human rights, the smokescreen of detente and SALT talks can not cover up the very real and spiralling war preparations by U.S. imperialism. Arms sales are a mainstay of profit for U.S. imperialism, which also plunges

its client countries deeper into debt and subservience to U.S. imperialism. Arms sales are also essential to maintain the U.S.'s position as a world superpower in contention with Soviet social-imperialism for world domination.

Carter will undoubtedly continue to speak of arms reductions and world peace, but the proletariat and oppressed peoples of the world know that the deeds of the imperialists speak louder than all their words. ★

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

The Revolution - A Question Taken Up for Solution

by Ramiz Alia



"The revolution remains on the agenda as the principal and most acute problem of our time."

Editorials

Legal Lynching in the 'New South': Thomas Lee Hines Sentenced to 30 Years

On Friday, October 13, Thomas Lee Hines, a retarded young Black man, was sentenced to 30 years in prison for allegedly raping a white woman. He still faces two more trials for two other alleged rapes.

Hines has an IQ of 39 and the mental capacity of a 6½ year old. All who know him or watched the trial know he was incapable of either driving the standard shift car to the secluded spot where he supposedly raped two of the women, or of committing these rapes. From the start, this frame-up has been nothing more nor less than a legal lynching.

Hine's arrest came shortly after an argument he had with a teacher where he said he would stand up for his rights "just like Martin Luther King." Although he could have had only the vaguest understanding of what he was saying, it was enough for the state to attack him. The use of violence and terror by the state, the plantation owners as well as the Ku Klux Klan have long been weapons used to oppress and subjugate the Black Nation.

The Black community of Decatur organized large rallies to protest this legal lynching. These rallies were attacked by the Klan and, out of fear that there might be a favorable bias toward Hines, the trial was moved to virtually 100%-white Culman, Alabama.

This move assured the KKK and the state a clear field. Rallies were held of 2-3000 Klansmen and their supporters. There were no Blacks on the jury. Eleven Blacks who marched from Decatur to Culman before the trial were arrested to "protect" them from the white mob.

Maybe some people think lynchings — either legal or illegal — went out in the thirties and that there is a "New South", the South of Andrew Young, Maynard Jackson and Jimmy "Human Rights" Carter. The case of Thomas Lee Hines, just as those of the Dawson Five and Gary Tyler along with the very conditions of life for the Black masses of the South show the only change that has taken place is that the state has become a little more slick in its oppression.

The attack against Hines is an attack directed at the Black Nation. Its intention is clear — to serve as a threat to all who dare to rise up and throw off the national and class oppression by the bourgeoisie. But just as capitalism creates its own gravediggers through the exploitation of the working class, the brutal oppression of the Black Nation breeds resistance.

No matter how hard the bourgeoisie tries to instill fear into the hearts and minds of the masses through lynchings and their fascist KKK, they won't succeed for long, and the masses will rise up. No matter how hard the liberal reformers of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference

try to defuse the struggle with their bootlicking pleas of "bearing witness" to this atrocity and with prayers and petitions to resolve this oppression through non-violence, they won't mislead for long before the masses reject them.

There has been more than enough lynchings, terror and intimidation. There has been enough praying and "bearing witness." It is time to fight back against these attacks.

**Stop Lynching!
Self-Determination for the Black Nation!**

On the Revisionist Guestlist: Pinochet to Visit China

The Chinese revisionists know no bounds in pursuing allies among the most reactionary sections of the capitalist world. On October 10 in the French newspaper Le Monde, it was announced that the fascist butcher, Pinochet of Chile, has been extended a cordial invitation to visit the People's Republic of China. It may seem astounding that this is possible in the face of worldwide condemnation of the Pinochet regime.

Yet the Chinese revisionists are not concerned with the plight of the Chilean masses. They can only see the "good graces" of Pinochet — his ties to U.S. imperialism and his opposition to the Soviet social-imperialists. Pinochet, according to the Chinese revisionists, is a fighter against hegemonism. They forget to mention, however, that he is really a fighter against communism, the working class and the oppressed masses.

But even this is not enough for the revisionists. Several months ago one of the Chinese leaders proclaimed that China and NATO were already "allies of the heart." This alliance is in the process of changing from sentiment into material fact. While German civilians were killed and harassed and their property destroyed during this year's NATO maneuvers (see article this issue), the Chinese revisionists observed these maneuvers along with their imperialist cohorts.

The Communist Party of China is seeking all kinds of friendships. Their recent guest book has included such notables as the Shah of Iran, Giscard of France, Juan Carlos of Spain, Brzezinski of the U.S. and now Pinochet. Who knows who will be invited next? China has opened its door to imperialism and at the same time slammed its door shut to socialist Albania, genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and the working and oppressed people of the world.

But while these revisionists rapidly build up their pro-imperialist blocs, and pursue their warmongering plans, they are also bringing on themselves the absolute disgust and hatred of the world's peoples. Even though they carry out these counter-revolutionary actions under the name of socialism, they are making it very evident for all to see that they have pitted themselves against the camp of socialism. The revisionists know no bounds when it comes to working for the camp of imperialism.

Cardinals Choose Pope from Poland

Isn't That a Communist Country?

A puff of white smoke emerged from the Vatican and a new Pope was elected. For some the announcement of who John Paul II was came as a shock. Not only is he the first non-Italian Pope in some 450 years, he also is from a communist country, Poland. Is this a contradiction? No.

Although Poland is referred to as "communist" in the bourgeois press, there is little about Poland that is similar to a socialist country.

Just as all capitalist countries, Poland is plagued by chronic inflation and huge trade deficits. Poland has a foreign debt of some \$15 billion, and production has fallen 3.5% since 1975. Projections are that Poland will have to import 15 million tons of wheat in 1978 and '79. Polish workers face continual price hikes, which even Communist Party leader Edward Gierk has to admit will continue in an upward spiral.

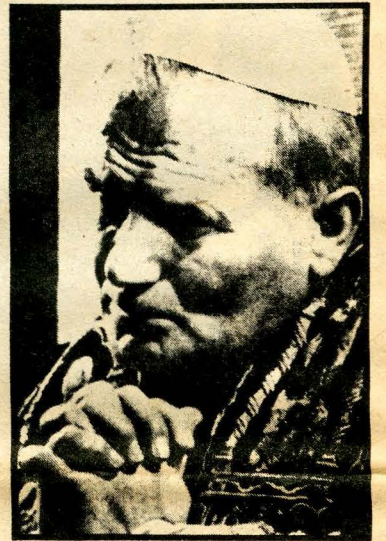
Some 80 Western-based companies such as Chicago's International Harvester operate in Poland under the principle of "independent economic activity of foreign firms." International Harvester reaps profits from the Polish working class just as it does from the U.S. working class. This says nothing of the plunder of Poland as a vassal country of the U.S.S.R. So much for the socialist principle of self-reliance.

As for the Vatican, relations between the revisionists in power in Poland and the Church in Rome have visibly warmed. The Catholic Church is a major force in Poland. It maintains about 19,000 priests in Poland and publishes 300 book titles per year with 2.6 million copies. "Communist" leader Gierk himself paid a visit to the Vatican to strengthen ties.

No, it is not surprising that the Vatican has decided upon a Polish Pope. The Vatican is keenly aware of the need to build ties to the revisionist countries where there are many gains to be made for the church.

In addition to the possibilities for expansion in the revisionist countries, there is also potential benefit on the homefront. In Italy the revisionist Communist Party is in a strong position in the government. A Pope who is an old hand at dealing with revisionists could serve the Vatican well if the revisionists were to come to power in Italy.

The revisionists welcome and encourage the growth of Catholi-



Pope John Paul II will help the church further penetrate the revisionist countries.

cism and other religious beliefs in their countries. The election of John Paul II, said Gierk, "fills Poland with great satisfaction." Gierk said he was "convinced that further developments of relations between Poland and the Apostolic See" would come about.

Revisionist leaders are well aware that religion serves them as an opiate of the working people. Religion serves as a means to cloud the minds of the working and oppressed people so they turn their attention to the "after-world" and rely on prayer and god to alleviate their misery rather than waging the class struggle against their enemies.

The election of John Paul II is just another reflection of the kinship and collusion between the Vatican, as the center of religious opiate, and the imperialists and revisionists of the world. ★



UNITE!

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Meany's Grandstand Play

Reactionary Essence Shows Through Militant Rhetoric

"It is proper to ask some questions about the role of the captains of industry — those who pretend to be defenders of free enterprise, but who are seeking to destroy a labor movement that has always defended free enterprise." (George Meany's Labor Day Address).

Such statements and speeches have come fast and furious from the top union officials decrying attacks on trade unionism by "big business" and the right wing. Militant rhetoric about "class warfare" and "redistribution of wealth" has been dusted off and promoted by the AFL-CIO in its publications.

What is happening to George Meany and the AFL-CIO leadership? George Meany is at the center of a contradiction. For years the AFL leadership under Meany, and Gompers and Green before him, has served the capitalists well. By pushing a policy of collaboration, to rally workers to defend the capitalist system of "free enterprise" (freedom to exploit), the AFL leadership has worked hard to strangle the militant and revolutionary workers' movement both at home and abroad.

Meany has expelled the communist leadership in the AFL-CIO, demanding that militants be purged from the CIO before it could be merged with the AFL. Abroad, Meany has cooperated with U.S. imperialism all along the line, helping to set up

the American Institute for Free Labor Development, which along with the CIA promoted counter-revolution and fascist coups in Brazil, Chile and the Dominican Republic. Meany has been pushing the extension of an ENA no-strike type agreement into many industries to further restrict workers' democratic rights.

So why is he being attacked by the capitalists? The general crisis of capitalism causes some changes in the methods through which capital exploits and oppresses the working class. Shrinking growth rates and margins of profit force the capitalists to increase the rate of exploitation of the working class.

Degenerating health and safety conditions, low ceilings on wage increases and increasing decertification all make it harder for Meany to maintain the militant "leader-of-the-working-class" image which covers his collaboration with the capitalists. The capitalists' bribe to Meany's power base, the labor aristocracy, is shrinking also. In contracts settled in 1978 the building trades, traditionally the seat of the AFL labor aristocracy, received the smallest wage increases.

These developments are spearheaded by the most reactionary and fascist forces represented by the National Association of Manufacturers, of whom it can be said, "Once they yearned for servant unions, now they want no unions at all."



George Meany, posing under a plaque of ALF "godfather" Sam Gompers, is finding class collaboration tougher in these days of rising working class militancy.

To these forces, Meany has to prove that he is still able to rally the working class to support 'free enterprise', i.e. the capitalist system. In his Labor Day speech, Meany reminded the capitalists of all he has done for them: improved productivity, staved off a depression by maintaining the purchasing power of the working class, and created the industry of "tourism" with the institution of vacation pay.

But at the same time that Meany is being pressured by the capitalists to produce better results through more class collaboration, the rise in the rate of

exploitation is bringing the rise of resistance in the working class. As Meany and the AFL-CIO apparatus become more and more exposed for the collaborators they are, militant workers in coal, steel, auto and other industries are becoming conscious of the changes that must be made in the trade unions in order to make them effective weapons against the capitalists. And that spells the end of the line for George Meany and his gang. This threat lies behind the rise in Meany's "militant" rhetoric, with which he tries to salvage his position.

The contradiction which has

always stalked trade union collaborators has heightened. In the past they have had to look militant to the working class while cooperating with the capitalists. Now they have to look even more militant to appeal to the rising militant surge of the working class and collaborate even more closely in the increased exploitation of the working class by the capitalists.

Which way will George Meany go? The way he has always gone. While militant in appearance he will increasingly reveal his reactionary essence by helping to buy off or smash the militant workers' movement, paving the way for fascism. One has only to look at the "captains of industry" and the "let's go back to the free-enterprise system" rhetoric of the AFL-CIO, and remember that this is precisely the rhetoric of the fascist John Birch Society, to see where Meany is heading.

But as the saying goes, "No matter how big the toad, it cannot stop the cart wheel." As the militant working class, through the leadership of its communist party, becomes more conscious of the real essence of these class collaborators and all other supporters of the "free enterprise system", these toads and all the other crawling reptiles in the AFL-CIO leadership will be swept aside, out of the way of the revolutionary movement.

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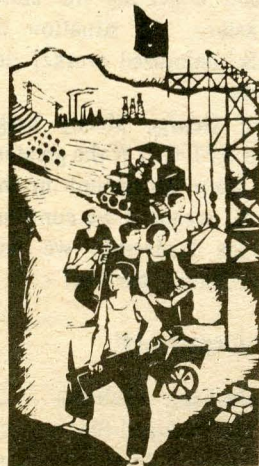
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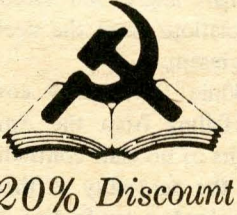
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Make Every Factory a Fortress!

■ Situation of Union Workers Deteriorates

While AFL-CIO head George Meany declares in his Labor Day speech that "American workers will rely on the bargaining table and the voting booth to achieve economic and social justice", a look at the figures shows this method is only producing a steady decline in the welfare of the working class.

The Labor Department recently reported that employers cheated half a million workers out of \$105.1 million in the first ten months of this year through violations of federal minimum wage, overtime and age discrimination laws. Just as the Labor Department's unemployment figures are only a fraction of the actual unemployed, this \$105.1 million is only a fraction of how big the rip off really is because it represents only those claims reported to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). This adds insult to injury. Not only do the capitalists extract their profits from workers' labor power, but they try to steal back the little wages they are supposed to pay.

Through red tape, employer harassment and a thousand other barriers, the working class, especially national minorities, are excluded from bringing claims against their bosses. And the NLRB would only pursue 60% of those cases reported.

Of the contracts settled in the first half of '78, only 27% had cost-of-living escalator clauses, a downward trend continuing from the '50s. Of the other 73%, workers got an average wage increase of only 7%, nowhere matching the 10% annual inflation rate. Though the number of certification elections increased by 12% in 1977 over '70, 33% fewer workers were added to unions. The number of workers lost to unions through decertification increased nearly 200%.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics also reports that between 1970 and 1977 U.S. capitalists held wage increases to one quarter of what they were in Japan, Germany and France.

While George Meany spends his time negotiating no-gain contracts, losing certification elections, begging the capitalist state for protection from the capitalists and collecting his enormous salary, the situation of the U.S. unionized worker deteriorates.

When George Meany brags that the AFL-CIO is the greatest "free" labor movement in the world, he means if we continue under his leadership we will all be working — for free!

■ Get Organized!

Birmingham, Alabama — A group of rank-and-file women in the heavy industries of coal, steel and foundry work have formed the Association of Women in Industry to fight for

better working conditions for both men and women and against national oppression and sexual and racial discrimination.

This group has taken up the struggle for: a program for plant safety, a program of education and for building the unity of the working class, and a program of political action against the Ku Klux Klan.

Citing the recent injuries at U.S. Pipe and Foundry and the cruel lack of adequate medical facilities for the injured, the AWI has undertaken a double-edged program to improve conditions. One edge is directed at the capitalists who run the plant, the other edge directed at the union bureaucrats who have proved unwilling to address these issues.

AWI is also working to build the unity of the working class. Pulling together women from plants all over the Birmingham area, the Association is holding conferences featuring speakers from struggles like those to unionize the J.P. Stevens plant in Montgomery and to fight discrimination in the coal mines around Kentucky and Tennessee.

The group has also taken up the struggle for equal rights by taking a strong public stand against the Klan's activities both in their rallies and their anti-working class actions in the plants.

These measures are essential to increasing our fighting ability, so that we can finally destroy the capitalists' ability to maim us at work, divide our class unity and terrorize us into submission.

The MLOC applauds the formation of such a broadly-based rank-and-file women's committee. We support the stand of taking up the struggle for democratic reforms and the fight against exploitation and oppression, in light of the special oppression of women.

Linking the special demands of women with the demands of the entire multi-national U.S. proletariat and forming special women's organizations to take up this fight is a correct policy.

As stated in the **Draft Party Program**, we are determined to "improve the economic and social well-being of the working people, and oppose all attempts to worsen living conditions of the proletariat and its allies."

■ U.S. Steel Maims Another Worker

Fairfield, Alabama — A 50-year-old lineman lies near death in a Birmingham hospital as a result of U.S. Steel's disregard for the lives and safety of steelworkers.

Falling through an open hole in the floor of a crane, the man dropped 30 feet and sustained extensive head injuries and broken bones. There had been near-accidents around the same hole before.

Immediately following the

accident the company conducted a "high level" investigation, and welded bars across the open hole, bars that would have prevented this accident. The capitalists then circulated a plant letter blaming the accident on the worker's negligence. Once again U.S. Steel proves that "safety first" means the first thing after the accident happens. At all other times it's "safety second" to the capitalists' scramble for profits.

■ No Honor Among Thieves

Chicago, Illinois — A recent public opinion poll ranked labor union leaders somewhere between Richard Nixon and used car salesmen in terms of public trust.

On September 30 Chicago's Columbia College held a public forum to discuss whether this was due to the "untrustworthy" policies of the labor bureaucracy or to the one-sided, anti-union perspective in the country's news media. Accusing the media as being representatives of the capitalist class were USWA President Lloyd McBride, IAM President William Wimpisinger, and UAW Region 4 director Bob Johnson. Pointing the finger at labor were newsmen from TV and several major newspapers.

During the debate the labor bureaucrats draped themselves in militant wraps and posed as the representatives of the working class. While the media declared its "neutrality", it could not hide the fact that its editorial boards are controlled by the same corporate empires that exploit and oppress labor in the U.S.

While these two sets of foxes in the hen house squabbled over who was there to eat chicken, the disguises fell apart under the pressure of rank-and-file workers in the audience.

Forty or fifty rank-and-file union members crowded to the mike, their voices shaking with bitter and angry memories of labor struggles attacked and destroyed by the press and the union misleaders. McBride's bragging on the 'great and democratic' USWA convention brought angry and factual denunciations from the steelworkers present.

While the shabby coverings are falling from the American myths of no class contradictions and the neutrality of the press, labor leaders are finding it harder to maintain their image as representatives of the working masses. Yet even while these foxes, these agents of the capitalist class, are being exposed they will try to turn aside the rising militancy of the working class by attacking each other. This little bit of theatre is designed to obscure the nature of the oppression under capitalism and to hide the destiny of the working class to abolish that oppression.

In Basic Steel: Discrimination Against Women Workers

Current Contract Denies Women Maternity Benefits



From A Worker Correspondent

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania — When a woman who works for one of the big steel companies covered by the Basic Contract becomes pregnant, she quickly learns about yet another form of discrimination practiced by steel corporations. In our mill, pregnant women receive different kinds of treatment in each of the different departments, but they all have one thing in common — no benefits.

The contract provides that steelworkers who suffer from any non-occupational disability other than pregnancy can receive up to either 26 or 52 weeks of Sickness and Accident benefits (S & A), depending on whether they have two years seniority or not. In addition, their insurance coverage will continue up to those same time limits while they are off work recovering. That's for anything except pregnancy.

A steelworker who becomes pregnant can receive only six weeks of benefits, no matter how long she is off work and her insurance coverage is terminated at the end of the month in which she begins her pregnancy leave. The result is that most women feel compelled to work longer than they should and almost always are off work for months at a time without any income, while having to pay for their insurance themselves. In the past year at our mill, one woman had a miscarriage while at work and another one carried a baby practically to term while continuing to come to work every day. This kind of dangerous situation will continue as long as women steelworkers don't have full benefits.

Sometimes the company gives you no choice about whether you will be off work without benefits. A few months ago, one woman told her foreman she was pregnant because she was painting with lead-based paint, which has been known to cause mental retardation in unborn children. Instead of transferring her to a different job in the labor gang,

they sent her to the mill doctor. She was given a 10 a.m. appointment with the doctor and by 11:30 she had been whisked out the gate with "pregnancy leave" papers in her hand. She was only three months pregnant and her own doctor had certified her to do light work, but the company was not willing to deal with the situation at all.

This is clearly sex discrimination. It is just another way the steel companies try to discourage women from remaining steelworkers. If women are to attain full equality, there must be equality of employment, and that means that certain costs will have to be paid. Child care, special training and maternity benefits are all important demands that women will be working for in order to truly have equal access to jobs.

Here in Pennsylvania, the State Human Rights Commission (HRC) has a regulation which requires any company that has a disability benefit program to provide similar benefits for pregnancy. Since this makes the steel companies' maternity policy illegal, this is one way we will begin to press for equality in disability benefits. One case is now being presented before the HRC and others will surely follow.

Although it is supposed to be the agency that supports the civil rights of all citizens, the HRC we know, like all government agencies, will ultimately respond to the interests of capitalists, not the working class. For example, it is still delaying on a desegregation plan for Pittsburgh which was first presented years ago. If U.S. Steel argues that it simply cannot afford to pay full benefits, the Commission may well delay and then allow an individual solution or some other unsatisfactory compromise. Women steelworkers will have to press the Commission for speedy action, but our main focus must be to mobilize all steelworkers, men and women to demand that full maternity benefits are negotiated in the next contract. ★

Despite Claims Crediting UAW's Fraser with Persuading GM to Back Down...

No End to GM's Southern Strategy

Recently a great feather floated down into the cap of UAW president Doug Fraser: newspapers and magazines credited him with persuading General Motors to abandon its "Southern Strategy". The bourgeois press would have us believe this is a great step forward for the working class. However, behind Fraser's "militant fighter" image lies the total bankruptcy of the trade union leadership in the U.S.

The "Southern Strategy" is a name given to GM's plan of setting up large plants in the southern states where depressed wages, "right-to-work" anti-union laws and high unemployment offer a cheap and plentiful supply of unorganized labor. This is the well-used imperialist maneuver known as runaway shops, where operations are moved to Puerto Rico, Taiwan, Mexico or other oppressed nations or colonies in order to escape the better-organized and better-paid labor force at home. It is a simple matter of playing one section of the working class off against another to the ultimate harm of both.

So how did Fraser put a stop to this? In fact he didn't. Fraser obtained an agreement with GM to stop discriminatory hiring against workers with a union history. That's all. UAW members can now apply at these large southern plants and be hired into a non-union or open shop at depressed wages. Local hiring preferences still pertain and the

"right-to-work" laws which prohibit a closed shop, the only strong union shop, help perpetuate the "Southern Strategy."

But at the very same time that Fraser was fighting for an end to the Southern Strategy he exposed a "Southern Strategy" of his own. The rank and file of the Volkswagen plant in New Stanton, Pennsylvania fought for and won a UAW contract last summer. When VW workers discovered that the proposed contract, approved by the UAW, lagged behind the other auto contracts, they walked out and set up picket lines. Acknowledging these lower wages, Fraser said he was trying to lure other foreign auto makers to the U.S. In short, just like GM's Southern Strategy, Fraser was playing one section of the working class off against another section, the auto workers in Germany off against the auto workers in New Stanton. Of the striking U.S. VW workers, the Wall Street Journal said, "The strategy was apparently lost on the membership."

Rank-and-file workers can see that the "divide, conquer and exploit" strategies of imperialism, whether carried out by corporations or helped along by the sold-out trade union bureaucracy, finally work to everyone's harm. Only the capitalist corporations and their helpmates, the bureaucrats, benefit from these strategies.

During World War I, a deal

was made between the capitalists and the trade union bureaucrats of the AFL, led by Samuel Gompers. Labor leaders were allowed to organize and enroll dues-paying members in many shops. In return they would keep the unions cooperative and submissive. This "labor peace" brought trouble-free exploitation for the capitalists and fancy salaries for the bureaucrats, based on the many new dues-paying members.

As one AFL-CIO official put it, "We would support the free enterprise system", that is, keep militants and militancy off the shop floor, "and the companies would support a free, democratic labor movement." That is, they would allow great numbers of workers to enroll in unions increasing the dues-paying base of the labor leaders.

This "deal" over the years has enriched the bureaucrats and the capitalists, while strangling the militant workers' movement. Long ago the leaders of the union movement in this country decided it would be better to be partners with the corporations in their exploitation of the working class than to take chances in battles with the employers.

More and more these strategies are being "lost" on the membership. More and more the strategy for revolution is becoming known as the solution for capitalist exploitation. This strategy is one of a combined assault of the

workers in the imperialist homeland and the workers in the oppressed nations and colonies of the imperialist system. Linking the struggle of auto workers in the northern U.S. combined with auto workers in the South and auto workers in Germany and elsewhere will be the beginning

of the end for the Southern Strategy.

Fraser has said "Where industry once yearned for servant unions now it wants no unions at all." By selling out the membership of the UAW, Fraser means to prove he can still supply those "servant unions." ★



The following is a reprint from a recent issue of the Steel City Organizer, the shop paper of the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee at U.S. Steel Gary Works in Gary, Indiana.

Court Rules Against Affirmative Action In Louisiana Steel Mill

Kaiser Aluminum and Steel Co. is located in the Black Nation in the Black Belt South state of Louisiana. Kaiser's discriminatory hiring and training practices are well-known throughout this area. In 1974, for example, Blacks held only 2.2% of the skilled jobs and only 14.8% of the total jobs despite the fact that 40% of the population in the area is Black. In 1974, while most of the basic steel companies were coming under the jurisdiction of the Consent Decree, Kaiser and USWA Local 5702 established a "voluntary affirmative action plan" for the apprenticeship training program. Under the plan, for each white accepted into the program, one Black would also be accepted until a certain percentage was reached.

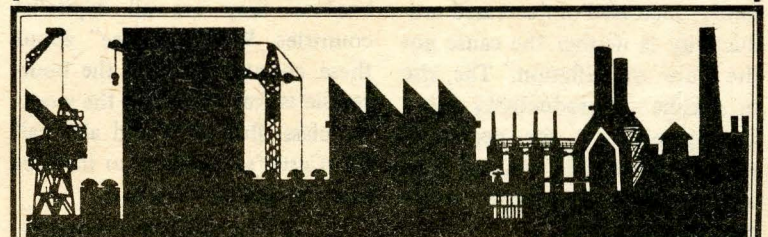
Brian F. Weber, a white steelworker at Kaiser, sued the company and union in 1974 after being refused participation in the apprentice program. Weber charged that since Black workers with less seniority had been chosen ahead of him he was a victim of illegal racial bias, or "reverse discrimination". The Louisiana court ruled in his favor, saying that there was no legal basis for the affirmative action plan, since the union had never proven discrimination, and in defense of the all-voluntary plan the union had also refused to even charge the company with discrimination! The case is now being appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which in June issued the anti-affirmative action ruling on the Bakke case.

Are the courts and Local 5702 bureaucrats actually blind to or unaware of the obvious discrimination at Kaiser? Of course not. This kind of collusion between the company, union and courts in oppressing and exploiting Blacks in the South has a long history. As the Organizer has pointed out in the past (see the July SCO), these discriminatory practices are basic in the historic oppression of a whole nation of Black people in the Black Belt South. Many Blacks left the south to come to Gary because they couldn't get jobs at places like Kaiser Alum.

Following on the heels of the Bakke decision, the Weber case could well be the green light that U.S.S. needs to eliminate affirmative action hiring and training. Despite the snares and traps of the Consent Decree, progress has been made in breaking down the traditional national and sexual divisions in steel mills, especially in the skilled trades. The Weber decision must be opposed by all class-conscious steelworkers! And particularly white workers who on the surface would seem to gain by the court ruling.

The Steel City Organizer absolutely opposes the Weber Decision. Our Program for steel stands for "Full Equality for Minorities!" and "Full Equality for Women!", demanding "an end to privileges for people of any nation." We fight to end forever the divisions that exist between workers of different nationalities and sexes. We fight to build the unity of the entire working class so that together we can wage, and win, the struggle against the capitalist class for state power, for socialism!

Oppose the Weber Decision!
Self-Determination for the Black Nation!



Steel City Organizer

Vol. 1 No. 1 Voice of the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee at U.S. Steel Gary Works March 1978



Workers at VW, Stanton, Pennsylvania, refused to accept lower wages and be the victims of Fraser's "Southern Strategy". Like the capitalists, the trade union misleaders play one section of the working class against another.

Rubber Workers Face Layoffs, Plant Closings

Toronto, Canada — With layoffs and plant closings as an imminent possibility in the rubber industry, the United Rubber Workers' convention pointed to job security as the number one contract issue in upcoming negotiations for rubber workers. Looking to Europe, where the extended tread life of a new radial tires has slashed into the tire consumption rate, the AFL-CIO has thrown its weight in back of the Dent Bill, the National Employment Priorities Act soon to come before Congress.

This bill calls for a plant to give two years notice before

closing. The penalty for closing without notice is a reduction in the tax breaks the corporation may enjoy. During this two years time welfare, retraining and subsidy programs to keep the plant open will be funded by the state, i.e. the working-class taxpayer.

Like the labor reform legislation recently defeated in Congress, this bill basically does nothing to solve the problem of plant closures beyond subsidizing the capitalists' expenses. It is a smokescreen to give the AFL-CIO apparatus the appearance of activity, while the capitalists pass the burden of the general crisis onto

the backs of the working class.

It is only the capitalist system in which a technological advance, the creation of better tires, can cause the misery of the working class through layoffs and plant closures. It is only in the capitalist system where the trade union apparatus collaborates with the capitalists to put the burden on the backs of the working class. And it is only the abolition of capitalism and the institution of socialist production which can secure full employment and a decent standard of living. ★

A Look at the Effects of Proposition 13 in California

Proclaimed as the "taxpayers' revolt" by some, Proposition 13 is now taking its toll in California. As sponsor Howard Jarvis stumps the country to spark revolts in other states, the people of California are paying the price for a bill which funneled 65% of its tax relief into the pockets of large landowners and corporations. What's happening as a result?

Sacramento — A major battle is brewing in the state legislature over whether or not to give the state's 2.2 million welfare recipients a much-needed cost-of-living increase.

Vallejo — The School Board is preparing to wipe out school hot lunch programs, bi-lingual education and childcare.

Oakland — Free adult education has become a thing of the past, as the state legislature discontinued funding.

Richmond — The school district has dropped the busing component of its integration plan. From now on Black students will have to find their own transportation in the school's sprawling district if they are to attend predominantly white schools.

Sacramento — The Senate voted 22 to 11 to reject a bill guaranteeing renters a percentage of their landlords' Proposition 13 tax rebates. Attorney General Evelle Younger opposed this bill on the grounds that it would "create a housing shortage."

Younger is the Republican challenger to Governor Jerry Brown in the November gubernatorial election. As Attorney General he argued the recent California Supreme Court case in favor of Proposition 13. Several school districts, cities and counties took the proposition to court arguing that it was unconstitutional.

Stating they did not "consider or weigh the economic or social wisdom or general propriety of the initiative", the California high court ruled that Proposition 13 was indeed constitutional.

Arguments against the initiative — now an amendment to the California state constitution —

were that it violated the "equal protection" provision in the U.S. Constitution and that it was such a "drastic and far-reaching change in the nature and operation of our governmental structure that it must be considered a revision of the state constitution rather than an amendment."

Though the California Supreme Court rejected this argument, the widespread effect on poor and working Californians has proved to be quite drastic, as a close look at Alameda County will verify.

Alameda County includes Oakland and several other smaller cities in the Bay Area. Both state and local budget cuts have had an impact on the following areas: mental health, libraries, childcare, welfare, education, legal aid and programs for the disabled and elderly citizens.

Childcare — Oakland's Children's Centers face a 25-36% funding cut. Centers in Hayward face cuts in pre-school and after-school programs. Albany's center remains open but on a limited basis. 500 parents in Berkeley were given seven days to find alternative childcare when all summer programs were eliminated.

Health Care — The Livermore health care center was closed, and the Pleasanton center is operating on a 37% reduction in physician's hours. Physician time at the West Berkeley center was cut in half and hours have been cut at other clinics. A Fremont clinic closed its hypertension program and a cancer-screening clinic was cut back by 80%. At the East Oakland Clinica de la Raza, workers took a 20% salary cut to maintain present staffing.

Libraries — County libraries have received staff cuts of 73% and hours cuts of 62.5%. Bookmobile and bi-lingual services have been eliminated. No money is available for new books or replacements. The Albany Public Library was closed completely.

Mental health centers have cut staff and services. A new senior

citizen center in Berkeley stands vacant because no funds are available to operate it.

Schools for handicapped children have been closed. All public schools are wrestling with budget cuts that have made a difficult situation worse as budgets were already insufficient for quality services.

There is a frequent question raised by community organizations fighting the attacks resulting from Proposition 13. What is happening with the state surplus funds allocated to replace those lost through property tax revenue?

In Alameda the county received \$4.1 million. How is it being used? Not to rehire workers or reinstate programs. Alameda is buying new computers and TV equipment, starting new construction projects and investing in future rent payments and furnishings for as-yet unbuilt buildings. Alameda County is now spending \$7.4 million on the reconstruction of the Santa Rita jail.

A big campaign promise which helped turn out a two-to-one vote in favor of Proposition 13 last June was the claim that the initiative would help trim the state bureaucracy, cutting the fat and ending waste and misuse of taxpayers' money.

But where have the budget cuts been taking place? Primarily in the area of social services to the poor and needy. This has led not only to a loss of much-needed services but to a loss of much-needed jobs as well. In a large number of cases, those workers laid off from the low-paying social service jobs have been Black and Latino. Clearly, the bureaucratic state apparatus has remained unscathed.

The effects of the Proposition 13 "tax revolt" prove conclusively that it was designed and executed to serve the bourgeoisie and their state apparatus, and not the working and poor people of California. ★

Carter Program for Inflation . . .

(Continued from page 1)

and job combinations, that the capitalists do not extract enough profits from our sweat and blood.

Productivity has in fact not slowed down, it is just not rising as fast as the capitalists would like to see it rise. But most importantly, increased or decreased productivity is neither the cause nor the cure of inflation. The rise or decline of productivity has a bearing only on the degree of exploitation of the working class and therefore the profits of the capitalist class.

In spite of himself, Mr. Carter did point out the source of inflation in a small way. "Every free country on earth is wrestling with this problem of inflation and

everyone knows that a long-term disease requires a long-term treatment."

Carter is absolutely correct to state that every country which he refers to as "free" is indeed plagued with inflation. These countries share similar problems because they are all capitalist countries. What is "free" about these countries is that the bourgeoisie is free to exploit the working class. But we would also call Mr. Carter's attention to the fact that the opposite exists.

In Albania, a socialist country, there is no inflation. Which is the truly free country? Is it a country which is free from unemployment, inflation, taxes and exploitation of man by man?

Or is it a country, like the U.S., which is plagued by inflation, unemployment, high taxes and exploitation and oppression?

In conducting the bourgeoisie's ideological campaign, Mr. Carter turns matters upside down. For Carter and the capitalist class, it is a capitalist country which is "free." For the working class and oppressed masses, freedom lies with socialism.

Who Suffers?

President Carter promised his "austerity plan" would be fair to all parties concerned — government, business and labor. But just as inflation attacks the working masses hardest, so does the capitalist cure for inflation.

As the Impact of Proposition 13 Hits Home . . .

As Howard Jarvis, key organizer of the so-called "taxpayers' revolt" in California tours the country stumping for similar tax bills in other states, Californians are beginning to feel the impact of Proposition 13. Cutbacks in numerous social services and layoffs have been the people's price, while large landowners and corporations have pocketed 65% of the savings in property taxes.

UNITE! conducted the following interview with an elderly woman in Oakland, California.

From A Worker Correspondent

U: Why did you vote for Proposition 13?

A: I didn't understand it. I'm never going to vote again. They said they were going to cut taxes, but they didn't say all these people would be laid off. I had to sell my store because the taxes were so high. Over \$1000 a year. I couldn't make it.

U: What effects have you seen as a result of Proposition 13?

A: People got laid off. We got our Supplemental Security Income cut. They cut our checks by \$14.50 and gave us \$10.00 in foodstamps. So we got a \$4.50 cut. That isn't so much but take that from everybody and that's a lot of money.

U: How do you feel about it

now?

A: If I would have known I never would have voted for it.

U: What do you think of the politicians who proposed and promoted Prop. 13?

A: A politician is a politician. I just don't know about these things. The way they talk you have to be a Stanford lawyer to understand.

U: Do you think they lied?

A: These politicians always lie. They're like policemen. I think they're just feathering their own pockets.

U: What do you think of the large corporations and landlords getting 65% of the savings from Prop. 13?

A: I thought it was just for individual property owners. The percentage they (large landowners) save shouldn't be higher than the rest of the people. It doesn't make any difference because they would raise their prices anyway and who would have to pay? The poor people — the working people. That's what this country is — big business. The little people don't stand a chance. ★

L.A. Fire Aided by Prop. 13

Isolated brush fires in the arid southern California hill country are not uncommon. Occasionally, powerful winds transform these small fires into unpredictable firestorms. But this year, the devastating fires have an unexpected ally. Proposition 13.

"The situation is we're up to our eyeballs in fires", declared an LA County fire official. Proposition 13 manpower cuts seriously hampered efforts at fighting the four major fires that swept through the area, he said. ★

emptions and loopholes for the capitalists that they will result in wage controls alone.

Which Solution For the Problem?

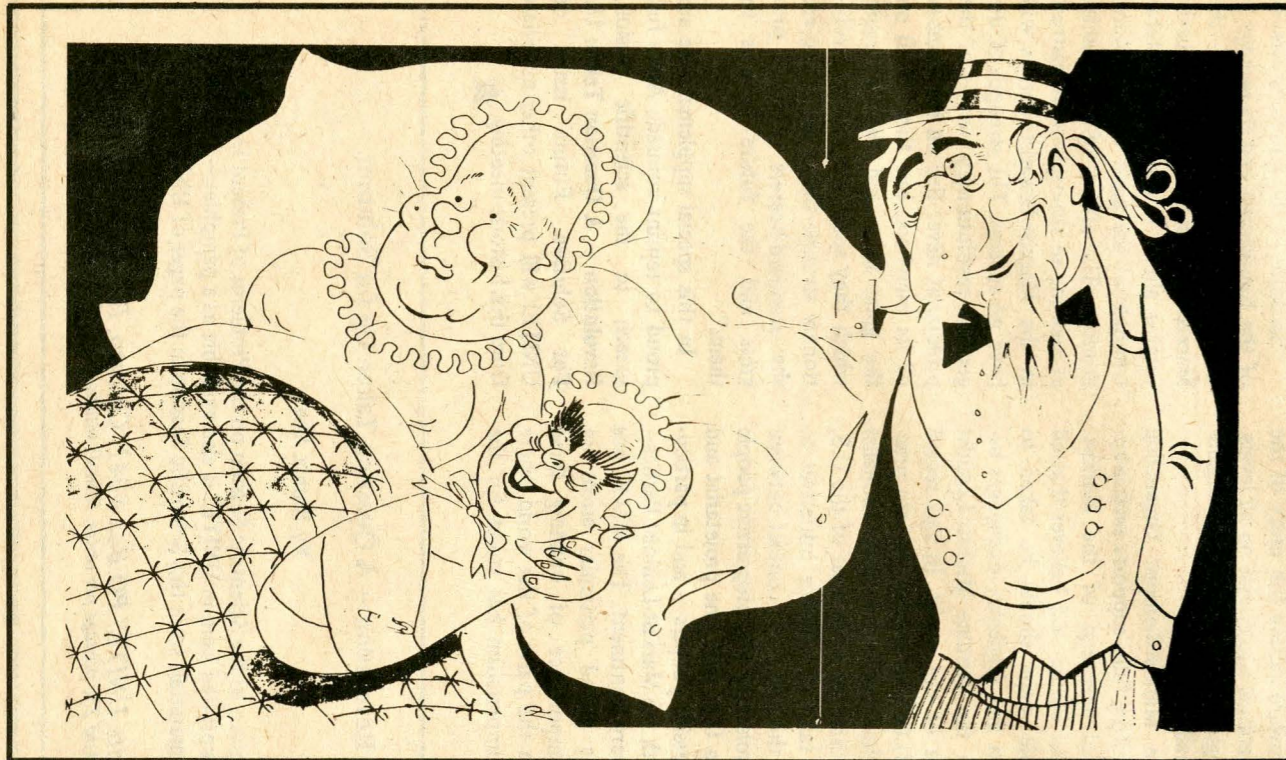
Though Mr. Carter tries to blame the working class and calls on the working class to help solve the problem, this problem is not of our making nor is it in the interest of the working class to help solve it.

The working class too has a problem which we have taken up for solution. Our problem is the disease of capitalism. But our treatment is not to cure capitalism's ills. For the working class this disease is like a cancer: in order to cure the disease the entire cancer must be removed. To solve the problem of capitalism, the working class must overthrow it. ★

Carter's plan means increasing the exploitation and oppression of the working masses.

Carter calls for more competition as the main weapon against inflation. This, as history has proven, results in further monopolization, higher profits and greater exploitation of the working class.

He calls for greater productivity, which means more speed-up and job combination, which in turn results in more unemployment, injury and exploitation for the working class. He calls for the layoff of 20,000 government workers, which also means less jobs for the working class. Finally he calls for voluntary wage and price controls with so many ex-



"The Holy Trinity" by Albanian cartoonist Zef Bumci portrays Khrushchev as the mother, Brezhnev the child and Uncle Sam the father, exposing the collusion between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet social-imperialists.

port, on the basis of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism. This unity and collaboration are another guarantee of the triumph of the revolution.

The Marxist-Leninists have clashed with and combatted the reactionary views of the Chinese leadership, which, in order to weaken the revolution, has persistently opposed any initiative, any action, any multilateral meeting of the Marxist-Leninist Parties aimed at strengthening their solidarity, unity and joint struggle. The Chinese leadership favoured only bilateral talks between parties, because in this way it could exert pressure and impose its opportunist line on the others and disorientate the Marxist-Leninists.

Our Party of Labour and other Marxist-Leninist Parties have long been opposed to this anti-Marxist line and these divisive stands. They have encouraged and supported any action aimed at strengthening the internationalist links and collaboration among Marxist-Leninists. The participation of many delegations of fraternal parties in the congresses of our Party and our celebrations, the Joint Statements of groups of Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America and Europe, the internationalist rallies which were held in Germany, Italy, Portugal, Greece, etc. testify to this. Our Scientific Session, in which many comrades from the fraternal Parties are taking part, is also a testimony to this. The common struggle, the interests of the revolution, demand that all Marxist-Leninist Parties, all the revolutionaries further strengthen the unity, collaboration, and internationalist solidarity of all the revolutionary forces on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

We are living at a time when socialism has won

great popularity and become a burning aspiration of all the peoples. The Khrushchevite betrayal and the transformation of the Soviet Union into a bourgeois, imperialist country, as well as the strengthening of the positions of revisionism in China, can alter neither the laws of development of society in general nor the laws of the revolution. The future belongs to the peoples, it belongs to communism. Working and fighting courageously for this future, for its preparation, are the proletariat and the Marxist-Leninist Parties everywhere in the world. All the objective and subjective conditions are maturing for this ideal of our great classical teachers — Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, and all the proletarian revolutionaries who have sacrificed everything in fierce class battles for the cause of communism, to be transformed into reality. «Marxism-Leninism and its immortal principles properly implemented», says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «will inevitably bring about the destruction of world capitalism and the triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat, by means of which the working class will build socialism and go on to communism».

The Albanian communists and the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, will fight in the future, as they have done up till now, with Marxist-Leninist consistency and determination, with unwavering confidence in the triumph of the great cause of the revolution and the liberation of the peoples. Our people and our Party will always stand by the peoples and revolutionaries of the whole world, the Marxist-Leninist Parties and all those who are fighting against the various imperialists and revisionists, for the cause of freedom, democracy, and socialism. ★

UNITE!

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Special Supplement

November 1, 1978



Report Submitted to the Scientific Session on problems of current world development, under the auspices of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania

The Revolution - A Question Taken Up for Solution

by **Ramiz Alia**

Member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the CC of the Party of Labor of Albania

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The capitalist, bourgeois, and revisionist world today is in an all-round crisis. Its structures and superstructures have been shaken as a result of the exacerbation of all the contradictions which characterize our epoch. The discontent of the masses, which is reflected in the innumerable strikes, in the revolts of the working people, up to the armed struggles of the peoples for liberation, is making the ground quake under the feet of the imperialists, the reactionary bourgeoisie, the revisionists and all the enemies of the peoples and the proletariat.

The question of carrying out the revolution now constitutes the fundamental aim of the strategy of the class struggle of the proletariat and the oppressed masses. The conclusion presented by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania that «The world is at a stage when the cause of the revolution and national liberation of the peoples is not just an aspiration and a future prospect but a problem taken up for solution»¹, expresses a great truth which stems from the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation and the development of the capitalist-revisionist system today.

The most characteristic feature of our epoch is the extension and deepening of the world revolutionary process in general. Today there is no zone or country which is not involved in this process of world dimensions. Within the capitalist-revisionist system, there is no longer a clear-cut division between front-line and base areas, there are no longer absolutely «tranquil» countries, without revolutionary upheavals, where the exploiting order has stability and security.

The hotbeds of revolutionary movements and outbursts all over the globe objectively represent links of a single chain of the world revolutionary process which has pushed the order of social and national oppression to the brink of the abyss. The revolutionary forces, wherever they are operating, feel that they are part of a unified front of the world revolutionary struggle against the common enemies — imperialism, socialimperialism and all reaction.

Recognition of the unity of the world revolutionary process is important in order to understand the wide possibilities for alliances among the revolutionary forces on an international scale, as well as to work out a global strategy of the revolution, which could be able to link and channel the outbursts of the revolutionary movement of various countries into one single process of the fight to overthrow the capitalists order and win national independence.

Any Deviation from the Marxist-Leninist Theory On the Revolution Leads to Revisionism

Today, just as in the past, the struggle between Marxist-Leninists on the one hand, and bourgeois ideologists and various opportunists, on the other, is centered around the key problem: whether or not the revolution is necessary for the transformation of society, whether or not the conditions exist for the revolution and its triumph, is the use of revolutionary violence necessary, or can the transformation be achieved in reformist parliamentary ways? The stand towards this problem, of vital importance to the proletariat and all the oppressed and exploited, has been and is to this day, a demarcation line between Marxist-Leninists, on the one hand, and opportunists and revisionists of every hue, on the other.

Deliberately misinterpreting the significance

PLA Holds Special Scientific Session on the Problems of Present Day World Development

On October 5, 1978, the Institute for Marxist-Leninist Studies of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania closed the historic «Scientific Session on the Problems of Present Day World Development» held in Tirana, the capital of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

At this meeting, comrades of the PLA as well as other Marxist-Leninist Parties from around the world presented nearly three dozen papers on various aspects of the present world situation. These presentations included the nature of the imperialist system today, the struggles against various forms of opportunism — particularly the counter-revolutionary theory of the «three worlds», the role and struggles of the vanguard Marxist-Leninist Parties, the struggle in the reformist trade unions as well as many other important and pressing questions.

Initiated by the Party of Labor, this scientific session represents an important advance in the struggle against world reaction and opportunism. The imperialists and revisionists are stepping up their promotion of a wide variety of counter-revolutionary theories designed to cover over the true nature of imperialist reaction in order to mislead and confuse the workers' and communist movement. In this context, sharpening the ideological and in particular the theoretical struggle for the defense of Marxism-Leninism and the all-round exposure of imperialist and revisionist theories assumes great importance.

The scientific session is a further reflection of the continuous struggle waged by the PLA for the general and all-round uplifting of the ideological and political struggle of the proletariat and its allies. The scientific session also placed particular stress on the vital role played by the

Marxist-Leninist Parties in fulfilling their responsibility to stand at the forefront of the class struggle.

One of the most important facts of this scientific session was the attendance and active participation of delegations from Marxist-Leninist Parties from all over the world. For years, the revisionists in Peking have sought to undermine and destroy the unity of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the international proletariat and have sought to prevent multi-lateral meetings of Marxist-Leninist Parties from taking place. This scientific session is a reflection that not only did these efforts fail, but on the contrary, in the struggle against the revisionists in Peking, the unity of the Marxist-Leninist Parties has grown by great strides. The regular exchange of views on various important questions of waging the class struggle, through both bi-lateral and multi-lateral meetings is an important step toward raising the unity of the international proletariat on all levels, ideologically, politically and organizationally.

The Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee fully supports such international meetings of the Marxist-Leninist Parties and believes that all possible steps should be taken to deepen and regularize exchanges between the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties of the world. In this regard the MLOC has always put into practice the proletarian internationalist view that the proletariat of the U.S. must take all possible initiatives to build the unity and contact between the proletariat and progressive people of the U.S. with the proletariat and progressive peoples — and in particular with the Marxist-Leninist Parties — on every continent. The MLOC has always placed particular stress on the importance of building these ties in the parts of the world where U.S. imperialism has stood for the



most barbarous and brutal exploitation and domination. This constitutes an integral part of the reconstruction of the Marxist-Leninist Party in the U.S.

In his closing remarks to the session, comrade Ramiz Alia, a member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the PLA, spoke of the special role played by the Marxist-Leninist Parties. As the final steps are being taken in the reconstruction of the Marxist-Leninist Party in the U.S., these words have a special significance.

«In spite of the ferocious attacks of the bourgeoisie and its lackeys — the opportunists of all types — the Marxist-Leninist movement is surely forging ahead toward the inevitable triumph of the great cause of communism. The efforts of the enemies at creating an atmosphere of mistrust in the Marxist-Leninist Parties will have no success. The strength of the genuine revolutionary parties of the proletariat never lies on the number of its members, but first of all on the great ideas and the just cause which they stand for, on the revolutionary struggle they wage. They are the standard-bearers of social progress and the future belongs to them.»

In this special supplement we are proud to reprint comrade Alia's full speech to the scientific session, **Revolution — A Question Taken Up For Solution**. Future issues of **UNITE!** will present other materials from this historic meeting. ★



The Revolution — A Question Taken Up for Solution

By Ramiz Alia

This report given to the Scientific Session on the Problems of Present Day World Development, reprinted here in **UNITE!** is also available as a pamphlet — 75c each. Look for other materials from this Scientific Session in the pages of **UNITE!**

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¹ Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 159, Eng. ed.

of the changes brought about by the transition of capitalism to its highest and last stage, imperialism, the opportunists of the traitorous Second International declared that this was a phase in which capitalism would transform itself into socialism spontaneously, without class struggle and without revolutions. «The time of the revolutions, of red banners, and demonstrations has gone,» said Bernstein, and he declared that the theory of Marx on capitalism and the proletarian revolution was obsolete.

But these «forecasts» were very quickly shown to be false both in theory and in practice. V. I. Lenin, in his exposure of these enemies of the revolution, proved scientifically that imperialism is capitalism in decay, moribund capitalism, the eve of the proletarian revolution. He proved that the Marxist conclusion, that the world can be changed only by means of the revolution always remains correct and valid. Bringing out the essence of Leninism, the very crux of it, J. V. Stalin said: «Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolution. More precisely: Leninism is the theory and tactic of the proletarian revolution in general, the theory and tactic of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular.»² The triumph of the Great Socialist October Revolution in 1917 in Russia proved in practice the validity of the Leninist theory of the revolution. It also marked the triumph of Leninism over opportunism.

From that time on, Leninism became the triumphant banner and theory which inspired and led all the genuine revolutionaries in the battles for the preparation and triumph of the revolution. And in fact, history has recorded many popular, anti-imperialist and proletarian revolutions before, during and since the Second World War which confirmed the vitality of the Leninist theory of the revolution for that period too. The triumph of these revolutions, and especially of the revolutions which led to the creation of the socialist camp, including the triumph of the revolution in our country, shook the rotten capitalist order to its foundations. This impelled imperialism and reaction to step up their fight against socialism and the revolutionary movements, from within and without, especially by instigating and activating opportunism and revisionism, which once again aimed its attack against the Marxist-Leninist theory of the revolution.

This was what Browder did when he openly declared that allegedly «the Leninist idea of the revolution was finished», this was what the Yugoslav revisionists did later when they attacked the Leninist teachings on the revolution and preached that the transition to socialism in the present epoch can be made in a spontaneous manner, through evolution. According to these renegades, the development of productive forces itself forces the bourgeois order to move towards socialism and to open the way to socialist transformations.

All the other trends of modern revisionism, the Khrushchevite revisionists, the Eurocommunists and others also rose against the Marxist-Leninist theory of the revolution. Deliberately misinterpreting the «changes» which have taken place in society, the increasing weight of state monopoly capital, the progress of science, technology, culture, etc., they labour to prove that the Leninist theses on the revolution have lost their validity, and they churn out all sorts of reformist prescriptions to close the road to the revolution.

The socialist-democratic content of their reformist policy reveals the hostility to Leninism not only of the revisionists of the Carrillo type, who negate it openly, but also of those like Berlinguer, Marchais, and Brezhnev, who seek to disguise their complete departure from Leninism, although they eliminate from Leninism what is most essential in it, the theory on the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Chinese version of modern revisionism goes even further in the struggle against Leninism than all its revisionists that preceded it, by opposing to it the so-called «Mao Tsetung thought» and its offspring — the theory of «three worlds», which is complete negation of the revolution.

One cannot be a genuine Leninist and forget or reject the very essence of Leninism, the theory of the revolution, which always retains its freshness and relevance because exploitation and oppression cannot be eliminated except through revolution. Any deviation from the law of the revolution leads to revisionism. Therefore, one of the most important tasks of the Marxist-Lenin-

ist revolutionaries in our time is the consistent defence and implementation of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the revolution.

The World Can Be Changed only through Revolution

Proceeding from the materialist understanding of history, Marx and Engels proved that the replacement of outdated relations of production with the new relations could not be achieved otherwise than through revolution. They described this as a law which operates just as rigorously as the laws of nature. Developing Marx's and Engels' idea further, Lenin showed that this law continues to operate in the phase of imperialism too, when all the premises which make the revolution necessary become further matured. Therefore, he defined our epoch as epoch of the collapse of capitalism and the triumph of the proletarian revolutions.

Lenin's teachings are completely valid for our days too. Present-day capitalist society develops according to the same objective laws as those which Marx and Lenin spoke about, and its overthrow can be brought about only through the revolution.

At the 7th Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha defended the thesis that present-day society is developing according to the objective laws discovered by the classics of Marxism-Leninism. He has elaborated this cardinal problem more thoroughly in his work «Imperialism and the Revolution». Just as at the 7th Congress of the PLA, in his work «Imperialism and the Revolution», Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses that the peoples and the working masses can achieve their great objective — liberation from oppression and exploitation — only through the revolution, that with the passage of time, the prospects of the revolution are not in the least dimmed but, on the contrary, become ever more clear. The revolution remains on the agenda as the principal and most acute problem of our time.

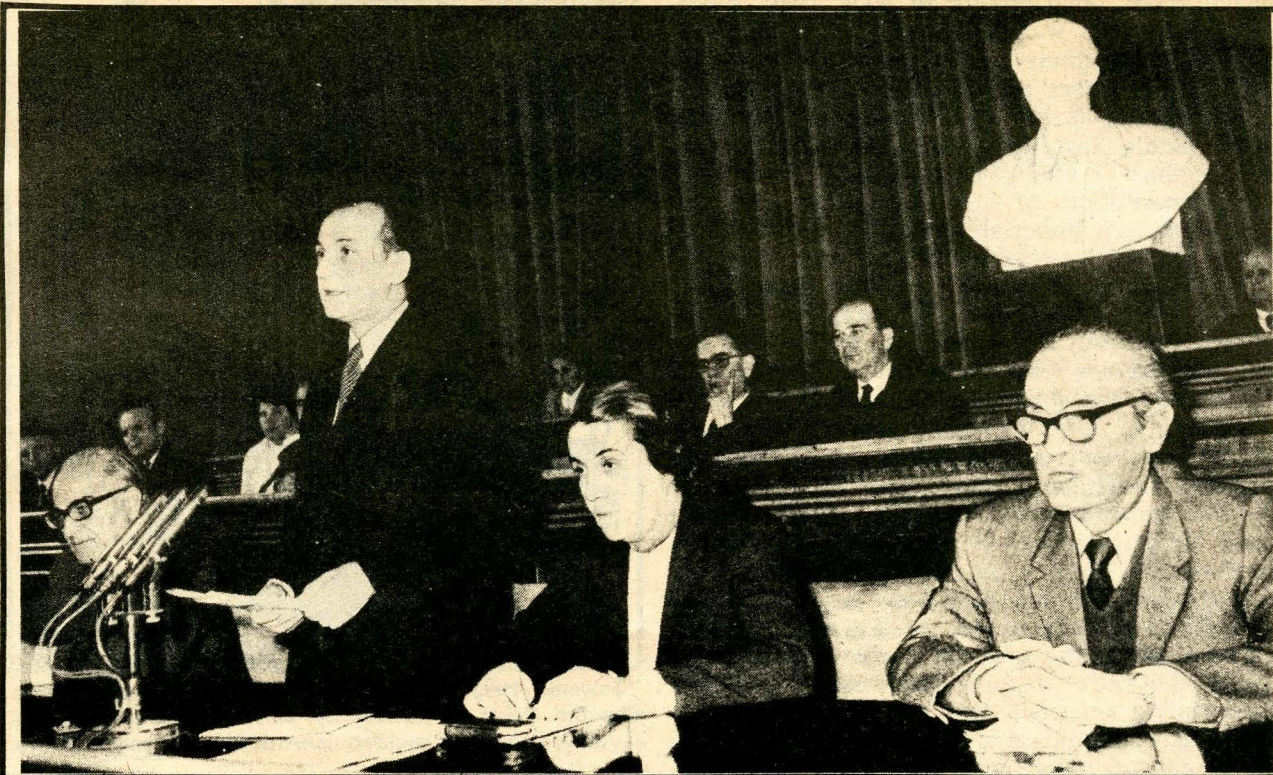
This conclusion is based completely on the Leninist theory of imperialism, on the profound scientific analysis that Lenin made of the fundamental contradictions of capitalism in the imperialist stage of its development. In his work «Imperialism and the Revolution», Comrade

One cannot be a genuine Leninist and forget or reject the very essence of Leninism, the theory of the revolution, which always retains its freshness and relevance because exploitation and oppression cannot be eliminated except through revolution. Any deviation from the law of revolution leads to revisionism. Therefore, one of the most important tasks of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries of our time is the consistent defence and implementation of the Marxist-Leninist theory of the revolution.

on a national scale, but also on an international scale. These phenomena of present-day imperialism in no way eliminate the private capitalist appropriation. On the contrary, this appropriation is being concentrated more and more in the hands of a few monopolists who dominate the entire society. By creating the state sector of the economy, the bourgeois state does not in the least change its nature as the representative of the capitalist class as a whole, which expresses and defends the interests of that class.

State monopoly capitalism, which the enemies of the revolution deliberately misrepresent, is neither «a new stage which has already gone beyond the stage of the revolutions», nor, as the renegade Carrillo and the other revisionists claim, «nothing but the embryo of the socialist society» in the womb of capitalism. It is merely a form of the existence of the present-day capitalism, which does not mitigate the antagonistic contradictions of the imperialist system but makes them more profound, thus making the material preparation for the proletarian revolution even more complete. «The erroneous bourgeois reformist assertion, that monopoly capitalism or state monopoly capitalism is no longer capitalism, but can now be called 'state socialism' and so on, is very common»³ says Lenin.

In these conditions, not only contradictions between labour and capital, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, but also that between the broad masses of the people of town and countryside and the big capitalist monopolies, which dominate the entire political and economic life



Comrade Ramiz Alia, pictured standing at left, was one of many leading members of the Party of Labor of Albania who presented papers at the Scientific Session of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies. Albanian photo

Enver Hoxha, in analysing the complex of present-day world development, argues on the basis of facts that these contradictions have not vanished, that they still exist, have not been weakened and cannot be overcome without going beyond the framework of the bourgeois order.

The basic contradiction of the whole capitalist order, that between the social character of production and the private capitalist character of appropriation, which determines the objective necessity for the socialist revolution, has become more profound than ever before. The most important special feature which characterizes imperialism today, is the great development of state monopoly capitalism and the creation and the expansion of multinational companies and other international economic organisms, which are evidence of the increased degree of the capitalist socialization of production not only

of the country, are growing more and more acute. Because of this, parallel with the preparation of material premises, there is also an extension of the social basis of the socialist revolution, the triumph of which now interests not only the proletarians and poor peasants, but also the broad strata of the petty-bourgeoisie of the town and countryside, part of the progressive intelligentsia, which are oppressed, exploited and ruined by the big monopolies. The great economic and financial crisis, which has the capitalist and revisionist society in its grip, has made all its social evils more unbearable and increased the discontent among the broad masses of the people against the all-powerful domination of the monopolies. Never before has there been such

² J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 6, p. 73, Alb. ed.

³ V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 25, pp. 524-525, Alb. ed.

thorough-going exploitation, such barbarous oppression, such inhuman destruction of the personality of workers and peoples. Now more than ever before, the progress of science and technology, the development of culture and the arts are used for the intensification of the exploitation of the working class and working masses, as well as for their intellectual and moral degradation.

Imperialism is not only the domination of monopolies of the financial oligarchy, but is characterized also by the export of capital to other countries, especially the less developed countries, thus becoming the most savage exploiter of millions upon millions of people, of the nations of whole continents. On this basis, *the other contradiction, that between a few dominating countries, the so-called 'civilized' countries, on the one hand, and the peoples of the oppressed and dependent countries is growing ever deeper.* This further sharpens the revolutionary crisis in these countries, and leads to the upsurge of the revolt of the masses and the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle.

It is true that after the Second World War, old colonial empires collapsed, and many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America gained national independence. But these changes did not eliminate colonial oppression and exploitation. On the contrary, they have become even more savage. The place of the old colonialism, discredited and hated by the peoples, has been filled by neo-colonialism, which has the same intention, but employs more refined and better disguised ways, forms and methods. In the place of the old colonial powers, now new neo-colonialist powers have emerged, the United States of America and the social-imperialist Soviet Union, which have become the greatest international exploiters. The implementation of neo-colonialism by the two superpowers and, together with them, by the other imperialist powers, such as Germany, Britain, France, Japan, and soon by China, too, the headlong race for domination, hegemonism, spheres of influence, and competition of the multinational companies and the great monopoly concerns for maximum profit have intensified the oppression and exploitation of the peoples to an unprecedented level. The «aid», credits, capital investments, joint companies of imperialists and social-imperialists, are not a contribution to the development and progress of the backward countries. They are new shackles to enslave them, instruments to suck their blood, to plunder their wealth, to subjugate them and bring them to their knees. In the interest of world capital, wars and conflicts among peoples are fanned up, as has occurred and is occurring in the Middle East, South-East Asia, Africa, and other regions of the world.

Implementation of neo-colonialism and the struggle of each imperialist country to make maximum profits for itself, has not only deepened the contradiction between various imperialists and the peoples, *but has also made the contradictions between the capitalist and revisionist states themselves extremely acute.* The fact is that, despite the great efforts that these states are making in order to smooth over the quarrels and disagreements among them, despite the international organisms which they create to this end, the contradictions, squabbles and conflicts among US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, the Common Market as a whole and each of the individual member countries, Japan, etc., are becoming ever more acute. At the root of these contradictions is the unequal development, which changes the ratio of forces between states, and consequently, sharpens the struggle for sources of raw materials, markets for their goods, territories for capital investment, spheres of influence, and strategic bases.

The deepening quarrels and conflicts among imperialists creates more favourable conditions for the revolution, because, on the one hand, it weakens the whole capitalist system, weakens the enemies of the peoples and socialism, while on the other hand, it facilitates the unity of all revolutionary forces, or as Stalin puts it, the uniting of the front of the proletarian revolution with the front of the anti-imperialist national liberation struggle of the peoples.

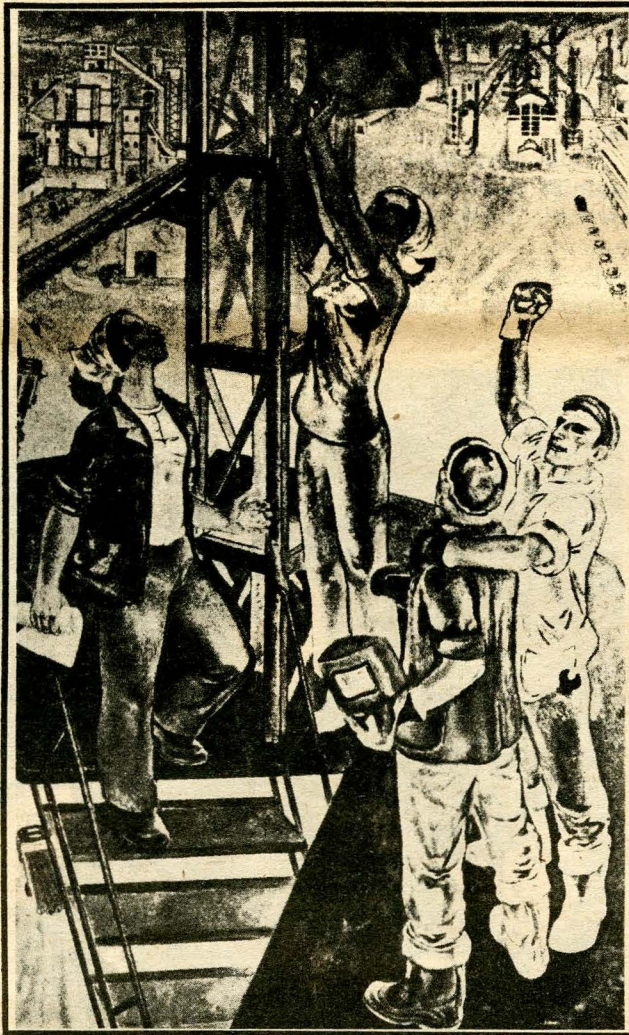
Finally, despite the betrayal by the modern revisionists, which led to the liquidation of the socialist order in the Soviet Union and many former socialist countries, *the other contradiction of present-day society, that between the two systems, the socialist and capitalist systems, is operating, too.* The bourgeoisie and all its lackeys are trying to distort the significance of the re-establishment of capitalism in the former socialist countries, presenting the matter as though this was the liquidation of socialism and its future. This is an attempt to sow doubt and dis-

trust about the communist ideals, but it will be unsuccessful. What has occurred in the Soviet Union and China is only a zigzag on the long road of the revolution. The retreat and zigzags are temporary and relative, they do not alter the general law of the advance of society. Regardless of the regressive processes which have occurred, socialism has not been liquidated: it exists as a social order, it exists in the aspirations and in all the revolutionary battles and struggles of the proletariat, which are inspired by the ideas of scientific socialism. Its triumph all over the world is inevitable.

The sharpening of all the internal and external contradictions of capitalist society has made the revolution an imperative necessity, as the only means to lift present-day society from the degradation and degeneration to which world capital has led it. The profound contradictions and antagonisms of capitalism will not resolve themselves within the context of the existing order. They can and will be resolved only through the revolution, only through the overthrow of the exploiting classes and the bourgeois state, as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin teach us. «The present crisis», says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «has once again confirmed that, as a social system, capitalism can never escape its contradictions and its ills, that it is incapable of ensuring its own superprofits while at the same time preserving an internal social equilibrium»⁴.

Confronted with the outburst of the storm of the revolution, the bourgeoisie and reaction are not standing idle, passively awaiting their doom.

Utilizing all the advantages which the colossal growth of its profits ensures it, world capital-



«Towards Heights», an oil painting by Albanian artist Shpetim Drapi symbolizes the unity of men and women joyously engaged in socialist construction. Albanian photo

ism, especially in the developed countries, is making all-round political, economic and ideological efforts to mitigate the consequences of objective factors, the consequences of the sharpening contradictions and its deep crisis. It is fighting with all its means, in the first place, by strengthening the military-bureaucratic state machine, but also by making concessions and partial reforms to avert the «explosive phenomena» in order to minimize the conflicts between workers and employers, and to guarantee the monopolies superprofits.

But the capitalist and the revisionist world is striving in vain to find a way out, be it even temporary, from the overthrow towards which the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and of the peoples, as well as the objective processes on which capitalism is founded, are pushing it. The measures adopted by the bourgeois-

sie and reaction, and the efforts of the revisionists in no way obscure the possibilities, nor have they «averted» the prospects of the revolution, which is the only reliable road for the working class and the working people to seize power and to wipe out every kind of oppression and exploitation.

The Special Features of the World Revolutionary Process in the Present Time

Marxism-Leninism does not see the collapse of capitalism and imperialism as the result of proletarian socialist revolutions alone, as something which will come about at a single blow and in all countries at the same time.

In the world today, there are various contradictions, countries with differing levels of socio-economic and political development, which are not confronted with the same revolutionary tasks. This variety of the present-day reality also determines the variety of the revolutionary move-

The revolution...as the highest stage of the class struggle, cannot be conceived and realized without the conviction, mobilization and organization of the masses for powerful revolutionary actions. It cannot be carried through to final victory without the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party, which constitutes the number one subjective factor.

ments and processes which are developing in the world today. «Revolutions», says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «depend on the concrete historical conditions of each country, on the stage of its economic and social development, on the ratio of classes, on the situation and level of organization of the proletariat and the oppressed masses, on the level of the interference by foreign powers in different countries, etc. Thus, some countries are faced with the task of carrying out the proletarian revolution, while others with the task of carrying out national-democratic and anti-imperialist revolutions»⁵.

Taking account of the conditions of different countries is of great importance to the revolutionary forces in order to work out a strategy appropriate to the concrete conditions of each country.

The present state and development of the capitalist system shows that a large number of countries of the world are faced with the *proletarian socialist revolution*. It is known that the revisionists declare the issue of the proletarian revolution to be an «anachronism», something «superseded», especially in the developed capitalist countries, the imperialist countries. Some of them, such as those of the «Eurocommunist» trend, declare that the Marxist-Leninist theory on the proletarian revolution may have had some importance, but only for the past, and exclusively for the uncivilized, backward nations with jungles and mountains. Therefore, they reduce the struggle of the working class merely to tasks of a general democratic character, to the struggle for peace, for parliamentary freedoms, for reforms, presenting them in the spirit of reformism as a process which is allegedly taking present-day society out of the framework of capitalism. The Chinese revisionists, too, with their theory of «three worlds», also negate the necessity for the proletarian revolution, not only for the developed capitalist countries (there they see only one task: the uniting of the proletariat with the imperialist bourgeoisie for defence against the danger of Soviet social-imperialism), but under the pretext of not «skipping stages», they deny the absolute necessity for the proletarian revolution for all the other countries of the world too.

Leninism and historical experience have shown that the possibility of the transition to socialism exists both for the backward countries and for the developed capitalist countries, the imperialist countries. In each of these countries there are favourable circumstances and unfavourable circumstances. But the triumph of the socialist revolution is an unavoidable objective law, from which no country, developed or underdeveloped, can be exempted.

Undoubtedly, in the imperialist countries, together with tasks of the struggle for the proletarian revolution, the proletariat and the masses of the people are faced with many other tasks of a general, democratic and anti-impe-

⁴ Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 163, Engl. ed.

⁵ Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 148, Alb. ed.

rialists character. These tasks, too, have their own importance, and must not be disregarded. However, any overestimation and absolutization of these tasks diverts the working class and masses of working people from the struggle for the preparation for the proletarian revolution, from the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

The tasks of a general democratic character are only part of the tasks of the struggle of the proletariat. But above all, the predominant aim must be to carry out the proletarian revolution, which is the only way to put an end to the order of capitalist slavery, as well as to carry out the tasks of a general democratic and anti-monopoly character completely. «One should know how to *combine* the struggle for democracy and the struggle for the socialist revolution», said Lenin, «*subordinating*» the former to the latter. In this lies the whole difficulty; in this is the whole essence. Don't lose sight of the *main* thing (the socialist revolution), put it first... put *all* the democratic demands, but subordinating them to it, coordinating them with it»⁶.

Many countries of the world, especially in Africa, Asia and Latin America, are facing the *democratic anti-imperialist, national liberation revolution*, which has its special features in different countries. In these countries the tasks of the struggle against the system of feudal relations, against reactionary regimes, the tasks of the struggle for independence and democratic social progress, occupy such an important place that they make the stage of the democratic anti-imperialist revolution unavoidable.

To these tasks the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist Party, the working masses of these countries, cannot remain indifferent. Today, they constitute the social force most interested in the speediest possible solution of these problems, because the imperialist yoke, the oppression by reactionary, feudal and semi-feudal regimes weighs heavily, in the first place, on this social force. Moreover, the elimination of this yoke and oppression, opens the road to other, radical transformations, brings nearer and facilitates the triumph of the socialist revolution.

Irrespective of the specific tasks which the democratic anti-imperialist and national liberation revolutions have to carry out, they are an inseparable part of the overall world revolutionary process. Objectively, they are allies of the socialist revolution and socialism. They deal a heavy blow to imperialism and reaction, weaken their positions, and assist the triumph of socialist revolution.

The liberation movements, the democratic, anti-imperialist revolutions, are directed against those who are enemies of the proletarian revolution, too. All the efforts of the revisionists to isolate the various revolutionary movements and pit them against one another, and to separate and expose the various stages of the present world revolutionary process of development, have as their aim the division and weakening of the forces of revolution, have the aim of postponing the revolution to the millennium. Contrary to revisionist preachings, history shows that the struggle to carry out the tasks of democratic anti-imperialist and socialist revolutions constitutes a single world revolutionary process, in which the phases are neither blended to the point of losing any distinction between them, nor separated by some insurmountable «Chinese Wall». In the revolutionary process, the tasks of the democratic anti-imperialist revolution may be combined with

The most active, most vigorous and revolutionary force which can lead these revolutions is the working class with its Marxist-Leninist Party, which can rally all the revolutionary forces of the country around itself, and lead them in the fight against internal reaction, imperialism and social-imperialism. The possibilities for the working class to emerge at the head of the democratic anti-imperialist revolutions have become much greater, because now the proletariat and its revolutionary consciousness have increased everywhere and the situation has become more favourable for the transformation of democratic anti-imperialist revolutions into proletarian revolutions. In order to drive this process forward, it is of particular importance that Marxist-Leninist Parties develop their revolutionary initiative, that the role of the working class and the weight of its struggle in the revolution should constantly increase, that the activity of those forces of the national bourgeoisie, which are interested in leaving it at the halfway stage, should be neutralized.

In the countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, internal political forces, heterogeneous from the social-class viewpoint, and influenced by different external forces, are operating. This is the source of the different political movements: revolutionary, democratic, reformist, reactionary, militarist, and so on. *The working class and its Marxist-Leninist Party in these countries, cannot adopt the same stand towards all of them, cannot support all of them, and even less, identify themselves with them. Marxist-Leninists support and assist only those movements which play a progressive role, which pave the way for the anti-imperialist democratic revolution and carry it forward. At the same time, they come out against*



Ksenofon Dilo's painting "The Rifle Big Like a Cannon" illustrates the people's struggle during the National Liberation War. Albanian photo

all reactionary political movements, even when they are disguised in «left» or «nationalist» slogans.

Today in a number of countries of the world, and especially in Africa and Asia, there are many people and political movements that aspire to radical changes in the life of their peoples. Some of them even come out with socialist slogans. Marxist-Leninists welcome any democratic and progressive aspiration, any sincere tendency to socialism. But it must be said that confused, vague and non-scientific ideas about socialism have been spread in these countries, too, that there is a hotchpotch of socialist and capitalist principles, of different world outlooks and ideologies, including nationalist and religious ideologies. This confusion is encouraged and exploited by the various revisionists in order to divert the popular masses from the correct road of the struggle for social progress, and to extend their own influence. Social liberation and the triumph of socialism can be achieved only on the basis of the revolutionary theory of the proletariat and under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party.

In the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin

America, a broad and all-sided struggle is going on against imperialism and neo-colonialism. The peoples of these continents are fighting to win and strengthen their freedom and independence, to establish their national sovereignty over their country's assets, to eliminate discriminatory relations in international trade, etc. The struggle of these peoples represents a great force which is striking heavy blows at imperialism, neo-colonialism and reaction. That is why it enjoys the resolute support of all the revolutionary forces, all the Marxist-Leninists, all those to whom the cause of freedom, independence, and socialism is dear. «Consistent in their Marxist-Leninist line, **the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people,**» said Comrade Enver Hoxha, «**will spare no effort and will fight, together with all the other anti-imperialist and anti-social-imperialist peoples,... to foil the plans and manoeuvres of the enemies and ensure the triumph of the cause of the freedom and security of peoples. At any moment our country will be found standing beside all those peoples whose freedom and independence are threatened and whose rights are violated.**»⁷

Confronted with the rise of the revolutionary movement of the peoples, the united forces of world reaction have hurled themselves into a savage onslaught on all fronts to suppress any focus of liberation and revolutionary struggles. In this onslaught they do not hesitate to use political and economic aggression and expansion, brutal armed intervention, the traditional forms of colonialism and the new forms of neo-colonialism. They enter into alliances with the most backward-looking internal forces from the ranks of feudal landlords and the bourgeoisie, kings and dictators, reactionary cliques and regimes, who are ready to sell the freedom and independence of their own countries for the sake of privileges and the profits which they draw at the cost of the oppression of their peoples.

At present, along with the old imperialist and colonialist powers, especially US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism is also involved, with the aim of extending its empire and putting under its tutelage certain countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, whose people have fought and are fighting to shake off any colonial yoke, dependence on and domination by foreigners. While posing as supporters of the freedom and independence of the peoples, the Soviet social-imperialists are trying to deceive them and impose their hegemony over them.

The revisionist parties of the main imperialist countries, for their part, regard anti-imperialist revolutions as «dangerous» phenomena which upset the equilibrium and the status quo. Under the slogan of economic co-operation of the «developed world» with the «under-developed world», they defend the neo-colonialist policy of the bourgeoisie of their own countries.

With their theory of «three worlds», the Chinese revisionists, too, have come out in the role of firemen to extinguish the revolution and liberation struggles of the peoples. While advocating class conciliation and alliance of the oppressed peoples with imperialism, especially US imperialism, they recognize no other problem for the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America apart from that posed by the threat of Soviet hegemonism, from which according to the Chinese, these peoples can escape only by ceasing the class struggle and revolutions, by the oppressed uniting with reactionary cliques and regimes, and putting themselves under the hegemony of China.

In this situation, when the imperialists and revisionists are striving in every way to disorientate the liberation and revolutionary movements of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, it is a duty of historic importance, not only for the Marxist-Leninist Parties, but also for all the democratic and revolutionary forces, to wage a resolute struggle against the reactionary imperialist-revisionists course, against the demagogy and political manoeuvres employed by the imperialists and revisionists, and for the realization of the peoples' aspirations of freedom and democracy, and for the triumph of the revolution.

The Revolutionary Situation and the Role of the Subjective Factor

Revolutions are not made to order, nor are they accidental, but they break out as a result of the interaction of objective and subjective factors, of internal and external conditions, of

Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses that the peoples and the working masses can achieve their great objective — liberation from exploitation and oppression — only through revolution, that with the passage of time, the prospects of revolution are not in the least dimmed, but on the contrary become ever more clear. The revolution remains on the agenda as the principal and most acute problem of our time.

those of the socialist revolution, just as many of the tasks of the democratic anti-imperialist revolution can be carried out by the proletarian revolution. The Marxist-Leninists see the combination of these tasks in a concrete manner for each country, without neglecting the dynamics of this process, which at every new juncture brings changes in the relationship between the democratic tasks of the anti-imperialist struggle and the tasks of the struggle for socialism.

6 V.I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 35, pp. 260-261, Alb. Ed.

7 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 193, Engl. ed.

the combination and exacerbation of profound economic, political and social contradictions, of irreconcilable antagonisms between the oppressors and the oppressed, between exploiters and the exploited. Revolution breaks out in that country where the sharpening of antagonisms and the clash of opposing social-class forces reach their culmination, making that country a weak link in the world system of capitalism. Historical experience tells us that in the epoch of imperialism, when the whole capitalist system is ripe for revolution, from time to time both developed countries and backward countries become such weak links. These tangles of contradictions are not something fixed and unchangeable, which necessarily shows up in only one country, or one area. On the contrary, the uneven development and the ripeness for the revolution of the world capitalist system, as a whole, makes it possible that these tangles emerge more or less simultaneously in several countries, or shift from one country or zone to another. In the chain of the world capitalist system today there are many weak links.

In defining the weakest links of the world capitalist system Marxist-Leninists do not proceed from subjective and arbitrary wishes, but bear in mind, in the first place, the *objective factors*, that combination and exacerbation to the highest degree of all the contradictions of capitalism, which put the revolution directly on the agenda. The revolution, according to Lenin, can burst out only from a revolutionary situation, is brought to maturity objectively by the whole process of the socio-economic development of the given country.

«It is only when the «lower classes» do not want to live in the old way and the «upper classes» cannot carry on in the old way that the revolution can triumph», Lenin emphasizes. «This truth», he goes on, «can be expressed in other words: revolution is impossible without a nationwide crisis (affecting both the exploited and the exploiters)»⁸

The Marxist-Leninist concept of the revolutionary situation serves as a scientific criterion from which the revolutionaries proceed to define appropriate moments when the objective possibility of striking the decisive blow at the system of oppression and exploitation has been brought about.

The Marxist-Leninist understanding of a revolutionary situation has nothing in common with the standpoints of all kind of opportunists cloaked as «leftists», of anarchists who, from positions of voluntarism, disregard the role of objective factors, and proclaim the launching of revolution possible at any moment, provided a handful of people ready to take up arms can be found. Experience, not only of the past, but of our days, too, shows clearly that the anarchists' actions can often be traced back to the staffs of the secret police, the fascists, the forces of the «Right», which are interested in exploiting actions as provocations, in order to justify the establishment of dictatorial regimes, to drown the revolutionary forces in blood before they have prepared themselves to deal the decisive blow at the exploiting order.

Genuine Marxist-Leninists clearly demarcate themselves from the anarchist groups. They are also clearly demarcated from the opportunists, the Soviet revisionists, the Eurocommunists, etc., who, not only do not prepare the masses for revolution, but even when revolutionary situations present themselves, hold the masses back and sabotage the revolution. The Chinese revisionists, in a completely pragmatic and unprincipled manner, on the one hand use the slogan that the «situation in the world is excellent» for demagogical purposes, while on the other, on the pretext that in some capitalist countries no revolutionary situation exists for the time being, they proclaim revolutionary situations impossible on principle in the present-day world, thus justifying conciliation of exploiters with the exploited, of the «third world» with the «second world» and with US imperialism.

In our time, along with the development of the general world revolutionary process, revolutionary situations are created at given moments and in various countries of the capitalist-revisionist world. «At present», says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «an explosive revolutionary situation exists everywhere in the world as a consequence of the sharpening of all the contradictions of the capitalist-revisionist system. This situation has put the revolution on the order of the day»⁹. The facts show that there have been, are, and will be revolutionary situations, and

that in particular countries they have been transformed into revolutions. If in certain other countries they have not been transformed into revolutions, this is explained with the fact that the revolutionary situation is only the objective possibility for the revolution. For this possibility to be realized, for the revolution to burst out and triumph, the *subjective conditions* are necessary, too.

The revolution, as a conscious socio-political activity of the masses, as the highest stage of the class struggle, cannot be conceived and realized without the conviction, mobilization and organization of the masses, for powerful revolutionary actions. It cannot be carried through to final victory without the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party, which constitutes the number one subjective factor. Experience shows that in the conditions when the objective factor exists and the revolutionary situation is ripe, the role of the subjective factor is decisive for the triumph of the revolution. Moreover, Marxist-Leninists do not take the subjective factor and the objective factor divorced from each other, or as following one after the other, but understand them linked in close dialectical unity.

In this unity, the subjective factor plays a major and direct role in bringing the revolution



This graphic by painter Lumturi Dhrami is one of a series dedicated to the Albanian National Liberation War against German and Italian fascism. Albanian photo

nary situation to maturity, just as the objective factor extends the possibilities for the strengthening of the subjective factor. If the party of the working class were to wait until a revolutionary situation has been created first and only then set about preparing the subjective conditions, in this case, it would be late to exploit the favourable revolutionary situation and would find itself unprepared at the moment when it should be leading the great battle towards the revolution. The history of the workers' movement already knows such negative examples. That is why, in the present conditions when the revolutionary process is extending and eating up at the foundations of the old order, the bourgeoisie and modern revisionism have concentrated their main blows precisely on the subjective factor.

In our epoch, the revisionist parties are notorious for their sabotaging activity. Having placed themselves totally in the service of the bourgeoisie, they spread reformist illusions, divert the working people from revolutionary activity, and hinder the raising of the consciousness of the masses. «To confuse the people, to benumb the revolutionary thought and action of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist Parties», says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «innumerable anti-Marxist trends are in action, the most varied revisionist and «Leftist» «theories» are emerging

and being spread. They are the fifth column in the ranks of the world revolution, the aim of which is to prolong the life of international capitalism by fighting the revolution from within, to prevent it from breaking out and, in case it does, to have the firemen to put it out and the scabs to break the will of the working class»¹⁰

As a result of the undermining activity of the Soviet, Eurocommunist, Yugoslav, Chinese, and other modern revisionists, no little confusion has been created, as a consequence of which the subjective factor still does not respond to the requirements of the explosive revolutionary situations which are being created in the world. Nevertheless, in the process of the class struggle, today, the revolutionary consciousness of the working class and the broad working masses is becoming steadily stronger, the tendencies to break with social-democratic and revisionist influences are growing deeper and the new Marxist-Leninist Parties are increasing their strength. All this is vivid testimony to the fact that the proletariat has never lost its faith in Marxism-Leninism, and the triumph of the revolution.

In order to undermine the revolution, all shades of revisionists grossly misrepresent the role which the external factor plays in the question of the revolution. In accord with their hegemonic, expansionist interests, the Soviet revisionists preach that the triumph of freedom, independence and socialism is the outcome, in the first place, of the external factor, of the role and influence of the social-imperialist Soviet Union and the so-called «socialist community». Were the peoples to follow this «advice» and pin their hopes on the external factor, which the Soviet revisionist recommend, they would lose faith in their own revolutionary strength and their struggle would not serve the cause of freedom, independence and socialism, but Soviet imperialist interests.

On the other hand, there are also revisionists who say that, in the present international conditions of the existence of political and military alliances among capitalist states, revolution would be dangerous playing with fire, doomed to end in defeat as a result of the export of the counter-revolution, of outside military intervention. In all these sermons, the absolutizing of the external factor and underrating of the internal factor and the intention to intimidate the masses and sabotage the revolution, are strikingly obvious.

There is no doubt, that the aid, support, solidarity and development of the international revolutionary movement are important factors which exercise their positive influence on the revolutionary processes which are going on inside every country. But these factors only create favourable conditions and possibilities for the development and triumph of the revolution. It is the internal factor, the revolutionary forces of each country which take advantage of these conditions, and transform these possibilities into reality. History knows of quite a few cases when, despite the favourable international situation, the revolution, far from triumphing, has suffered defeat, and this simply because the internal factor, the party of the working class, in the first place, was not equal to its historic mission.

On the other hand, the revolution is threatened by the danger of foreign military intervention, because the triumph of the revolution in any country is a blow to all imperialism and reaction worldwide. But even this threat has not closed the road to revolution, and it can never do so, despite the sermons of the revisionists. With the united efforts of the people of each country, with their resolute and persistent struggle, as well as with the active international solidarity of the working people, counter-revolutionary intervention from abroad can be halted and defeated. The history of many revolutions shows that they have triumphed even under very unfavourable international circumstances, but always in those instances when the internal revolutionary forces had been prepared and were determined to defend the revolution and carry it through to the end. Many contemporary examples, including the example of our revolution, have proved this.

For the revolution to triumph, the use of the revolutionary violence of the masses is an essential condition. Marxist-Leninists wage an irreconcilable fight against the modern revisionists who preach that the only possible road to socialism in present-day conditions is allegedly the «peaceful», «democratic», «parliamentary» road, etc. «Uniting the majority of the people» and «the securing of a stable majority in the parliament by the proletariat» were proclaimed by the 20th Congress of the CPSU as roads for the

8 V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 31, p. 83, Alb. ed.

9 Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», pp. 247-248, Alb. ed.

10 Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 221, Engl. ed.

«transfer of the main means of production to the hands of the people». This idea is being publicized with special zeal by all the other revisionists, especially the Eurocommunists. According to S. Carrillo, today there can be no more talk of violent revolution, in the terms of Marx, Engels, and especially, Lenin, who «linked the idea of the revolution with the idea of revolutionary violence». Berlinguer, Marchais and others claim that, in the present conditions, socialism can be attained only through reforms and the development of bourgeois democracy. But, «The thesis on the utilization of bourgeois democracy and freedoms as the road to socialism», says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «is a great deception for the masses, a veneer over capitalist society.»¹¹

Today more than ever before the ruling classes in the bourgeois and revisionist countries have set up a gigantic military bureaucratic apparatus designed for the suppression of the working masses and the peoples, the preservation of the rule of the capitalist bourgeoisie and the revisionist cliques. In the German Federal Republic, for example, the present budget allocation for the maintenance of this apparatus is 40 times greater than 25 years ago, while the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are

elimination.

Therefore, for the proletariat and the broad masses of the people there is no way out other than the violent revolution, the overthrow and destruction of the bourgeois state and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat by means of revolutionary violence, by means of armed insurrection. «The fascist coup in Chile», says Comrade Enver Hoxha, «was a very stark disproof of the revisionist theories on the peaceful and parliamentary way just as in the case of Indonesia several years earlier. It showed that the iron laws of the class struggle, of the revolution and the counter-revolution do not change to suit the morbid dreams and the subjective desires of the revisionists.»¹² Experience shows that, even in the period of the most profound crises, the ruling classes never depart from the arena of history voluntarily, without being overthrown by force. It is precisely this reality and this historical experience which make the violent revolution a universal law both of the proletarian revolution and of any genuine democratic and anti-imperialist liberation revolution.

with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties of many countries of Europe, Latin America, Asia, North America, etc.

These Parties are showing themselves to be Parties of revolutionary action, which have dedicated themselves with all their strength to the great cause of the working class, the cause of the revolution, socialism and the peoples' liberation. They have successfully withstood attacks from the bourgeoisie and the intrigues of various enemies, they have also coped with the undermining, splitting activity of the Chinese revisionists, who have tried to hinder the creation and consolidation of Marxist-Leninist Parties in many ways, to disorientate them ideologically and politically, and divert them from the road of the revolution.

The bourgeoisie and all the revisionists have tried and are still trying to deny the world historic mission of the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist Party. Some of them say that the proletariat has disappeared, has become bourgeois and integrated into the capitalist system. Others claim that now, especially in the developed capitalist countries, the intelligentsia has emerged as the leading force, while in other countries the role of hegemon has been transferred to the national bourgeoisie or the various petty-bourgeois strata. There are those who do not raise this problem at all, because, according to them, the development of the productive forces itself opens the way to socialist transformations, and even socialist consciousness is born and formed spontaneously. On this basis, they also deny the need for a communist party of the working class and its revolutionary theory.

Now the Chinese revisionist leaders are on this course of betrayal, too. With their thesis about «the countries of the third world as the main motive force» in the present period, they give the leading role to the bourgeoisie, even to the most reactionary strata of it which are ruling in some of these countries, and openly negate the hegemonic role of the proletariat. These enemies of the revolution go so far as to assert in their newspaper «Renminribao» that «the more actively the countries of the third world play their role as the main force in the struggle against imperialism and hegemonism, the more clearly the importance of the support they give the workers' movement in the developed countries is confirmed». So everything is turned upside-down. Not only the proletariat and the peoples of the countries of the «third world», but, according to them, even the proletariat of Europe and all the developed countries should recognize the hegemony of the bourgeoisie of the countries of the «third world» and only with their support can they see the light! Even the bourgeoisie itself could ask no more!

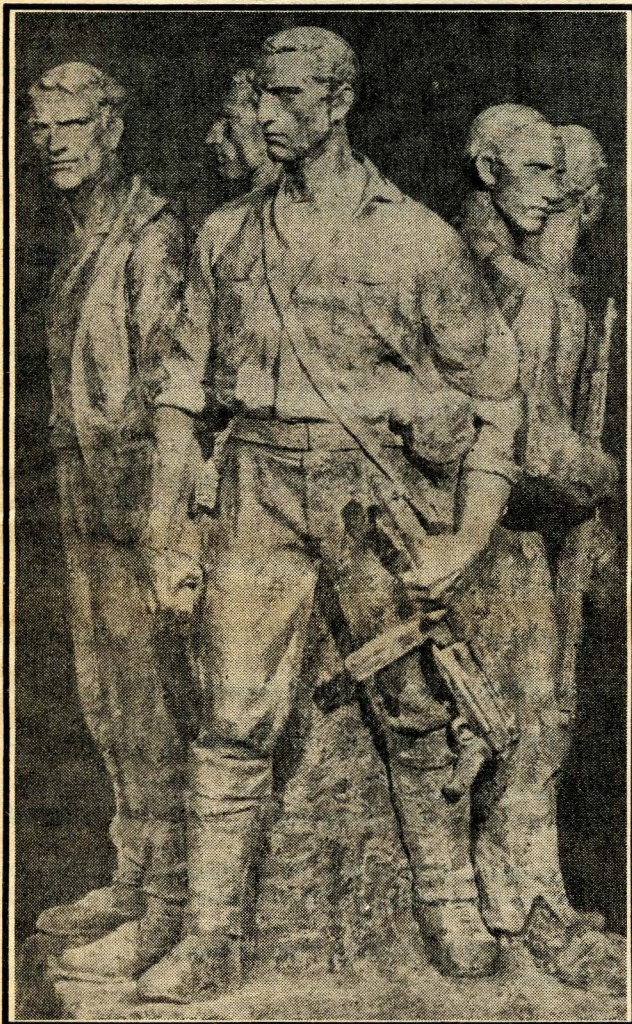
The purpose of these reactionary theses is to sabotage the revolutionary struggle of the peoples and the working class. The genuine Marxist Parties have rejected these anti-Marxist views and are working to enhance the leading role of the proletariat, which is irreplaceable, both in the socialist revolution and in the struggle for freedom and democracy.

The problem of allies and alliances is of major importance to the triumph of the revolution. Being at the centre of revolutionary struggles, the proletariat, depending on the character of the revolution, rallies round itself and activates various other classes and strata of the population which, to this or that extent, are interested in the triumph of the revolution. The broader the social basis of the revolution, the greater the circle of allies of the proletariat, the more important its hegemonic role in these alliances becomes.

The Marxist-Leninist Party carries out a correct policy in regard to alliances in struggle against both sectarian and opportunist stands, both of which are dangerous to the outcome of the revolution.

On this question, too, the Chinese line and views are counter-revolutionary. The Chinese leaders recommend to the Marxist-Leninists, revolutionaries and peoples alliance with the bourgeoisie, the reactionary cliques and the imperialists. Now they are calling for unity of the «third world», for the unity of Europe, for the unity of the «third world» with the «second world», and with US imperialism, etc. These calls for «unity», the alliances which the Chinese advocate, are against the revolution, against the struggle of the peoples. They serve the reactionary bourgeoisie and imperialism, therefore they are being combatted and rejected by the Marxist-Leninists, the revolutionaries, all progressive people and true democrats.

The proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist Parties in various countries are constituent parts of the social forces which are carrying the world revolutionary process forward. Hence the need for unity, collaboration, mutual assistance and sup-



Sculptor Shaban Haderi dedicated this sculpture group to five martyrs from the village of Vig who fell during the National Liberation War. Albanian photo



Muntaz Dhrami's sculpture group "The Enemy Shall Not Pass" depicts the vigilance and military preparedness of the Albanian masses. Albanian photo

The Marxist-Leninist Party — a Party of the Revolution

The triumph of the revolution is closely linked with the level of organization and education of the working class, with the role of the Marxist-Leninist Party in the revolutionary movement.

In present-day society the proletariat has increased as a class and constitutes a great social force. This is true in regard to the developed capitalist countries of Europe, the United States of America, Japan, Canada, etc. But now this is a reality, also, in the countries of Latin America as well as in many countries of Asia and Africa. Here, too, the proletariat represents a growing revolutionary force, a force which has formed its identity as a class, which is taking an active part in the forefront of the peoples' anti-imperialist and national liberation struggle.

Conscious of the need for organization, the proletariat in many countries has formed or is in the process of forming genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties. This is an event of special importance, because it constitutes the guarantee that, under the leadership of these parties, the struggle of the working class and the revolutionary movements will develop with success under the banner of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Our Party of Labour has close fraternal, internationalist links

spending over 250 billion dollars a year to maintain their military machines. The direct clashes of the bourgeois-revisionist police and army with masses of workers taking part in strikes or demonstrations to protest against their difficult living conditions and social injustices are becoming ever more frequent. The use of firearms by the police, the killing of demonstrators, violence and fascist terror, are not confined only to such countries as Iran, Chile, Argentina, Indonesia, the Philippines and other countries like these, already notorious for such barbarous acts. The club and the bullet, killings and violent intervention by the police and the army, are becoming increasingly common in Italy, Germany, the United States of America, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union and elsewhere. The fact is that when the proletariat and the other working masses, against the will of the revisionist trade union bosses, begin to move, stop work, be it only for one day, demonstrate in the streets, etc., the bourgeoisie throws off all democratic disguise and puts all its institutions on the alert in order to put down the revolts of the masses with the most barbarous forms of violence. These situations confirm the fact that in the present-day capitalist and revisionist world, the general trend is not the preservation and extension of democratic rights and freedoms, but their curtailment and

¹¹ Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 230, Engl. ed.

¹² Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 228, Engl. ed.

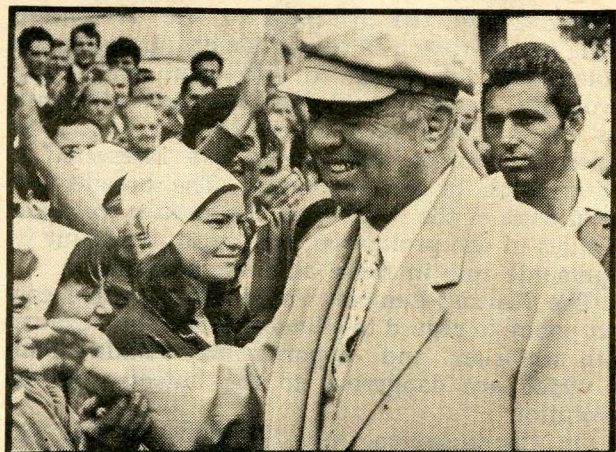


by Albanian painter Lumturi Dhrami

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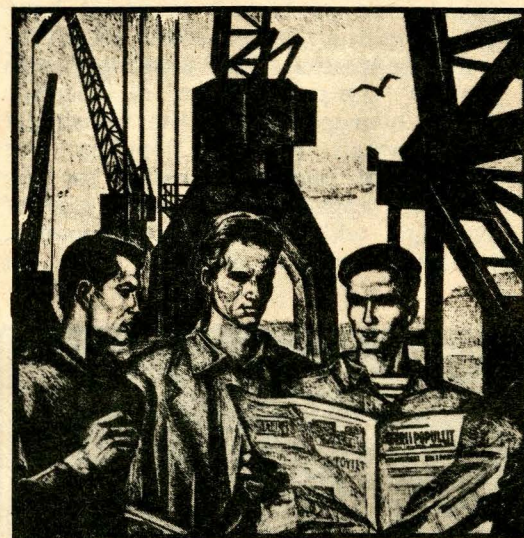
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To the Party and People of Socialist Albania on the 37th Anniversary of the Founding of the PLA

November 8th is the 37th anniversary of the founding of the Party of Labor of Albania, originally named the Communist Party of Albania. This anniversary is an occasion of great joy for the Albanian people, as well as the Marxist-Leninist Parties and the international proletariat and its allies, because of the invaluable contributions that the PLA has made to the battle against imperialism, opportunism and all reaction. The following are excerpts from a letter from the Central Committee of the MLOC to the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania on this occasion.



Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee

P.O. Box 4781
Chicago, Illinois 60680
U.S.A.

Comrade Enver Hoxha
First Secretary of the Central Committee
Party of Labor of Albania
Tirana, People's Socialist Republic of Albania

Dear Comrade Hoxha,

...With the deepest class solidarity the Central Committee of the Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee sends its congratulations to the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania and the entire revolutionary people of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on the 37th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of Albania on November 8, 1941....

Correctly and with great Marxist-Leninist skill and insight, waging the class struggle in all its forms on all fronts simultaneously, internally and externally, the Party of Labor of Albania resolutely develops further and defends the theory and practice of the proletarian revolution in general and the theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular. Educated, organized and mobilized by the Party of Labor, the working class of Albania and its allies have broken triumphantly with a history of backwardness and semi-feudal conditions, broken with the world imperialist and revisionist system,

and stand as the living and prosperous example of the historic mission of the proletariat outlined by Karl Marx—to break the chains of exploitation and oppression and usher in an entirely new world of socialism and communism.

Today, when the growth and development of the subjective factors of revolution are the decisive task, when the Marxist-Leninist party constitutes the most important and decisive element of the subjective factors, the Party of Labor of Albania provides an example to the Marxist-Leninists and workers of the world of the all round application of the scientific doctrine of Marxism-Leninism. In this regard, the Party of Labor of Albania has made and continues to make the most profound and historic contribution and development to the world revolution.

At every turn in its history, the Party of Labor, led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, has closely connected the construction and consolidation of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat to the worldwide struggle against imperialism and opportunism of all varieties. Pointing out correctly that the two superpowers — U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism — represent to the same degree and the same extent the main enemy of the people of the world, the Party of Labor at the same time carries forward the resolute struggle against each and every manifestation of world imperialism and reaction, whether NATO, COMECON, the Common Market, or the countless apologists for imperialism, social-imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The Party of Labor of Albania has boldly and consistently stepped forward and continues to carry through to the end the resolute struggle against the agents and tools of the imperialist system, no matter what mask they try to don to cover their counter-revolutionary essence. The PLA resolutely combats every variety of revisionism and opportunism — Titoite revisionism, Khrushchevite revisionism, and now the revisionists of the Communist Party of China — both internationally and domestically when these agents have tried unsuccessfully to undermine the cause of socialism in Albania. For this reason the reactionaries of all sorts aim their fire and their endless vile schemes at the Party of Labor and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. From Dulles to Carter, Khrushchev to Brezhnev, whether Tito or Hua Kuo-feng, they all know that in the Party of Labor of Albania and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania they find a mortal enemy.

The entire progressive people of the world reacted with rage to the counter-revolutionary and pro-imperialist actions of the Communist Party of China and the People's

Republic of China aimed against the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, against the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania, against Marxism-Leninism and against world revolution. From all corners of the world has come forward condemnation of these vile acts, which have served largely to unleash a mighty storm of support and solidarity with the PLA and socialist Albania.

Ever since the Seventh Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania, the world Marxist-Leninist movement has taken one united step after another to clarify and defend the scientific doctrines of Marxism-Leninism against the new revisionist leaders in Peking. In this march the confusion and disarray of the past has begun to be overcome. The unity of the world proletariat and their Marxist-Leninist parties has taken enormously important steps.

The greatest tribute paid to the PLA and the heroic Albanian people consists in the fact that today, encouraged and supported in every way by the PLA, the proletariat of numerous countries, led by their genuine Marxist-Leninist parties, stands on the verge of great triumphs in the class struggle, and is rising to take up the revolution as an immediate question for solution.

For the working class and progressive people of the U.S. fighting every day for the complete destruction of U.S. imperialism and the world imperialist system in general, the Party of Labor of Albania has provided an invaluable star to illuminate our path on the road to reconstruct a genuine Marxist-Leninist party and carry out our historic mission for the overthrow of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism and communism. The reconstruction of the Marxist-Leninist party of the U.S. working class, destroyed over three decades ago by modern revisionism, is today close at hand. The ideological and political leadership provided by the Party of Labor of Albania and Comrade Enver Hoxha have been of great practical and theoretical value in advancing our struggle. For the working class of the U.S., the reconstruction and growth of our Marxist-Leninist party goes hand in hand with the defense and solidarity with the Party of Labor and the entire people of Albania....

Long Live the Party of Labor of Albania!
Long Live the People's Socialist Republic of Albania!
Hold High the Banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin!
Workers of the World Unite!
Revolution Will Surely Triumph!

Political Bureau of the Central Committee
Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee

Communist Party of Ecuador/ML Condemns "3 Worlds" Theory

Communist parties the world over are strengthening their unity in the battle against the revisionist

theory of the "three worlds". The Marxist-Leninist parties in Latin America have been in the forefront of this struggle, for they know that to uphold a theoretical line which encourages them to unite with their own reactionary bourgeoisie and U.S. imperialism would be to surrender to imperialism and put off proletarian revolution until some nebulous future. In this spirit, the 12th plenum of the Communist Party of Ecuador/Marxist-Leninist (PCE/ML) recently approved a resolution entitled "Our Duty Is To Organize and Make Revolution" which thoroughly condemns the theory of the "three worlds."

Standing in defense of Marxism-Leninism, expressing the unwavering resolve of its members and expressing the desires of the Ecuadorian proletariat, the PCE/ML has "raised the banner of

Marxism-Leninism to counterpose, expose and combat the theory of the 'three worlds'."

The PCE/ML condemns the revisionist authors of this theory for attempting to impose it on the world communist movement as a general strategic line, and in denying the Marxist-Leninist principle of class struggle as the motive force of history. This theory "denies the hegemonic role of the proletariat in the revolution and the construction of communism and socialism, it overthrows the dictatorship of the proletariat in People's China and assists to split the international Marxist-Leninist movement."

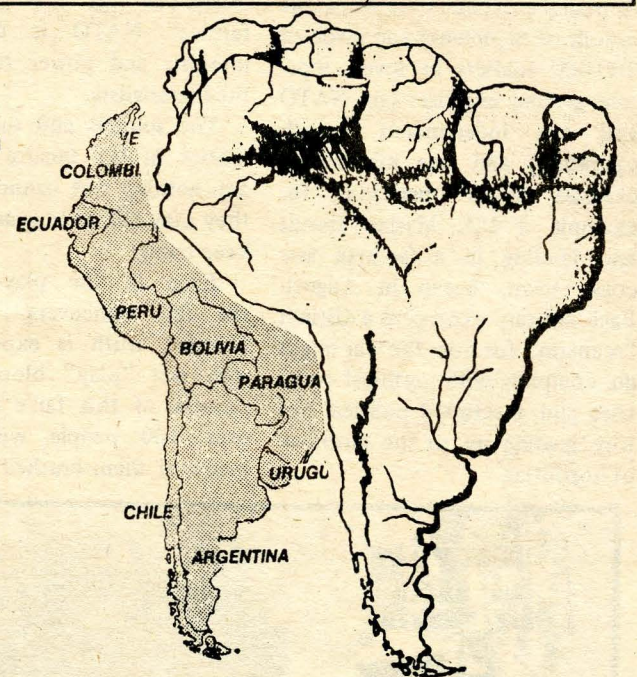
"This revisionist theory proposes a single opportunist and traitorous front, through which it pretends to put the proletariat and peoples at the tail of the bourgeoisie of their countries and calls for the most notorious

unity of the revolutionary proletariat, of the oppressed peoples and nations, with U.S. imperialism, with the monopoly bourgeoisie of Western Europe and with the ruling classes of the so-called 'third world'."

The resolution further reiterated the loyalty of the PCE/ML to Marxism-Leninism and the Ecuadorian revolution and emphasized the need to struggle against the dangers of both superpowers. The resolution also put forward that "revolution is our duty,

a duty of the present generations, which cannot be postponed for a later time." The PCE/ML dedicated itself to this duty as a main internationalist contribution to the world proletarian revolution.

The resolution closed by condemning the "base stand of the Chinese revisionist leadership" for withdrawing aid to Albania and expressed "our militant solidarity with the Party of Labor of Albania, with the Albanian government and people." ★



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NATO Fall Maneuvers

Death and Destruction for the German People

Every autumn West Germany takes on the appearance of a battle zone. Hundreds upon hundreds of military trucks and personnel carriers block roads for hours. Tanks and armored vehicles churn through newly-planted winter crops and tear up village streets. Bombers thunder overhead and jet fighters buzz through village streets and town squares. Hundreds of thousands of troops speaking foreign languages swarm over half the territory of the country.

These are the regular fall maneuvers of the NATO forces.

Every year a certain number of German civilians are killed and a certain number are wounded. A certain number of private automobiles are smashed up, a certain number of houses are damaged, and a certain number of farmers get their fields destroyed. All this is cold-bloodedly calculated into the planning by Germany's "allies".

The same thing is imposed on East Germany, under the Warsaw Pact maneuvers.

Germany as a whole has become a great staging arena for the two superpowers, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to test and refine their preparations for another imperialist world war. So the U.S. imperialists and their NATO allies subject the West German people to an annual splurge of military terror in order to practice their tactics, and the Soviet social-imperialists and their allies do the same thing to the people of East Germany.

This year's maneuvers in West Germany extended over the whole month of September and involved 200,000 soldiers in seven separate ground exercises (six NATO and one independent French operation) and one massive air exercise. Minor operations, for example a U.S. Marine assault and landing in a German sea-coast town, began in August. Each military exercise is a distinct "scenario" for how the war might go, complete with mythical countries and a scripted political history leading up to the outbreak of hostilities.

The NATO strategists are always talking about the "purely defensive task" of NATO. (They are echoed by the adherents of the "three worlds" theory who masquerade as anti-imperialists and social-revolutionaries, but who egg the imperialists on to squash revolution, suppress the working class and get on with the "inevitable" world war against the Soviet social-imperialists.) The NATO governments speak glowingly of the "defense of freedom, democracy and human rights". But let's look at just one of these maneuver scenarios to see what's really on the minds of the imperialist strategists.

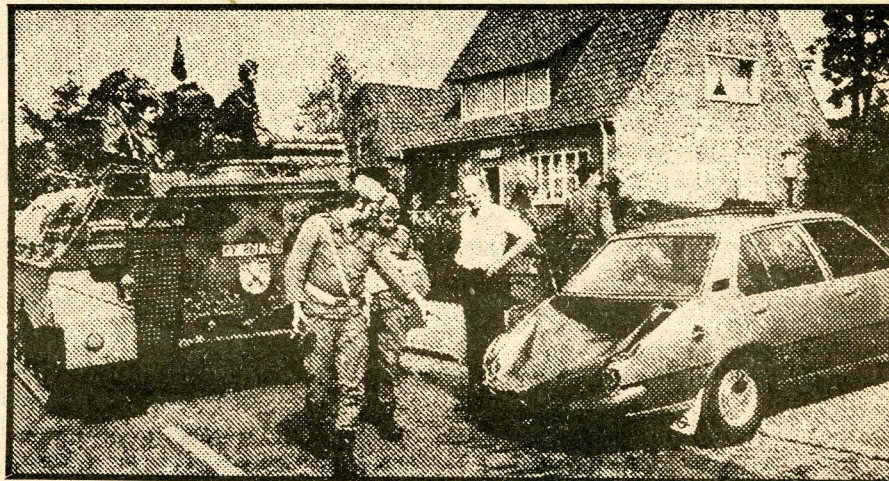
The maneuver called "Saxon Drive" goes like this: "Blueland", in the west, and "Greenland" in the east have been contending for years over the mineral wealth in the area between the Elbe-Seiten Canal and the Weser River. The UN pressures them to set up a neutral zone in this area, between Hannover and Hamburg. The UN grants Blueland the right to patrol the eastern border of the neutral zone. But since Greenland can't bear this, it is always accusing Blueland of exploiting the raw materials in the neutral zone. Finally, insults lead to rupture of diplomatic relations and general mobilization on both sides.

Here it is clear: NATO is fighting not for "freedom, democracy and human rights", but for oil, copper, uranium, etc. What is being practiced in these exercises is not "defense" against alleged assaults on human rights and so on, but an imperialist war of plunder. The only thing being "defended" by the "purely defensive" NATO is the profit interests and power strivings of the imperialists.

The soldiers and the laboring masses in the theatre of battle are nothing but cannon fodder: they may fall, so long as dividends keep rising!

Even in the play-acting of the fall maneuvers, this cold-blooded truth is exposed with real, not "play" blood: in the process of this fall's maneuvers over 100 people were killed, many of them crushed by tanks.

When 200,000 NATO troops and all their machinery of war swarmed over West Germany during fall maneuvers, nothing was safe. The East German population also suffers during similar maneuvers conducted by the social-imperialists. (KPD/ML Photos.)



When asked whether this might not be "a bit much", West German Defense Minister Gscheidle dismissed the deaths, saying that such fatalities were "unavoidable by-products" of the maneuvers. He went on to insist that the maneuvers, including harassment of the population, injuries, damages and deaths, were "something we consider required of the populace."

But this terrorization in the interests of the imperialists has not gone unopposed. The "Red Guard", the youth organization connected with the Communist Party of Germany/Marxist-Leninist (KPD/ML) issued leaflets to the soldiers, calling upon them to disobey any order that endangered the property of civilians, especially that of farmers, or that put the lives of either soldiers or citizens in danger. The "Revolutionary Farmers' Movement" called for mass opposition to the maneuvers and immediate compensation for all damages.

The KPD/ML, for its part,

has launched a campaign against the maneuvers. Its newspaper, **Roter Morgen**, condemned the maneuvers:

"The massive military exercises do not serve, as the NATO strategists loudly preach, the defense of the peace and freedom of the West German people. Much more are they a part of the war policy of the American imperialists and their West European allies, in particular their West German allies. In their design and conduct the maneuvers reveal the militaristic plans of the imperialists, who

are willing to reduce our country to a battleground as occasion requires in their struggle for raw materials and spheres of influence."

The U.S. proletariat fully supports the work of the KPD/ML and the Red Guard, and soundly condemns these imperialist war preparations led by the U.S. and U.S.S.R. Here in the U.S., we must heighten our struggle against the plans of the U.S. bourgeoisie to drag the world toward the devastation of another imperialist war. ★

Communist Party of Japan/Left Holds Successful Second Congress

113 delegates from all parts of Japan attended the successful Second Congress of the Communist Party of Japan/Left (CPJ/L), concluded on September 26.

This Congress came at a vital time in the development of the international communist movement and the Japanese revolution, and indicates the lively leading role which the CPJ/L plays in the struggle for socialism in Japan.

Though the Party is only eight years old, it has successfully led many struggles of the Japanese working class and its allies, including the spring wage struggles, land reform struggles, anti-nuclear power battles and others. Every day their vanguard position is reinforced.

The Congress summed up the practice of the CPJ/L in the struggle against Japanese imperialism, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism and against all forms of modern revisionism. This practice laid the sound foundation for this successful Congress, which marks a new stage in the struggle for social-

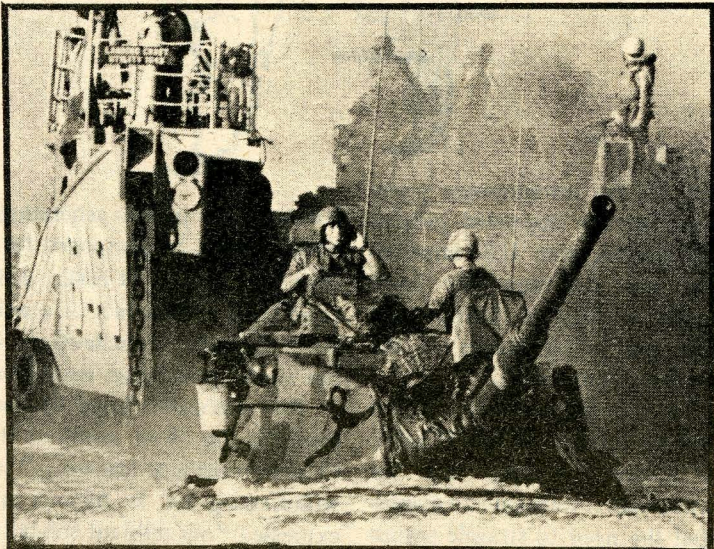
ism in Japan.

The adoption of a draft Program, a Political Report, amendments to the Constitution of the Party and the election of a new Central Committee were the highlights of the Congress. These are historic accomplishments not only in the waging of the class struggle in Japan, but also in the defense of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the strengthening of the international communist and workers' movement.

The success of the Second Congress results from the resolute struggle waged by the CPJ/L against imperialism and modern revisionism, particularly the anti-Leninist theory of the "three worlds". This struggle, led by the Party of Labor of Albania, has steeled and tempered all genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties of the world, and will continue to strengthen their vanguard position in the battle to defeat imperialism worldwide.

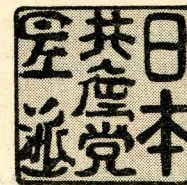
The strengthening and consolidation of the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties leading the work-

ing class in various countries is a very happy and significant event for the U.S. proletariat. It is in this light that we wholeheartedly support and congratulate the CPJ/L on the successful completion of their Second Congress. ★



U.S. Marines in a NATO exercise involving a landing and assault on a coastal German town. NATO serves not to defend the people of Europe but to ensure imperialist plunder and domination.

NEW PUBLICATION!



From the Communist Party of Japan (Left)

The Criminality of the Theory of 'Three Worlds' that Preaches the 'Defense of the Fatherland'

English summary of a statement from **People's Star**, central organ of the CPJ(L), June 26, 1978. Published by UNITE! — 50c.

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"Pure Democracy Is the Mendacious Phrase of a Liberal Who Wants to Fool the Workers" — V.I. Lenin

Spanish CP Pushes Illusion of Full Democracy, Betrays Working Class

Early this year, the leader of the revisionist counter-revolutionary Communist Party of Spain, Carillo, came to the U.S. in order to announce that they no longer consider it necessary to retain the Leninist designation of their revisionist party!

It is not hard to understand that such traitors to the class struggle would find the U.S. academic arena a suitable ground for such announcements.

For the revisionist Communist Party USA and the U.S. bourgeoisie, such "reinforcements" from Europe are a great service. Recently Manuel Azcarate, a leading figure of the revisionist CP of Spain, spoke in Chicago. For those who have read over the last few years about Eurocommunism, this was an excellent opportunity to see firsthand what they stand for.

To those of his audience not blinded with reformism and opportunism, the alliance of Azcarate's revisionist Party and the U.S. bourgeoisie could not escape notice. Particularly on the relationship of democracy to socialism, on the conditions of the present world, on the question of Stalin and others, the main Eurocommunist theses presented conform entirely with the views of other agents of U.S. imperialism — the trade union reformists, liberal bourgeois leaders and deceivers of the national liberation movement.

What does Eurocommunism, this "new trend in Marxist thinking" have to offer the working class?

Reformism or Socialist Revolution?

As Azcarate stated, the main idea of the Eurocommunists is the "new relationship" between socialism and democracy. In this thesis, the state power of the bourgeoisie need not be overthrown or substituted with the state power of the proletariat. Violent revolution is a thing of the past, and discussion of violent revolution a dogmatic exercise. Socialism can peacefully develop out of the struggle for democracy under capitalism.

Furthermore, according to the Spanish Eurocommunists, this process is occurring in Spain. "Fascism has disappeared in Spain", stated Azcarate. The "erosion" of fascism was a peaceful process, and within four or five more years, "full" democracy will be complete in Spain.

But until "full" democracy is established, "the question of capitalism or socialism is not on the table, is not a problem of today. The consolidation of democracy is the question of the day."

But history and reality prove this theory to be utterly bankrupt and illusory. The preposterous lie that fascism does not exist in Spain is exposed by the Spanish state itself, as pointed out clearly by the genuine vanguard of the working class, the



Despite betrayal by the "Eurorevisionist" CP of Spain, the masses of Spanish people support the revolutionary slogan "Tomorrow Spain Will Be A Republic", advanced by their vanguard, the CP of Spain/ML.

Communist Party of Spain/Marxist-Leninist. The hand-picked successor to Franco sits on the throne. The fascist state apparatus, peopled by the same officials as under Franco, rules the country. The austerity programs and the exploitation and oppression of the working class and oppressed peoples has not ceased for an instant. Attacks on the working class and on Marxist-Leninists continue.

The masses of Spanish people oppose the fascist monarchy and the Constitution proposed by Juan Carlos, which would make it permanent. Yet the revisionist party supports this new Constitution. While the CP of Spain supported the struggle of the people for a Republic in the 1930's, and played a leading role in the Revolutionary Spanish Civil War, today, they have long departed from Marxism-Leninism and brazenly support the fascist monarchy, and its so-called "democratic reforms."

A facade of democracy has been erected to cover the fascist character of the monarchy. People may vote, it is true. Certain liberties are more practiced. These things in and of themselves do not prove that fascism has "disappeared". They only indicate the rising power of the Spanish working class and its ability to win class battles for necessary reforms.

And what is this "full" democracy of which the Communist Party of Spain is so proud?

"Pure" democracy is the mendacious phrase of a liberal who wants to fool the workers," said Lenin in 1918. "Bourgeois democracy, although a great historical advance in comparison with medievalism, always remains and under capitalism cannot but remain, restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare for the exploited, for the poor."

So long as the "democratic" state is controlled by the bourgeoisie, regardless of the concessions which may be wrested from it by the working class, that state remains an instrument of coercion, of class rule, of exploitation and oppression of the working class and oppressed peoples for the benefit and profit of the

capitalists. It cannot and will not turn into "pure" or "full" democracy for all. The example and tragedy of Chile, and the fascist overthrow of Allende is proof enough of the danger of this illusion, with which the CP of Spain seeks to lull the working class to sleep.

Necessity of Armed Insurrection

In the present world situation, of which Azcarate is so fond of speaking, in the imperialist crisis, each and every advance for which the working class fights is counter-attacked by the bourgeoisie. The capitalists constantly seek to roll back democratic concessions won and to prevent the conquest of others.

"These situations (all over the world) confirm the fact that in the present-day capitalist and revisionist world, the general trend is not the preservation and extension of democratic rights and freedoms, but their curtailment and elimination." (Ramiz Alia, "The Revolution — A Question Taken Up For Solution", p.35)

1000 Massacred at Demonstration in Mexico City

10th Anniversary of Tlatelolco Marked in the U.S., Mexico

On October 2, 1968, a mass demonstration was called at Tlatelolco Square in the Plaza de las Tres Culturas, Mexico City. The Mexican student movement had won widespread influence and was at the height of its organization. This demonstration included not only students, but professors, workers and peasants demanding freedom for all political prisoners, the right to organize independent unions, better working conditions, better housing and better education.

Because of the upcoming Olympic Games, then President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz feared the lack of democracy and justice coupled with the impoverishment of the masses in Mexico would be exposed to the whole world. In fact, the demonstrators severely attacked the tremendous wealth wasted on funding the Games when the masses of Mexi-

can people lived in dire poverty. Under these conditions, the struggle for every democratic right becomes an armed battle for socialism, for it is only the armed state of the proletariat which can guarantee to the working class the democratic freedom it seeks.

"(The Eurocommunists) reduce the struggle of the working class merely to tasks of a general democratic character, to the struggle for peace, for parliamentary freedoms, for reforms, presenting them in the spirit of reformism as a process which is allegedly taking present-day society out of the framework of capitalism....The tasks of a general democratic character are only part of the tasks of the struggle of the proletariat. But above all, the predominant aim must be to carry out the proletarian revolution, which is the only way to put an end to the order of capitalist slavery, as well as to carry out the tasks of a general democratic and anti-monopoly character." (Alia, p.18)

It is truly amazing to even the most callous observer how the revisionists of the CP of Spain can present the Spanish "democratic" state, the state which has slaughtered tens of thousands, jailed thousands, suppressed the struggle of the workers with the most brutal terror and torture, as such a benevolent and peaceful entity. Cemeteries and jails the world over are peopled by those who have trusted in a "democratic" bourgeoisie and a "peaceful" road to socialism.

Combat Opportunism!

The MLOC opposes all efforts by the revisionists of Europe or the U.S. to spread their revisionist class collaboration and reaction. The MLOC went to the revisionist speech to support the just struggle

of the people of Spain for a Republic and oppose the fascist monarchy — which the Carillo revisionists support. A number of newspapers (Vanguardia Obrera) and programs of the genuine vanguard of the Spanish proletariat, the Communist Party of Spain/Marxist-Leninist were distributed and issues discussed with some of those who attended.

This is a small contribution to make toward the international unity of the proletariat. We look forward with anticipation to the day when the U.S. working class and its allies will prevent by all means necessary the Eurocommunists and all other varieties of revisionists from speaking in this country at all.

For the people of Spain, long exploited and oppressed by U.S. imperialism, it is easy to understand how U.S. imperialism would give comfort to Azcarate, Carillo and their kind. For the people of the U.S. it is important to recognize that Carillo and his followers long ago betrayed the revolutionary history of the people of Spain, the Revolutionary Spanish Civil War and the Republic.

Whether Carillo in Spain, Gus Hall in the U.S., Brezhnev in the Soviet Union or Hua Kuo-feng in China, revisionists sing the same song. This is a tune that the working class will never take up. ★

Read Vanguardia Obrera

Weekly Newspaper of the Communist Party of Spain/ML

Subscriptions: \$15.00 per year. Single copies: 50 c each. Spanish only.

UNITE!
PO Box 8041, Chicago, IL 60680

who have disappeared after government arrests, and unconditional amnesty for those arrested. In Mexico City, 22,000 people gathered at Tlatelolco Square, the site of the massacre.

The demonstrations were organized by the National Committee to Defend Political Prisoners, Exiled, Disappeared and Persecuted People of the Mexican Republic. The committee was formed in Mexico last year by the mothers and relatives of political prisoners. Approximately 400 people have disappeared into the many secret and open Mexican prisons.

One speaker explained the importance of amnesty. "The amnesty is not a concession. It is a product of many years of struggle led by the mothers and relatives of sons and daughters who went to a legal rally ten years ago and never came home."

The demonstrators not killed were herded into jails where they were beaten and tortured. In succeeding days, hundreds of student activists were expelled from the universities.

Demonstrations to commemorate this massacre were held this October 2 in Mexico City, Guadalajara, Monterrey, Los Angeles and seven other cities. With cries of "We have not forgotten Tlatelolco!" the demonstrators issued their demands: freedom for political prisoners, information regarding the whereabouts of those

Opportunists Liquidate Chicano National Question

How is the position of the MLOC different?

Chicano people suffer immense oppression in the U.S. and especially in the Southwest. The source of this oppression is the domination of the Chicano Nation in the Southwest by U.S. imperialism.

In the five earlier parts of this series, UNITE! explained the rise and development of this Nation, a Nation distinct from both the U.S. and Mexico. Now, in this, the concluding part of this series, we will expose revisionist and opportunist errors on the Chicano National Question.

No other organization which claims to be Marxist-Leninist currently recognizes the existence of a Chicano Nation. Why is the position of the MLOC so different? We have relied on the science of Marxism-Leninism, on historical materialism. And it is from this viewpoint, the stand of the proletariat, that we studied, analyzed and applied the teachings of comrade Stalin to the specific conditions of the Chicano and Mexicano people of the Southwest.

We found many errors in studying the positions of other organizations. These errors stem from two deviations. The primary deviation is great nation chauvinism, and the secondary deviation is narrow or cultural nationalism.

Great Nation Chauvinism

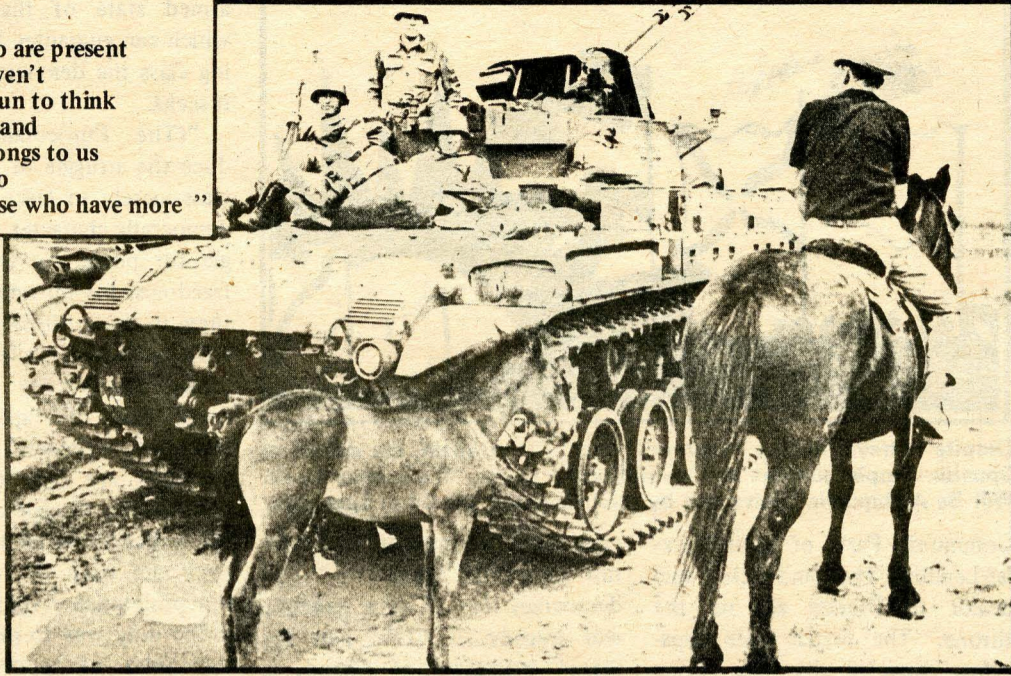
Great nation chauvinism manifests itself in the view that the state boundaries of the U.S. are inviolate or sacred. Other organizations divorce the national question from the question of the general international situation. They seek to uphold the territorial borders of U.S. imperialism at all costs.

Stalin, quoting the Russian communist Manuilsky, harshly condemns this error: "The fundamental premise of Semich's (a Yugoslav communist -ed.) whole presentation is the idea that the proletariat must accept the bourgeois state **within those frontiers which have been set up by a series of wars and acts of violence.**" (Collected Works, Vol 7, p. 230 Emphasis is Stalin's).

White supremacy has always been the handmaiden of great nation chauvinism in the U.S. Most organizations are unable to see the Southwest as anything but a bloc of "Spanish-speaking people". They are unable to differentiate between the Chicano Nation and areas of concentration of Chicano and Mexicano national minorities. They take a chauvinist stand towards all the peoples of the Southwest.

The Revolutionary Communist Party USA (RCP) recognizes the special and unusual struggle for land in New Mexico and Colorado. They say that "Mexican-Americans of northern New Mexico and southern Colorado have different historical roots than those who came from Mexico." (Programme of the RCP, p. 128) They say there are particular

"I ask you who are present if you haven't begun to think that this land belongs to us and not to those who have more"



U.S. occupation forces in New Mexico defend U.S. imperialist interests in the Chicano Nation after the "courthouse raid" of the Alianza. (All photos in this series of articles from 450 Years of Chicano History in Pictures.)

demands in this area because of the land question. They put forward the right of Chicanos to the land stolen from them under the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. Yet, even though recognizing differences, they refuse to remove their chauvinist spectacles to analyze what these differences represent: an oppressed nation.

The Communist Labor Party even talks of "Mexican National Minority peasantry." For both these organizations, however, there is no Chicano Nation, only a Mexican national minority.

If there is no nation in New Mexico, how do these organizations explain the continuous struggle over land, or the masses' support of the Alianza's call for self-determination and the struggle to regain the lands?

One result of chauvinism is to approach the national question from an ahistorical or non-materialist viewpoint.

The Communist Party/Marxist-Leninist (CP/ML) is an adept pupil of this viewpoint. In formulating its views on the Chicano Nation, the CP/ML doesn't even examine the history of the Southwest. They present a distorted, inaccurate history of Mexico, hardly mentioning the Southwest, and then claim there is no Chicano Nation. This is a farce and an insult to the Chicano people.

The Source of Opportunism

What is the material basis for these opportunist errors, for great nation chauvinism and white supremacy, on the Chicano Nation?

Imperialism means the subjugation of nations and peoples. The bourgeoisie has always used part of the superprofits reaped from the colonies to bribe a small sector of the working class.

Lenin also points out that not only does this bribe create a labor aristocracy but that the influence of the aristocracy infects the

workers' movement. It is manifested in a chauvinist stand toward oppressed nations. The influence of this bribe combined with the fact that the U.S. has a large petty bourgeoisie is the material basis for the opportunism of these organizations.

Regional Autonomy: Whose Choice?

In spite of or because of their unbridled opportunism on the Chicano National Question, the CLP, the RCP and the CP/ML all call for regional autonomy for the Southwest, or wherever there are sizeable, historic concentrations of Mexican-Americans.

In an attempt to blind the Chicano people to their opportunism, and maintain their influence as a "party of the proletariat" these organizations put forward the sop of regional autonomy as the way to alleviate centuries of national oppression. But in doing this, they distort Stalin once again.

Regional autonomy is the free choice of an oppressed nation in exercising its right of self-determination.

"Thus", argues Stalin, "our views on the national question can be reduced to the following propositions:

- recognition of the rights of nations to secession;
- regional autonomy for nations remaining within the given state;
- special legislation guaranteeing freedom for development for national minorities."

(Stalin, Marxism and the National and Colonial Question, p. 106-7).

Stalin is very clear on this and never confuses nations with national minorities. Regarding national minorities, Stalin proposes that "their rights must be specifically protected. The Party therefore demands complete equality of rights in educational, religious and other matters and

the removal of all restrictions on national minorities."

National Autonomy In Disguise

The CP/ML, RCP and CLP all insist that they oppose narrow nationalism. But even though these organizations insist they demand regional, and not national autonomy, they objectively bow to Chicano nationalism by upholding regional autonomy for what they call a national minority, but what is in fact a nation.

Stalin states that "national autonomy proceeds from the conception as a union of individuals without regard to definite territory." (Marxism and the National Question, p. 33)

The CP/ML, RCP and CLP include not only areas where Chicanos are a "large and stable stratum connected with land, which would naturally rivet the nation together", but willy-nilly include areas where Chicanos and Mexicanos are a numerical majority with no particular relationship to the land. What is this except national autonomy?

This is especially true of the CP/ML which argues that even in cities like Chicago, Milwaukee, and Los Angeles where there are large numbers of Mexican-Americans (their term), regional autonomy is a just demand.

Just like the bourgeoisie they want to maintain and encourage segregated cities. Thus, they pander to and embrace the views of the most reactionary cultural nationalists and white supremacists.

Narrow Nationalism

Narrow nationalism is everywhere the reaction to great nation chauvinism or white supremacy. It is the response of the petty bourgeoisie in an oppressed nation to opportunism in the communist and workers' movement.

The August Twenty-Ninth Movement/ML had put forward a

position on the Chicano Nation but has since repudiated it. While it has some correct aspects the main conclusions are perverted by narrow nationalism.

In an effort to create a Chicano Nation out of the whole Southwest, ATM/ML fell into idealism. It recognized that the three territories of the Southwest developed separately, but was unable to concretely state how they merged to form a single nation. ATM/ML's whole position around common economic life evolves around the railroads. Thus, it presents a nation which developed in the hearts and minds of certain nationalist forces. ATM/ML did this to appeal to the nationalist forces in California where it had most of its work and, also, to validate this work.

ATM/ML also put forward that the peasantry was the leading force in the struggle for self-determination. It is true that the essence of the national question is the peasant question. But Lenin and Stalin have always maintained that in the era of imperialism, when the national and colonial question is part of the general world proletarian revolution, the proletariat and its ideology, Marxism-Leninism, must always be the leading force in the struggle for self-determination.

CASA is the mirror image of the Communist Party USA, with whom they have a working relationship. CASA upholds that all Chicanos and Mexicanos, whether here in the U.S. or in Mexico, are Mexicanos.

This line objectively separates "Mexican" workers from the multi-national proletariat in the U.S. CASA calls for unity of the "Mexican" people, across class lines, and belittles the unity of the multi-national proletariat.

Narrow nationalism is, of course, a secondary deviation. As opportunism toward the Chicano Nation is exposed and broken by a correct Marxist-Leninist stand and practice toward the Chicano Nation, the influence of cultural nationalism is likewise broken.

The position of the MLOC is a Marxist-Leninist position. We uphold the existence of a Chicano Nation and put forward the demand for self-determination for this Nation. This includes:

- confiscation of land and resources by the Chicano people;
- state unity for the Chicano Nation;
- the right of self-determination up to and including secession;
- guarantee of equality and complete democratic rights for the Chicano and Mexicano national minorities living outside the boundaries of the Chicano Nation.

Self-Determination for the Chicano Nation!

A Litany of Terror

Fighting Police Violence in Alabama

Birmingham, Alabama — A report on police practices released by Operation Human Rights, leaves no doubt about the role the police play in maintaining bourgeois dictatorship. Based on official police records, the report starkly exposes the use of police terror as a means of national oppression of Black people.

For instance, 28 of the 36 citizens seriously injured by police gunfire in 1976 were Black. Of the 28 Black victims, 27 were shot by white cops. Blacks who have lodged complaints against police have generally done so on the basis of "excessive force" and "harassment", which are official euphemisms for police terror. On the other hand, whites tend to complain of "improper procedures". In almost all cases of citizen complaints, the officers' actions were supported.

However, to show the system of internal police discipline "works", a few complaints have been sustained. For instance, police came to the apartment window of Arthur Rutledge and ordered him outside. He refused, saying he had been drinking and didn't want to go outside. He was then beaten, dragged outside and charged with public drunkenness. When his friend, Charles Burnside, asked why he

was beaten, Burnside was arrested and hit by an officer. Because of the viciousness of the attacks, the officers were given three-day suspensions for not following "proper procedures"!

Or take the case of 15 year-old Charles Wiggins, who was arrested for a robbery, handcuffed and pistol whipped. His jaw was broken and the officers were reprimanded for not taking him to the hospital!

Then there's Ronnie Hill, who called to have police arrest a relative who was wanted and was prepared to surrender himself. The entire family was lined up against the wall, and Hill and a relative were handcuffed and beaten with rifle butts. The cops involved were suspended for four or five days for not following proper procedures.

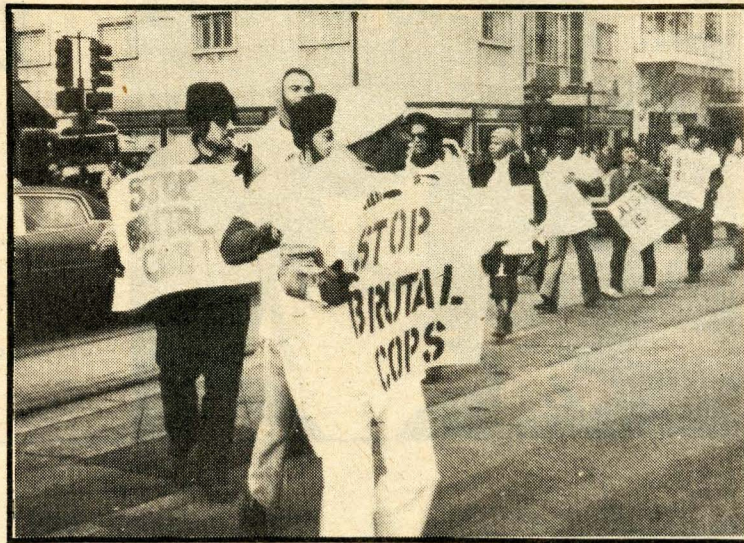
The point the department tried to drive home to these officers by the "punishments" meted out was that you have to follow proper procedures when you brutalize Black people. Thus, officers were exonerated for such actions as: beating Carl T. Rodgers in front of several witnesses after arresting him for a minor traffic violation; beating Aaron Maddox, a disabled Vietnam vet going back to army camp, because he was mistaken for someone else;

striking 15 year-old Ralph Watkins with a flashlight, then taking him away from witnesses to beat him; beating Darrold Ham with rifle butts after dragging him from his home handcuffed.

These were incidents where complaints were lodged. There is no telling how many other incidents of terror took place where people were either too afraid to complain, or felt it wasn't worth the effort.

These incidents occurred in 1972, the last year for which Operation Human Rights has compiled statistics. Since that time, Police Chief James Parsons has supposedly "humanized" and "cleaned up" the Birmingham police. So much so, in fact, that he got bored with his job and moved to New Orleans to change the image of the fascist New Orleans cops. But the facts reveal that the essential difference between Parsons and "Bull" Connor, his infamous predecessor, is that Parsons is better at public relations.

For instance, between July 19, 1962 and December 21, 1976, officer John L. Cousins has been involved in the killing of at least six Blacks. Each of these shootings has been ruled justifiable homicide, regardless of which police chief was in office.



People throughout the Black Nation are rising up against the brutal terror of the state, as in this New Orleans demonstration (UNITE! Photo).

The last murder, of Vernon Lee Burroughs, involved a "sudden movement" by Burroughs, after he was stopped and had his hands against the wall. Cousins chose to interpret the motion as an attempt to reach for a weapon, and shot Burroughs. An investigation by Parsons' department, and by "liberal" Mayor David Vann, resulted in a change of assignment for Cousins. Vann said that he was entitled to the "benefit of the doubt" despite his murderous past record.

This record of terror is not unique to Birmingham, nor is it accidental or the result of bad people in charge. It is a necessary aspect of the rule of monopoly capital, and a component part of the bourgeois state apparatus. The purpose of the state is to preserve the rule of the bourgeoisie by brutal suppression of the working class and oppressed

nationalities. The police, as well as such terroristic organizations as the Nazis and the Ku Klux Klan, are instruments of that suppression.

Because of this, "citizen control" of the police, civilian review boards and other such liberal nonsense, cannot hope to end police terror. To expect that is to expect that the police will stop doing their job — protecting and defending the bourgeoisie. One might just as well expect the Rockefellers to distribute their stocks and bonds equally to everyone in the country.

Only through the organized, armed resistance of the oppressed masses, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, can police terror be curtailed. Only by the overthrow of the bourgeoisie can it be ended for the masses of people.

119th Anniversary of John Brown's Raid

Uphold the Revolutionary Example of John Brown!

We are taught in bourgeois history books that the Civil War began with the shelling of Fort Sumter. Actually armed struggle against slavery started many years before. On October 16, 1859 Captain John Brown and his army of two dozen Black and white freedom fighters raided the armory and rifle factory at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia.

The purpose of the raid was to secure weapons to distribute to the Black masses and revolutionary abolitionists to wage a war to end slavery. Brown, a white man, knew that the slaves would not be freed without the armed struggle of the slaves and Black masses and their allies. Brown's plan for emancipation included the Underground Railroad for fugitive slaves and the arming of

those who opposed slavery. He advocated Black self-government and confiscation of the planters' land.

John Brown planned his raid for several years and had the support of the abolitionists and such revolutionary Black leaders as Harriet Tubman and Henry Highland Garnet. The plan to arm the slaves was opposed by reformist leaders of the time such as Frederick Douglas who preached a line of reliance on the good graces of the U.S. government to free the slaves.

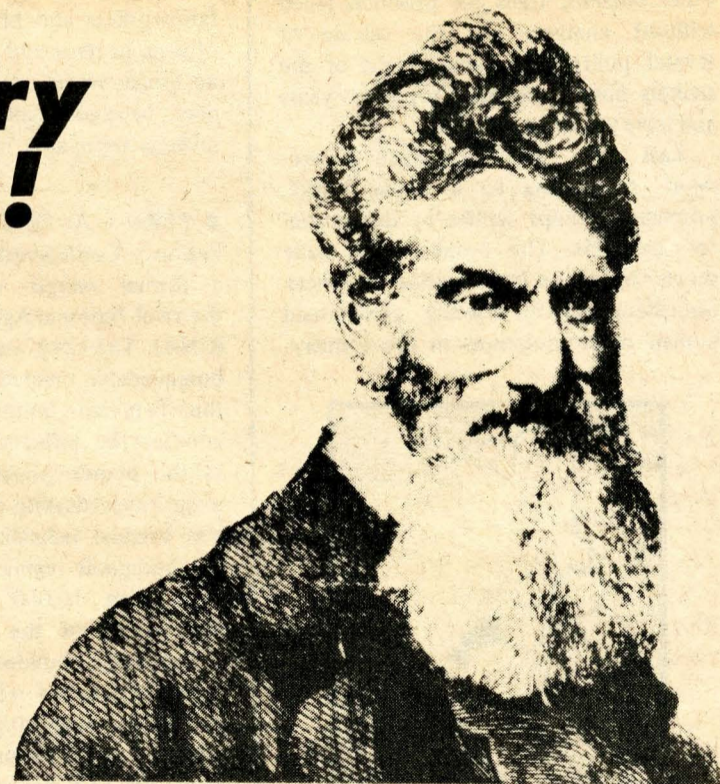
The raid was crushed by the marines and planters' militia. Many men were killed, only a few escaped and those captured, including Brown, were tried before a kangaroo court and hung.

At the trial Brown told the

judge, "You are guilty of a great wrong against God and humanity and it would be perfectly right for anyone to interfere with you so far as to free those you willfully and wickedly hold in bondage. I think I did right, and others will do right who interfere with you at any and all times. I hold that the 'golden rule' 'do unto others as you would that others should do unto you' applies to all who would help others to gain their liberty."

On the day of his execution, Brown scrawled on a piece of paper which he left with his jailer, "I, John Brown, am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood. I had, as I now think vainly, flattered myself that without very much bloodshed it might be done."

John Brown's raid shows the revolutionary tradition that progressive and class-conscious whites have played in the fight for freedom, equality and self-determination for the Black Nation. This glorious example was followed by the many class-conscious white workers who fought to free the slaves, participated in the civil rights movement, and fought and continue to fight for multi-national unity in the labor union organizing drives.



October 16: Raid by Langston Hughes

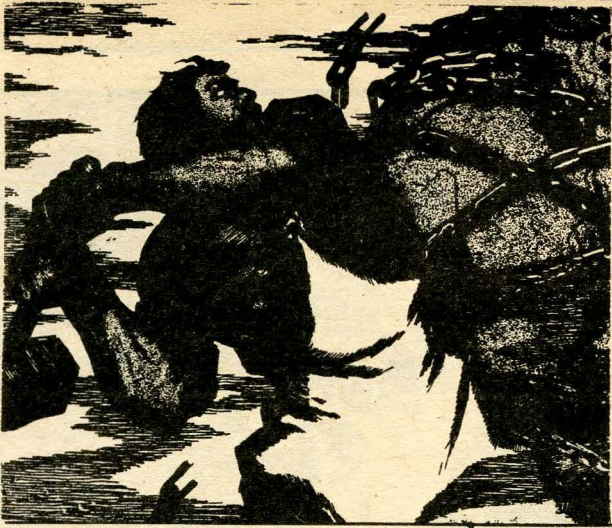
Perhaps
You will remember
A John Brown.

John Brown
Who took his gun,
Took twenty-one
companions
White and Black,
Went to shoot your way
to freedom
Where two rivers meet
And the hills of the
South
Look slow at one another—
And died
For your sake.

Now that you are
Many years free,
And the echo of the
Civil War
Has passed away,
And Brown himself
Has long been tried at law,
Hanged by the neck,
And buried in the ground—
Since Harper's Ferry
Is alive with ghosts today,
Immortal raiders
Come again to town—

Perhaps
You will recall
John Brown.

"Death to the Klan" buttons on sale through UNITE! 50c each plus 25c postage and handling for each order. To order write UNITE!, PO Box 8041 Chicago, Illinois 60680 Illinois residents add 5% sales tax.



Imperialism is the eve of proletarian revolution!

"The social revolution cannot come about except as an epoch of civil war of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the advanced countries, combined with a whole series of democratic and revolutionary movements, including movements for national liberation, in the undeveloped, backward and oppressed nations." LENIN

Workers' Movement

■ **GREAT BRITAIN** — 57,000 Ford workers at 23 plants went on strike in September against the 5% salary hike offered by Ford. The 5% offer was in line with the "wage guidelines" of the social-democratic Labor government.

Ford rejected union demands of a \$38 per week or 27% raise, a reduction in working hours and guarantees against layoffs. When they offered the workers 5% and further increases based on increased productivity, workers at six plants immediately organized a strike. The walkout was so effective that the company recognized the strike, even though a no-strike agreement still had a month to run.

■ **PARAGUAY** — Paraguayan political prisoners will continue their six-week hunger strike if the regime refuses to meet their demands.

The 13 inmates at the infamous Emboscada prison have demanded information on "disappeared" prisoners and other citizens, trials for prisoners jailed without charges, and the release of several political prisoners. Eight of the strikers have been jailed for three years and have yet to be charged.

Last June, the Paraguayan government, responding to a similar strike, promised prompt replies to the prisoners' demands. The promise was made shortly before an Organization of American States (OAS) meeting condemned human rights violations in the country.



■ **AUSTRALIA** — Thousands of dockworkers are out on strike protesting the layoff of 800 of their colleagues in Melbourne. Over 100 ships and thousands of containers are tied up in the port. The longshoremen have pledged to continue the walkout until all 800 workers are rehired. The 800 workers were laid off by the port authority in order to intimidate hundreds of striking fitters and electricians who work at container depots in Melbourne. The fitters and electricians have been on strike for over a month to back up their demands for increased wages and better working conditions.

National Liberation

■ **PHILIPPINES** — Government troops have arrested the president of the National Federation of Sugar Workers (NFSW) along with more than 125 farm workers who illegally planted crops on the idle land of a large land-owning family.

The arrests underscore the Marcos regime's efforts to contain labor unrest on the country's sugar-producing Negros Island. Marginal farm laborers in Negros have been hard hit by low world sugar prices in the last few years. Hundreds of thousands have been laid off from seasonal labor that used to supplement their meager income from their own farms.

When the government ordered the eviction of the workers and destruction of the crop, the NFSW tried to negotiate with the landowner for use or lease of the land or a share of the crop. It was during these negotiations that the military arrested the NFSW leaders and other workers.

The NFSW, the most militant union in the sugar industry, has called for the seizure of 30% of plantation land by farmworkers and planting cereal instead of cane in its recent program. The NFSW no longer issues union cards to its members because membership invites the severest repression by the fascist regime.

■ **PERU** — At the Fifth Congress of the Peasants Confederation of Peru (CCP), a formal merger was achieved with the rival National Agrarian Confederation (CNA). The CNA was once a subservient bureaucracy, created and controlled by the Peruvian military dictatorship to counter the influence of the CCP. But as the poorer peasants were organized under the leadership of the CCP, the CNA also became radicalized and broke with the bourgeois regime. On September 2, more than 10,000 peasants witnessed the signing of the merger agreement.

Originally founded in 1948, the CCP floundered under reformists until Marxist-Leninist leadership brought new life into the organization in 1974. In four years, the CCP has centralized the struggles of millions of landless peasants and small farmers.

Commission work during the Congress focused on how to build the worker-peasant alliance in the context of Peru's present political and economic crisis. The vast majority of Peruvian peasants remain without land even in the wake of the land reform the military began in 1969. During the past decade, the last remains of feudalism were largely destroyed, with the resultant differentiation and proletarianization of the peasantry.

As a result, the more advanced peasants and farm workers no longer see taking back the land as an end in itself. "Land or death!" — the slogan of the 1960's — was replaced at the Fifth Congress by "Land and State Power!"

■ **SPAIN** — On September 27, powerful demonstrations were held throughout the country to commemorate the third anniversary of the assassination by the regime of Juan Carlos of three militants of the Communist Party of Spain/Marxist-Leninist (PCE/ML) and two Basque nationalist fighters of the ETA (Basque Independence Organization). The Spanish police brutally intervened during the demonstrations.

In the Basque region, especially in Bilbao and Pamplona, fierce fighting took place between police and demonstrators. In response, the fascist regime proclaimed a state of emergency until October 3 and put all army, police and civil guard forces on a state of alert.



■ **CHILE** — El Pueblo, newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, recently published an article about the road to seizing state power for the working class and peasants in Chile. In answer to the questions "Who will overthrow fascism?" and "Who will seize state power after the overthrow of the junta?" the RCP says "The answer to this is provided only by the working class, by the class alliance of the working masses. State power can be exercised only by those who have arms in their hands."

"The Chilean people will seize state power when they have the arms to win it, when they have a people's army of workers and peasants created in the heat of the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist, anti-revisionist struggle. To follow the alternatives of the bourgeois opposition, pro-U.S. or pro-Russian, in essence means to perpetuate capitalist exploitation with all its consequences — unemployment, hunger, misery, oppression, fascist dictatorship, massacres — means to be entangled in a vicious circle with no prospects."

"The fundamental task of the genuine anti-fascists today is to encourage and strengthen unity, the organization of the struggle of the working class and people for the violent overthrow of fascism and its supporters, through the force of arms."

■ **EAST TIMOR** — Despite official Indonesian claims to have fully transformed the former Portuguese colony into a peaceful province, the Democratic Republic of East Timor (DRET) still exists two-and-one-half years after a full-scale Indonesian invasion of its territory. In this time between 60,000 and 100,000 East Timorese — 10% of the population — have been killed in a war in which the invader uses tanks, airplanes and naval bombardment in addition to a well-armed infantry against a nation of peasants. Yet Fretilin (The Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor) controls two thirds of the land area and over 80% of the population.

Now there is evidence that the Suharto regime has embarked on a massive escalation of its war of aggression. The official radio of the DRET has announced that 15,000 new troops have recently landed in the capital of Dili, thus bringing the total number of fascist troops to more than 50,000. Even more ominous, however, is the report of the presence and participation of U.S. military advisors, pilots and technicians in this war. The U.S. was already supplying over 90% of the war materiel used in the invasion.

Fretilin demands that there must be unconditional withdrawal of all enemy troops from East Timor's national territory.

Fretilin has also stated that the arrival of 15,000 new troops shows how false was the Indonesian propaganda which claimed that Fretilin was finished and that the country was at peace. Thus, they feel that the escalated aggression is designed to exhaust Fretilin's resistance and force "negotiations" to end this increasingly difficult war which is beginning to seriously undermine Suharto's fascist control over Indonesia.

Socialist Construction

■ **ALBANIA** — Placing the general interest of society above everything, increasing numbers of Albanian youth go to work with enthusiasm on the most difficult fronts: in the oil-bearing zones and mines, on geological expeditions and major construction sites of the five-year plan.

Many youths have volunteered to work at the new coal mine in Valias. Also the youth have created many new villages where they, themselves, are the first inhabitants. In recent years, over 14,000 youths from the cities have gone to work and live in the agricultural enterprises and cooperatives.

Thousands of young men and women work at various national projects. Almost all the railroads in Albania have been built by young people through voluntary labor. Also, through voluntary work, the young people have encircled the hills and mountains with terraces which are planted with citrus, olives, vineyards and other fruit trees.