

The Workers' Advocate

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"DEMOCRATIC" CARTER ADMINISTRATION BARES ITS FASCIST FANGS

The Carter administration is singing songs of "democracy", "morality" and "human rights", while in deeds it is waging a fascist offensive against the working class and people on behalf of the monopoly capitalist dictators.

Carter's energy program was the first big exposure of the Carter administration in the eyes of the laboring masses. Just like Nixon before him, Carter called for higher prices, higher taxes and the stockpiling of oil for imperialist war -- all in the name of a fake energy "shortage". Profits for the oil kings, sky-high utility bills and gasoline prices for the laboring masses. Carter's energy fraud has earned the bitter hatred of the American people.

And now Carter has stepped forward to bare his fascist fangs in a series of sinister bills designed to suppress the workers' movement and step up aggression abroad.

Carter's "welfare reform" and immigration bills are nothing but an attack on the entire workers' movement, an attempt to ensure "labor peace", the peace of docile slaves laboring tamely for the rich money-bags. Carter is stepping up the capitalist policy of singling out whole sections of the working class for attack, in particular those sections whom the capitalists have cruelly thrown on the street and out of work and those who are not born in the U.S. or who are "foreign-looking". The unemployed and so-called "illegal aliens" and other immigrants are to be still further converted into slave-laborers, who are forbidden any rights at all and who must work at the lowest wages and most dangerous jobs. They are to be forced to take whatever the capitalists offer, without protest, on pain of deportation or of being left to starve without even the pitiful capitalist "welfare" payments. In fact, by setting up a pool of slave-laborers and then setting them against the rest of the workers, the capitalists hope to suppress the whole

workers' movement. Carter and his cronies like to paint themselves up in gaudy colors as "pro-labor" and in favor of "jobs". But these bills expose the hatred these phony "friends of labor" have for the workers' movement. They expose the capitalist strategy to eliminate the strike wave, force South African-style ID cards on everyone, and have the workers bear the entire burden of the capitalist economic crisis through lower and yet lower wages, more and yet more dangerous working conditions, and a larger and larger police force and oppressive bureaucracy sucking their blood while it oppresses them.

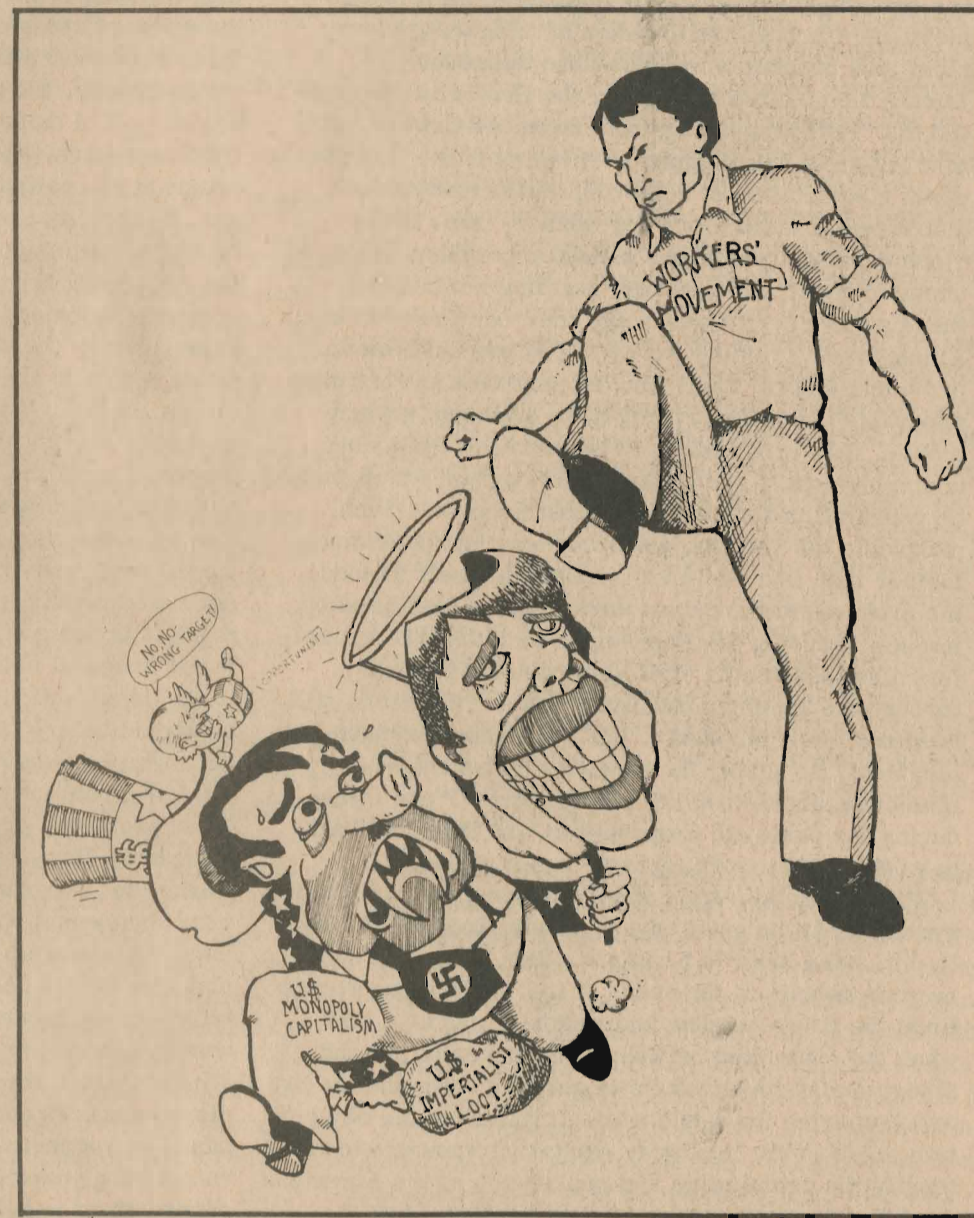
Carter's new Panama Canal treaty is preparation for intensified exploitation of Latin America. This treaty is an unequal treaty, a treaty that legalizes U.S. imperialist aggression in Panama "for an indefinite period of time", "permanently", under the guise of guaranteeing the "neutrality" of the Canal. Carter is following a neo-colonialist policy, hoping against hope that by removing a few of the most hated symbols of U.S. colonialism in Panama and doing a little window-dressing and public relations work, he can hide the existence of the vast U.S. neo-colonial empire and pacify the people of Panama and all Latin America. Vain hopes! Carter likes to deck himself out as a "peacenik", a reasonable man, who wants a "world without nuclear weapons", "human rights". But the new unequal treaty with Panama reveals the war-mongering and aggression behind the smiling facade.

These programs of Carter are nothing but the program of Richard Nixon without Richard Nixon; in fact, he is carrying out Nixon's fascist legacy on a wider scale than the hated Nixon himself could. Faced with the deepening all-round crisis, the Carter administration is forced to come out with more and more reactionary measures in order to defend the rule of U.S. monopoly capitalism against the surging

workers movement in the U.S. and the anti-imperialist struggles abroad, such as those of the Panamanian and other Latin American people. These reactionary measures are a confession of U.S. imperialism's weakened and isolated position. In order to buy some time and hide the true nature of these measures, the U.S. monopoly capitalist dictators have installed the deceptive Carter administration, which uses the mask of "human rights" and an army of sold-out labor bureaucrats, in order to conceal and step up the all-round fascistization of American society.

This is how the capitalist exploiters are baring their fangs. These are their dual tactics of fascist suppression on one hand and pious words of sweetness and light on the other.

These events show that no matter how much they talk of "democracy" and "human rights", each presidential administration is merely the tool of the big monopolies. As the international economic crisis deepens and gloom settles on the whole capitalist world, the capitalists are throwing the facade of "liberal democracy" to the wind and revealing more and more their reactionary and fascist souls. The bourgeoisie of all the imperialist and revisionist countries is imposing fascism to suppress the working class and laboring masses, shift the burden of the economic crisis onto them, and prepare for a reactionary world war between the two big imperialist blocs led by the U.S. and the Soviet Union. In the western imperialist bloc, which is led by U.S. imperialism, the bourgeoisie is rapidly building up the police, military and bureaucracies as gigantic machines of oppression and neo-Nazi groups are being organized by the governments in each country, all to fight the growing proletarian revolution. Notable examples are the militarization of the economies all throughout this bloc, the ranchist government of Federal (West) Germany refusing to extradite Nazi war criminals because it itself is composed of Nazi war criminals, the blessings being bestowed upon the fascist monarchy of Juan Carlos in Spain, the state-organized and protected Nazi groups in Great Britain and Italy, and so forth. In the U.S. the big bourgeoisie is presently using the



facade of Carterite "liberalism" to conceal and aid the development of fascism. But the forces of revolution, of socialism and freedom, are rising in each country to oppose the forces of fascism and slavery. Like a hurricane, the revolution is gathering strength and preparing to sweep the reactionaries off the face of the earth.

Carter's Hitlerite programs will never be tolerated by the American people, who will smash them on the road to wiping out the rule of capital altogether. Today the workers' movement is bursting forth, shattering the capitalists' fond dreams of "labor peace". Each new outrage by the reactionaries and the capitalists awakens new sections of the masses to indignation, to life and struggle. All the oppressed people are astir. Let the struggle break out, let the fight intensify, let the workers and oppressed people rise up in mass revolutionary struggles, in active resistance against the fascist offensive of the Carter administration, against the repression and exploitation by the big capitalists!

End.

Carter's "Welfare Reform": Slave-Labor Under the Hoax of Jobs

Recently, President Carter announced his plans for "welfare reform", which he calls his "Program for Better Jobs and Income". However, this program would be best described as a program of slave-labor jobs and further impoverishment of the workers. Carter's reform is aimed at using the unemployed workers presently on welfare as a slave-labor force against the employed workers, driving down the conditions of the working class as a whole. It will force millions of welfare recipients into employment at starvation wages, mostly into government jobs, at near-minimum wages.

Carter has resurrected Richard Nixon's notorious slave-labor "workfare" schemes. Carter's "Program for Better Jobs and Income" is identical to Nixon's "Family Assistance Plan" proposed in 1969. The only difference is that Carter's slave-labor plan is larger in scale and at lower wages. Also, it is not being proposed by the despised, anti-working class, anti-communist war criminal Nixon, but by the smiling "human rights" preacher Carter. The Carter administration is faithfully carrying out the same monopoly capitalist program as the Ford and Nixon administrations before it: make the people pay for the capitalist economic crisis, develop fascism and prepare for imperialist war. But today the crisis is deeper and the rich have installed the demagogue Carter, with his treacherous deceptive mask of "human rights", etc., to carry out even more savage attacks on the people. The real fascist fangs of the Carter administration lying behind this mask are clearly exposed by its "welfare reform"

schemes.

CARTER'S PROGRAM OF SLAVE-LABOR JOBS AND FURTHER IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE WORKERS

Carter proclaims his "welfare reform" to be a "job-oriented program for those able to work" and "fundamentally based on work for those who can and should work". This is quite true -- in the same way that the slave plantations of the old South were "job-oriented", so too is Carter's slave-labor "welfare reform" "job-oriented". The basic purpose of Carter's program is to force large numbers of welfare recipients into employment at starvation wages and into slave-labor public service jobs, replacing higher-paid and unionized workers. The "reform" is mainly directed at the unemployed and other destitute masses on welfare whom the government determines are fit for capitalist exploitation. The number of these unemployed on welfare has swelled in the last years of economic crisis and particularly with the recent cut-backs in the number of weeks the federal government and several states provide unemployment benefits, putting more of the unemployed onto welfare.

For those who will remain on welfare, the disabled, aged and single parents with pre-school children, the welfare system will become even more intolerable. Benefits will be severely cut in some areas and generally will be more difficult to qualify for. In the name of "simplifying" the welfare system, Carter's

Continued on page 18

Carter's Immigrant Bill: Slave-Labor and Deportations Under Hoax of Humanitarianism

President Carter and the Democratic Party, the so-called "friends of the workers and minorities", and the entire monopoly capitalist government are unleashing a Hitlerite fascist campaign against immigrants. Last month, Carter announced his vicious racist and fascist "aliens" bill, which is nothing but a program for mass round-ups and deportations, harassment and persecution of immigrants, particularly those from Mexico and other countries of Latin America and Asia, and for the official, legal

creation of a large caste of immigrant laborers denied any rights whatsoever except to slave for the profits of the rich. Carter's legislation, proposed in the name of "compassion" for immigrants and in the "interest" of the working class, is in fact a big attack on immigrants, all the oppressed nationalities and the American working class and people as a whole.

Continued on page 7

U.S. Imperialism, Get Out of Panama!

Down With Carter's New Unequal Treaty!

All the spokesmen for the U.S. monopoly capitalist class -- the Carter administration, Henry Kissinger, Gerald Ford, top labor bureaucrat George Meany and others -- are hailing the new Panama Canal treaty as "fair" to the Panamanian people. They claim that the treaty "properly responds to Panamanian aspirations" and proclaim that this treaty "will help to usher in a new day in hemispheric relations" and will strengthen the U.S.'s "position in the world as a strong and generous nation" while looking out for the interests of the people of the United States. A look at this treaty, however, reveals that its true nature is quite the opposite. It is nothing but an instrument to preserve and extend U.S. colonialist and imperialist domination and control over Panama, guarantee continued U.S. military occupation and deepen the indebtedness and dependence of Panama on U.S. imperialism. The treaty is directly opposed to the interests of the Panamanian people for sovereignty over their own territory and to the interests of all peoples exploited and oppressed by U.S. imperialism, including the American people. Behind all the demagogy about "respecting sovereignty", what President Carter is really saying is: "Hail the new unequal Panama Treaty!" while hoping against hope that the

demagogy will fool the Panamanian, Latin American and other peoples into trusting U.S. imperialism and giving up their anti-imperialist struggles.

Let us see how the treaty "respects" "Panamanian sovereignty".

Carter has been emphasizing that the treaty will put "no restrictions on United States rights to intervene in 'defense' of the Panama Canal" "as we (the U.S. imperialists -- ed.) may deem necessary". Under the new treaty, the U.S. will have the "permanent right to 'defend the neutrality' of the canal from any threat, for an indefinite period of time". According to the treaty, "U.S. warships will have the permanent right to transit the canal expeditiously and without conditions, for an indefinite period"; "for the rest of the century U.S. military forces will have the primary responsibility to 'protect and defend' the canal"; "the Government of Panama guarantees the U.S. the right to station troops in Panama and to use all lands and waters necessary for the canal's 'defense' for the life of the treaty, until 1999, with no requirements for reducing the numbers or size of its bases or for withdrawing troops. The experience of the world's people, including the Panamanian, Chilean, Mexican, Dominican, Cambodian,

Down With the Old 1903 Unequal Treaty!

Vietnamese, Korean, Congolese and other peoples shows that when the United States talks of "protecting and defending" the "neutrality or peace" of another country it is trying to justify U.S. military aggression against it in pursuit of its exploitative imperialist designs. The real significance of the treaty

is that it guarantees the U.S. the right to suppress the liberation struggles of the Panamanian people, intervene in Panama in its contention for world domination with Soviet social-imperialism and use Panama as a staging ground for aggression in

Continued on page 18

TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Capitalist Plans to Solve Unemployment	Puerto Rico: El Grito de Lares	13
Are a Fraud	Chile: Only the Struggle of the People Will	
Powerful Coal Miners Wildcat	Overthrow Fascism	8
First Big Steel Strike in 18 Years	Colombia: Revolutionary Uprising	12
Against Gov't Aid to Bethlehem Steel	16 Years of Armed Struggle in Eritrea	15
Against Gov't "Cost Containment" Attacks	ESUNA Pamphlet: Against Soviet Revisionist	
on Hospital Workers	Meddling in Ethiopia, Part 2	14
Why the High Cost of Medical Care	Azania: National Uprising Continues	13
	U.S. Aggression Against Cambodia	12
Chicago: Fight the Gov't-Organized Fascist	Canada: Red Salute to Communist Youth	6
Anti-busing Movement	Four Point Program of CPDC	6
Anti-fascist People Defeat Klan Again	Albania: Quotations from "The Theory and	
Britain: Nat'l Front Fascists Thrashed	Practice of the Revolution"	16
	Song: For Revolution, Against War	20

THE CAPITALISTS' PLANS TO "SOLVE" UNEMPLOYMENT ARE A FRAUD!

Under the guise of fulfilling his campaign promises about "reducing unemployment", Jimmy Carter is gearing up the monopoly capitalist government for a new round of attacks on the masses of people. Early this month, he announced a proposal for a "youth employment package", which he claims will alleviate unemployment among those under 25 years of age, who make up more than half of those unemployed. While being less ambitious than other schemes promoted by the Democrats during the election campaign in that it does not aim for "full employment" this new proposal is based on the same basic premise. That is: that the government can somehow "solve unemployment" through the creation of massive government jobs programs to "stimulate the economy".

During the election campaign, the Democrats promoted the "Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act", also known as the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill. This proposal made claims of achieving "full employment", guaranteeing a job for every worker, etc. These "jobs creation" programs cannot solve the problem of unemployment, nor are they anything new. Along these same lines, 4 years ago the "Comprehensive Employment Training Act" (CETA) was instituted, providing federal funds for "employment and training programs" administered by state and local governments. This program was also aimed at "reducing unemployment", and is the main program which would be expanded under Carter's latest proposal. Such programs for "solving unemployment" go back much farther than that, however. Carter himself likened his proposal to the public jobs program instituted by Roosevelt during the Depression in 1933. The capitalists also instituted a "full employment" program through the Employment Act of 1946. This act is still in effect, and, obviously, has not eliminated unemployment. So again, the capitalist government is clamoring about "solving unemployment" and introducing the same old proposals to "put America back to work". What is this uproar really about?

This comes at a time when the monopoly capitalist system is in the most severe crisis since World War II, at a time when U.S. imperialism has suffered numerous defeats at the hands of the world's people and finds the going rougher and rougher, and at a time when the contention between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism is growing daily and the two are preparing for world war. At this time the objective needs of the monopoly capitalist class are to intensify the exploitation and oppression of the American working class so as to maximize profits, shift the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the workers and strengthen its hand in contention for world hegemony. The promise of "full employment" serves this program in 2 ways: 1) they are political deception aimed at lulling the masses to sleep, so they will abandon their struggle against the shifting of the bur-

den of the crisis and rely on the capitalist government to "solve unemployment"; 2) the actual programs being proposed and implemented to "solve unemployment" are really vicious attacks on the workers, to suppress them and increase profits.

All the programs of the capitalists to "create jobs" amount to plans which will enable them to more efficiently use the huge army of unemployed to increase the exploitation of the entire working class. One example of this is the use of CETA funds in Dearborn, Michigan. In an attempt to intensify the exploitation of the garbage workers, the city cut the number of men working on each truck from three to one. When the workers resisted this vicious attack which threatened their jobs and increased their workloads tremendously, the city replaced the unionized workers on half of these 1-man trucks with non-unionized CETA workers. These workers hired under the CETA program are paid about half of what the union wages are. So the city used the CETA program in order to break the resistance to the shifting of the burden of the crisis and drive down the wages and impose speed-up on the unionized workers. It is clear from this example that the use of CETA funds in Dearborn certainly didn't do anything to alleviate unemployment either. In fact, it was used to eliminate even more workers, forcing them into the ranks of the unemployed. Use of the CETA program in this same way has also been attempted in Buffalo, this same practice has been used among sections of the city workers. Up till now, use of the CETA program has been concentrated mainly in the public sector, but more and more it is being utilized by other employers. Carter's latest proposal specifically calls for its expansion into the construction industry, where unemployment has been particularly severe. The experience of the Dearborn workers shows the real meaning of the capitalists' program to "solve unemployment", and their other proposals are no different. The Democrats' Humphrey-Hawkins Bill would create a massive public works jobs program, forcing welfare and unemployment compensation recipients into minimum wage jobs. This section of the workers could then be used just like the CETA workers, as leverage for the capitalists to use to drive down the wages and attack the working conditions of the working class as a whole. Jimmy Carter sheds crocodile tears for the unemployed workers and claims that his latest proposal is based on "concern... about the high unemployment rate among young people". But what he is really concerned about is how to use that high unemployment rate to attack the whole working class and better serve the profits of the capitalists.

The capitalists are aided in the promotion of these programs among the workers by the labor aristocrats. The monopoly capitalists need someone with influence among the workers to peddle the policy of deception,

giving the workers the illusion that unemployment can be solved under capitalism and sneaking in new methods of exploitation under this smokescreen. The labor bureaucrats play this role. They promote that capitalism can be "reformed" to eliminate unemployment and that the workers must rely on the "neutral" government, especially a Democratic government which will be a "friend to the workers". In holding up the Democrats as the "party of the workers", the labor aristocrats try to cover up the fact that the plans being promoted by the Democrats today are no different from the proposals under fascist Nixon for "welfare to workfare". Side by side with the labor aristocrats in the workers' movement stand the revisionists and opportunists of all hues, the sham "socialists" like the "Communist" Party U.S.A. and the October League. Under the cover of opposing the capitalists they raise the "militant demand" for the government to solve unemployment; the "C" (PUSA) by openly supporting programs like Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, the October League by pretending to oppose it -- but only because it "doesn't have enough teeth in it", in other words, it isn't fascist enough for their liking. On the basis of this political deception, they all attempt to mobilize the workers to support the fascist programs of the capitalists.

But unemployment cannot be eliminated under capitalism. Unemployment is an inevitable result of the capitalist mode of production. No "reform" can change its basic nature. The direct aim of capitalist production is not the production of goods but the production of profit. The motivation is to get the maximum profit for a given amount of capital. In capitalist production the products which are produced socially by the workers are not appropriated by the workers but by the capitalists. So, while the means of production and the process of production itself are social, the appropriation of the products is individual. The capitalists own them. The contradiction between the social production and the capitalist appropriation manifests itself as the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This contradiction is the cause of unemployment in the capitalist system. The capitalists use part of the money they make from the workers' labor to make technical improvements in machinery, etc., in order to better compete with other capitalists and maximize their profits. This is done at the expense of the workers. As machinery is perfected, fewer and fewer human hands are needed to carry on production and a surplus population of workers is created. This surplus population is the reserve army of unemployed. The capitalists use this reserve army of unemployed as a readily available workforce which can be drawn into production whenever they are needed and thrown out again when they no longer serve the profits of the capitalists. The existence of the ever-growing reserve army of unemployed cre-

ates increased competition among the workers for jobs and enables the capitalists to intensify the exploitation of the employed workers, who face the constant threat of being replaced.

During periods of economic crisis, unemployment is intensified. Economic crisis is also inevitable under capitalism. In the capitalist system production is carried on by the capitalists to enrich themselves. The capitalists demand freedom and unrestricted activity to accomplish this aim. The only authority they recognize is that of competition among the capitalists. The only regulation on their production is that of the market. The manufacturers cannot know the exact state of their markets and the activity of their competitors. Each blindly produces for the market without knowing the state of the market, what demand will be, or whether he will be able to sell his production at a profit. This guess-work, modified but not eliminated by monopoly capitalism and state monopoly capitalism, is part and parcel of the capitalist mode of production. Even when the individual manufacturer can plan production, the overall production of the society cannot be planned. Production remains anarchic. It is this anarchy of production which is the cause of economic crisis, which began as an overproduction crisis and has brought economic stagnation and large-scale unemployment. The crisis has hurt the capitalists' profits and their only course is to shift the burden onto the backs of the workers. This is what is reflected in the plans of the capitalist state machine (government) to "solve unemployment". The state machine cannot be relied upon as a "friend to the workers". The labor bureaucrats and opportunists expose their role as agents of the bourgeoisie inside the workers' movement when they counsel the workers to rely on the state to solve the problem. Comrade Lenin teaches: "The basic rule, the first commandment of any trade union movement is not to rely on the 'state' but to rely on the strength of one's own class. The state is an organization of the ruling class." The reason why the capitalist government and the labor misleaders speak about solving unemployment is to deceive the workers and prevent them from taking up revolutionary struggle to solve unemployment. The capitalists' plans to "solve unemployment" are an attack on the working class in order to serve the capitalists' interests of maximizing profits. It is only by developing revolutionary struggle against the capitalists and their labor lackeys, and overthrowing the capitalist system along with its state machine that unemployment can be eliminated. End.

20,000 Iron Ore Miners Wage First Major Steel Strike in 18 Years

On August 31st more than 20,000 iron ore miners and other steelworkers, members of the United Steelworkers of America (21 locals), began widespread local strikes, the first national strike in the steel industry since 1959. Strikes by more than 20,000 iron ore miners from Minnesota and the Upper Peninsula of Michigan have shut down nearly all iron ore mining in the U.S. The struggle of the ore miners, who occupy a central position within the basic steel industry and within the workers' movement as a whole, along with the mighty wildcat strike by more than 80,000 eastern coal miners, is part of the rising tide of revolt within the workers' movement. This revolt is striking a mighty blow at the monopoly capitalists' efforts to shift the burden of the capitalist economic crisis onto the backs of the working class. The ore miners' strike has special significance because it opposes the plans of the monopoly capitalists and the labor bureaucrats for developing labor peace (the suppression of all strikes), especially in the steel industry through the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA). By opposing these plans for labor peace the ore miners' struggle is a great inspiration for steelworkers across the country who have deep hatred for the ENA.

The ore miners' strike is mainly centered in Minnesota, with 14,500 workers on strike, and in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan with 4,500 workers on strike. These are the areas where the Mesabi and Marquette iron ranges are located, which produce approximately 68% of all iron ore used in steel-making in the U.S. The ore miners in these areas are striking against the big steel and mining monopolies (U.S. Steel, Reserve Mining, National Steel-Hanna Mining Division) and Cleveland Cliffs Industries, which manages ore mines for Republic, Bethlehem, Sharon, McClouth, Jones and Laughlin, Algoma, Wheeling, and Pittsburgh Steel companies. Steelworkers are also striking in five other states -- Pennsylvania, Kentucky, New York and Massachusetts.

The present strike developed when local contract issues were not settled after the signing of the national steel contract last spring. Although local issues may vary, four are major and oppose the attempts at shifting the burden of the economic crisis onto the workers: (1) in the face of increased productivity, declining injury rates and occupation-related diseases, the ore miners are demanding improved safety standards; (2) seniority rights and job assignment procedures; (3) mine workers are demanding wage parity with the workers in the basic steel mills; (4) mill workers receive an average of 60¢ to \$3 more per hour than mine workers, due to an incentive system based on productivity; (5) since the 1950's, the steel monopolists have shifted mining production from underground mines to less costly, highly productive

open pit mines. Today only two underground mines continue production in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan and they are scheduled to be closed in 1980. The workers of these mines are demanding increased job security and transfer rights.

The striking ore miners are in an extremely strong position to win their demands if they persist in striking, withholding their labor-power to stop production and cut the profits of the capitalists. With the strike nearly two months old, its effects are being felt by the steel monopolists who also control mining-related industries. In Minnesota and Upper Michigan, 700 mining railroad workers and 300 Great Lakes seaman from 22 docked ore boats have been laid off. In an attempt to cover over their fear, the winking steel monopolists are boasting through the bourgeois newspapers that they have "huge stockpiles of ore" and that they can wait out a long strike. A closer look at the situation tells a different story. The American Iron Association has reported that the steel monopolies only had 42.7 long tons of iron ore in the stockpile (one long ton = 2,240 lbs.) when the strike began and this will last the steel industry four months if steel production is the same as 1976. Some steel companies are quietly reporting that they only have a two-month stockpile. Auto analysts have predicted that Detroit auto production will be affected in October if the strike continues. They have also said that if basic steel is shut down due to lack of ore then auto production would be affected within two weeks. The final factor which worries the steel monopolists is that they depend upon ore delivered by Great Lakes ore carriers and that they must annually stockpile ore to last the winter months when the ore boats are frozen into the lakes. Thus a long strike lasting into the early winter would leave the steel monopolists without ore for the winter months, causing mill shut-downs and a big loss of profits.

The steel monopolists, through their newspapers and TV, have launched a nationwide propaganda campaign against the striking ore miners. Almost every article about the strike in the bourgeois press has used blackmail to attack the ore miners' struggle. The following threat is held over the heads of the ore miners -- "If you continue to strike, it is sad, you will lose your job to a Japanese or German steelworker because strikes allow foreign steel monopolies to gobble up the U.S. market. This campaign does not show the strength of the steel capitalists but in fact shows their panic at the loss of profits due to the strike and their desperate attempts at blackmail. At this point these attempts at blackmail have had little effect upon the ore miners who have continued their struggle.

Recent attempts by the monopoly capitalists and the labor bureaucrats to suppress the struggle of the steelworkers go back to 1952. In the Labor Day

speech of 1972, Richard Nixon announced the formation of the National Commission for Industrial Peace, one of whose main targets was the steelworkers. The purpose of the Commission was to "explore ways that labor and management can harmonize their differences at the bargaining table, freely and constructively", "how government can be more helpful to parties in the bargaining process, and how the interest of the public can be reflected in the outcome as well as in the process of collective bargaining". This talk of "harmonizing their differences", "government can be helpful", and "interest of the public" is nothing but Mussolini's and Hitler's fascist program of "labor peace" applied to the U.S. When Nixon talked of "how the government can be more helpful to the parties in the bargaining process" he was referring to police attacks and compulsory arbitration boards. When he talked about "making a regular habit of industrial peace... without long and costly strikes", he intended to ban all strikes. And when Nixon talked about "achieving prosperity... due to the American workers' co-operation", he was parroting the Nazi minister Goerring, who said, "The regime of national concentration with an iron fist will bring the opposing interests of the different strata of society into that harmony which is so essential to the German people." Nixon's program for industrial peace was no different -- it meant fascism!

By 1973 the Industrial Peace Commission members were appointed. They included R. Heath Larry, vice-chairman of U.S. Steel Corp.; and I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America, as well as David Cole (chairman), labor arbitrator and former member of the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy; George Means, president of the AFL-CIO; Frank Fitzsimmons, president of the Teamsters Union; Paul Hall, president of the Seafarers Union; Leonard Woodcock, president of the UAW; Stephen Bechtel Jr., president of Bechtel Corp.; Edward Carter, chairman of Broadway-Hale Stores, Inc.; James Roche, former chairman of the First National City Bank of New York. Thus the steel (and other) capitalists sat down with the top labor bureaucrat of the United Steelworkers (and his cronies) to play how to suppress strikes in steel.

These monopoly capitalists and labor bureaucrats together planned how to suppress the workers' movement. The basic program of the National Commission for Industrial Peace meant strengthening the rule of the labor bureaucrats over the organized workers, strengthening the rule of the government over the labor bureaucrats, smashing any attempts by the working class to organize against capitalist exploitation and oppression. At the same time the capitalist class and the government have been intent upon creating illusions in the minds of the workers about three

"equal" parties -- the government, management and labor -- and about a "neutral and democratic government". This talk of "government neutrality" and "three equal parties" is straight forward political deception, an attempt to cover up the role of the monopoly capitalist government, whose courts issue injunctions and levy fines against workers' struggles, whose police are nothing more than hired gun thugs -- armed strike breakers of the monopoly capitalists. This is all done by a "neutral government" that is "just doing its job". Political deception and violent repression go hand in hand!

In 1974, in hope of creating labor peace and suppressing national steel strikes, the steel monopolists and the labor bureaucrats of the USA forced a "revolutionary, labor-management agreement", the Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA), onto the steelworkers. The ENA is the main accomplishment of the class collaboration between the labor bureaucrats and the monopoly capitalists who made up the National Commission for Industrial Peace. Provisions of the ENA not only outlawed national steel strikes until 1980, but also forced steelworkers into binding arbitration to settle all grievances, in which the government of the monopoly capitalists would appoint the "neutral arbitrators". The present accord by the steel monopolists over the ore miners' strike shows the real intent of the ENA -- suppression of any and all strikes in steel. The attempts by the steel monopolists and the labor bureaucrats at suppressing the steelworkers is part of the overall plans of the monopoly capitalists to prepare for war with their superpower rivals -- the New Tsars of the Soviet Union -- and to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the backs of the U.S. working class. In order to launch wars the U.S. imperialists must first attack the American working class in an attempt to gain a quiet home front. The interrupted production and stockpiling of steel for the war effort and the suppression of the steelworkers are part and parcel of U.S. imperialist war preparations.

The current ore miners' strike is a big blow to the efforts of the capitalists to use the ENA to create labor peace by suppressing all strikes by steelworkers. In direct opposition to the ENA, the ore miners have rejected the path of relying on the "neutral arbitrators" appointed by the capitalist government and instead are relying on their own efforts by striking. The strike is a great inspiration and example to steelworkers across the country, who have a deep hatred for the ENA. The workers' Advocate fully supports the just struggle of the iron ore miners against the steel monopolists' attempts to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the backs of the working class. End.

Powerful Coal Miners' Wildcat Strike Throws Fear into the Bourgeoisie

For more than ten weeks this summer, as many as 85,000 eastern coal miners in Kentucky, West Virginia, Ohio and Pennsylvania waged a vigorous wildcat strike against the cutbacks in their medical benefits by the monopoly capitalists. The capitalists cut the miners' benefits to punish them for their heroic resistance struggle against capitalist exploitation over the past several years and in an attempt to bully the miners into giving up their militant strike movement to defend life and limb, against capitalist exploitation and to organize the unorganized miners. The recent coal miners' wildcat strike has played a prominent and inspiring role in the present national upsurge of the workers' movement, which is resisting the capitalists' shifting of the burden of their deepening economic crisis onto the workers' shoulders.

The monopoly capitalists are hell-bent on attacking the coal miners, so as to suppress their struggles, impose "labor peace" upon them, and step up their exploitation to the maximum possible degree. The monopoly capitalists are driven to this by their deepening economic crisis, one manifestation of which is the energy crisis. To preserve and increase their profits, the capitalists must make the people, especially the working class, pay for the crisis. On the front of energy, the monopoly capitalists are trapped in a maze of contradictions. They are frantically plundering oil from the Middle East and elsewhere in order to maximize their profits, and they are importing large amounts of oil to maintain their control of the world market. At the same time, the capitalists are stockpiling domestic oil and developing coal and other domestic energy sources in order to ensure secure energy supplies in preparations for an aggressive world war with Soviet social-imperialism. In order to have a "quiet home front" for war, especially in regard to such an important field as energy, the capitalists are attempting to smash the miners' movement. In order to recoup their losses in a period of crisis, the capitalists are redoubling the exploitation of the mine workers. The results are degenerating safety conditions with greater and greater danger to the life and limb of the miners, vicious speed-up and arbitrary fascist attacks on the miners' basic rights such as the medical benefits cutback.

Attempting to intimidate the coal miners, on June 20th the Trustees of the United Mine Workers Health and Retirement Funds (who are composed of representatives of the coal companies and the big-shot top labor bureaucrats of the United Mine Workers, the UMW announced massive cutbacks in the miners' medical benefits. As of July 1st, active miners, retired miners on pension and their dependents were forced to pay the first \$250 of their hospital expenses, 40 per cent of professional medical fees and up to \$500 a year in medical costs. But the miners refused to be intimidated by this attack. Within hours of the announcement, 10,000 miners began a wildcat strike in response. Within three days, the number of striking miners had reached 35,000. The miners demanded the full restoration of their medical benefits. They answered the attacks of the capitalists with active mass struggle.

For over ten weeks the coal miners waged a heroic struggle. They relied on their own efforts. They used the methods of roving pickets to spread the strike and of mass demonstrations to concentrate their forces against the enemy. They fought the attacks on them blow-for-blow, on occasion defending their picket lines with fists, clubs and guns against attacks by the police and the labor bureaucrats sent

by their capitalist masters to suppress the strike.

The coal monopolies announced the medical cutbacks just four days before the miners were to begin their two-week summer vacation, in hopes that the vacation period would break any resistance that might develop. But the coal miners responded quickly. 35,000 walked out in three states before the vacation began. After the vacation the wildcats continued and spread. Thousands of miners walked out of mines even when there were no pickets present and some non-union miners struck in sympathy. When the strike weakened in one state or district, roving pickets would be sent from other areas to oppose the back-to-work movements organized by the labor bureaucrats and encourage the miners to hold out. In District 17 cars belonging to coal bosses were doused with gas and burned. One boss was caught by the miners and painted yellow. In Pike County, Ky., when a picket was shot the miners armed themselves with rifles to defend their picket line. Wherever they went, the roving pickets were greeted warmly and given money, information and support.

By August 18th more than 85,000 coal miners in five states were out on strike. On August 30th at Cabin Creek, W. Va., picketing miners took up rifles to defend their picket lines from a violent attack launched by 100 gun-toting thugs organized by the UMW labor bureaucrats to break the strike. Responding shot-for-shot in a five-minute gun battle, the striking miners heroically defended their picket line. The militant mass struggle of the miners inspired the workers throughout the country, who avidly followed its development day by day and intensified their own struggles against the capitalist class with the miners' strike as an inspiration.

In the course of this summer's wildcat strike, the coal miners have not only had to fight against the coal companies themselves, but also against the attacks of the monopoly capitalist government which defended the companies, as well as against the agents of the capitalists within the workers' movement, the top bureaucrats of the UMW.

The government, once again revealing its nature as an instrument of suppression in the hands of capital, both threatened and attacked the miners struggle. On July 28th, an official from the Federal Preparedness Administration, Thomas J. Simmons, threatened that the federal government was considering the use of a Taft-Hartley injunction to be issued by President Carter to suppress the miners struggle. But he also had to admit that the government knew that the miners would openly defy such an injunction and that it would fail to suppress the strike. At the same time, Simmons threatened to use federal troops to seize stockpiles of surplus coal if supplies ran low. Attempting to defend such use of federal troops as strike-breakers, he said, "It's action taken in the national interest". On July 30th the government refused to give food stamps to 13,000 striking miners in eastern Kentucky, claiming that they were participating in an "illegal strike". The next day the miners set up a mass picket line and the doors to the food stamp office were blocked. Within several days the government was forced to back down and the "illegal" strikers were given their food stamps. The attacks of the capitalist state machine, too, failed to intimidate the miners.

In recent years, the government attacks have consistently failed to break the miners' resistance. During the summer of 1976, the coal monopolists turned directly to the federal courts for help in suppressing the miners' struggle. The federal courts set limits on the number of pickets allowed at each mine, levied

huge fines against union and seized their treasuries, and threw local union officials into jail for contempt of court. In one case, a union local was fined \$300,000 and 23 of its members were threatened to be thrown in jail for "contempt of court". In response to these attacks on their struggle by the "neutral federal courts", who handed out allegedly "blind justice", 100,000 miners from ten states defiantly went out on a two-month wildcat strike, and did not return to work until all fines, charges and threats of "contempt of court" were dropped against their fellow miners.

To force the miners to accept the recent medical benefit cuts, the coal barons also turned for help to Arnold Miller and other top labor bureaucrats of the UMW. Miller has eagerly done his masters' bidding, using the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of deception and violent attacks to try to smash the struggle. Miller unleashed a big campaign of confusion-mongering to try to disarm the miners. He whined that the strike was "pointless". He said that "it will not solve anything" but, even worse, that it was "destroying the union". With incredible gall he insisted that 85,000 miners struck due to the handiwork of a "small group of troublemakers" (one Miller henchman narrowed it down to 10 or 15) who "threaten and intimidate miners and keep them from working". Arnold Miller completely reverses what is the trouble and who are the troublemakers in the coalfields and says -- you miners who resist the monopoly capitalists' attacks are causing anarchy and are even destroying your own union. This is turning truth upside down! It is the coal capitalists and the government, ably served by the labor bureaucrats, who are attacking the miners, and the miners merely rightfully defended themselves with the strike weapon. In place of waging mass struggle in defense of their rights, Miller counsels the miners to go back to work and says that he will negotiate with the coal capitalists. Miller echoes the program of the coal capitalists when he proposes that the solution to the "problems" of wildcats and roving pickets is a "limited right to strike", insuring so-called "majority rule". His intentions are to bring the struggles of the miners under the direct control of the labor bureaucrats, tying them up in endless rules and regulations and bureaucratic procedures, with the end result being complete suppression of their struggles and stepped-up exploitation all along the line.

Miller has increasingly relied upon force -- reactionary violence -- when his confusion-mongering and deception have been met with resistance. Early in the strike, his cronies gave open calls for fascist attacks on the picketlines, saying, "Destroy it and you won't have to cross it. Throw them in the creek and go back to work." Raising the bogey of a "small band of trouble makers", one district official said "Put your mines back to work and run these agitators off... some of these fellows are going to have to get busted". In July these calls were put into practice when groups of union officials invaded a strike rally, pushed through a back-to-work vote and assaulted a strike activist. Miller then congratulated his cronies for these activities. Miners in Dist. 17, W. Va., reported that Miller sent groups of 50-100 thugs to bust their picket lines and to "bust some heads". Trying to intimidate the wildcat strikers, the International Executive Board of the UMW dusted off its reactionary 10-point program for suppressing wildcats and is threatening to expel wildcat leaders from the union.

Miller's political deception and fascist attacks on the miners struggle were defeated throughout the

summer. But by the first week of September they began to take their toll. Within a week or two almost all of the miners were returning to work. Miller, the agent of the capitalists in the ranks of the workers, had temporarily accomplished what the capitalists and their government had failed to do. Miller's main tactic was to call a "60-day truce" in which the miners would return to work and if after 60 days of negotiating with the BCOA there was no settlement of the medical benefit cutback question, then Miller claimed he would cancel the national miners' contract and "possibly" call a national strike. This was quite a "bold", "militant" and "radical" action for Arnold Miller, who knows good and well that the national contract is due to expire on Dec. 5th, just two weeks after his "60-day truce" is to end. At the same time, the UMW bureaucrats bought up radio time in W. Va., Ky. and Ohio and called district and local meetings and by these means were able to force a back-to-work movement.

The powerful wildcat strike struggle of the coal miners which just ended is a big blow to the attempts by the coal monopolists to suppress the miners' resistance. They have struck fear into the hearts of the coal monopolists and the entire monopoly capitalist class. This was the third summer in a row in which the miners have waged wildcat resistance struggles for two months or more. Through these battles, the miners have gained rich experience in mass active resistance to the capitalists, experience which has created conditions for even more intensified struggle when the coal contract expires in December. The coal capitalists are so fearful of the miners' resistance, of a national strike or yet another series of wildcat strikes, that on September 18th the Trustees of the UMW Health and Retirement Funds announced that they had taken out an emergency loan so as to postpone the second set of proposed medical benefit cutbacks scheduled for Oct. 1st.

Today there is a rising tide of class struggle developing in the national workers' movement and the path forward is constantly being debated. There are two roads: one is to rely on the alleged "reasonableness" of the monopoly capitalists, collaborate with them and give up the struggle; the other road is the road of active mass struggle, of relying on one's own efforts, of resisting all attacks no matter where they come from -- from the monopoly capitalists, the government or the sold-out labor bureaucrats.

The heroic mass resistance of the miners is a shining example and a great inspiration to the whole workers' movement. The miners have opposed the reactionary schemes of the monopoly capitalists to shift the burden of the economic and energy crisis onto their backs. Between 1968 and the 1974 contract strike, there were an average of 100 strikes per month in the coal industry. Since December 1974 there have been over 5,000 coal miners' strikes, including the two powerful wildcat strikes of 1975 and 1976 in which 60,000 and 190,000 miners struck directly against attempts by the monopoly capitalist government to suppress their struggle. Between January and May of this year there have been 896,000 man-days lost due to strikes in the coal sector. The just-ended 10-week wildcat strike of more than 85,000 miners is but another blow to the coal capitalists' dreams of labor peace in the coal fields.

LONG LIVE THE MASS RESISTANCE OF THE COAL MINERS!!! End.

Chronology of the Current Coal Miners' Wildcat Strike

1946:
Welfare and Retirement Fund established.

1974:
1974 UMW national contract establishes four separate funds.

July-Aug. 1975:
Miners wage wildcat strike, shutting down nearly all eastern coalfields.

Sept. 1975:
UMW International Executive Board (IEB) adopts reactionary 10-Point Program for suppression of wildcat strikes.

June 1976:
Arnold Miller agrees with the coal monopolists that wildcat strikes must be suppressed and blames the miners for shortages in the Health and Retirement Funds.

March 1977:
Trustees of the UMW Health and Benefit Funds send miners letters threatening benefit cuts unless coal production is increased and implying that wildcat strikes must stop.

June 21:
Trustees of the UMW Health and Retirement Funds announce July 1st cutback in miners' medical benefits, blaming lack of revenues in the Funds which they say were caused by excessive work stoppages.

Wildcat begins against the medical benefits cutbacks; 10,000 out on strike.

June 22:
Wildcat spreads; 27,000 eastern coal miners out on strike.

June 23:
55,000 miners from eastern Kentucky and West Virginia out on strike.

June 24:
Miners begin two-week vacation, thus temporarily ending the wildcat.

July 11:
Miners' vacation ends; they continue wildcat strike.

July 12:
Miller on strike question: "It's become evident that the major vehicle for solving labor problems is a limited right to strike which establishes majority rule at the local level. If somebody tries to violate majority rule, they'll be dealt with severely." "We've spent a lot of our resources -- the industry has -- fighting and clawing at one another. And if there's one thing more evident, it's the fact we have not accomplished anything by maintaining that kind of posture."

Meeting of District 17 officials and local union officials. They decide:
a) to go back to work, and to use force if necessary to destroy the pickets. Quote from an official: "Destroy it first and then you don't have to cross it. Throw them in the creek and go to work." District 17 Vice-President Cecil Roberts: The strikers "always gets 10 or 15 good people to follow them who don't know any better... We're not going to have gang warfare unless they start it." District 17 IEB rep. V. Massey: "We're going to have to put the pressure on these agitators. We can't let them control this district. Put your mines to work and run these agitators off." Referring to radicals, he says, "these are the ones that are going to destroy this union... some of these fellows are going to have to be busted."
b) to attend a strike rally the next day in order to push the back-to-work movement and put their ideas into practice.
c) to send Massey to IEB to investigate penalizing or expelling wildcat leaders.

July 14:
All of eastern Ky. mines shut down; 10,000 miners out, with a number of non-union mines picketed and shut down as well.

BCOA refuses to reopen negotiations on question of reallocation of funds. Says to do this would be both illegal and would encourage wildcats which are the problem. Agrees to "talk" with Miller.

July 15:
Miller says he wants the IEB to take disciplinary action against the wildcat leaders.

July 19:
Jay Rockefeller, governor of W. Va., congratulates District 17 officials for initiating the back-to-work movement.

July 22:
Report of 25,000 miners out nationally, with eastern Ky. roving pickets spreading the strike by going into W. Va., bringing 7500 miners out.

July 23:
15,000 out in W. Va., due to eastern Ky. pickets; 30,000 out nationally.

July 24:
Three non-union truck drivers and 16 coal trucks shot in eastern Ky.

July 26:
Local union officials from UMW District 17 reject a back-to-work initiative at a district conference. One miner attending says: "All the presidents and the committees voted not to return to work until it (the cutbacks issue) is resolved." The membership has defied the order of the IEB to return to work.

Reports say 34,000 miners are striking nationally as of today. Strike spreads into Kanawha County today -- 1,700 miners out in this area.

July 28:
In Martin County, where strikers set up a blockade to oppose hauling of non-union coal, a scab is shot in the head.

The strike has spread to more than 35,600 miners

in southern W. Va. and eastern Ky., with the numbers of striking miners increasing in southern W. Va.

The federal government is laying plans to try to move coal to areas of emergency need in an attempt to suppress a protracted UMW strike should it occur this winter. Among the strike-breaking tactics being considered is the use of a strike-"cooling" Taft-Hartley injunction by the president and the outright seizure of surplus coal that could be shipped to areas where it is needed. Federal Preparedness Administration official Thomas J. Simmons admits the agency has been closely watching the UMW election and worrying about the wildcat strikes now going on. "The wildcat is the most dangerous type of strike", he said. Simmons said the agency is aware that a Taft-Hartley injunction would be unlikely to get the miners back to work. Simmons said, "We can always use the military, you know, in the last resort."

July 29:
The wildcat is spreading, with more than 53,000 miners striking. Over 40,000 miners are striking in W. Va.; more than 10,000 miners in eastern Ky. are on strike and the strike has spread into Ohio's District 6, where 3,800 miners at 8 mines have joined the strike.

Up to 13,000 people in seven eastern Ky. counties are being denied food stamps by the state because of federal court orders dating as far back as 1975. Officials of the state Dept. for Human Resources said federal law prohibits the issuance of food stamps to people on strike in violation of federal court orders. The miners opposed this attack by the state by setting up pickets at the food-stamp office in Prestonburg and blocked the entrance to the office all day July 27 and at least part of the 28th.

56,000 miners are reported on strike, 10,000 of them in eastern Ky.

Continued on page 19

Reject All Government Schemes to "Help Bethlehem Steel" -- Take Up Active Resistance!

The following leaflet was issued by the Buffalo Workers Revolutionary Committee of the COUSML, on August 29, 1977.

Since the announcement of the lay-off of 3500 workers by Bethlehem Steel, all of the government officials of the Carter Regime have issued the call to "help Bethlehem", supposedly in order to save the jobs of the steelworkers. They are staging a big phony debate over who is to blame and who has the best "solution", each one seeking to gain some political capital in the process. They have called for high-level meetings to see if there is anything they can do to meet the ransom Bethlehem might demand to restore the jobs cuts or at least "promise" there won't be any more. They have called for "federal action", "state action" and "city action" to do "whatever Bethlehem wants". New proposals are being issued daily. The main "action" being called for is 1) import restrictions, 2) an end to government "interference" in the price-hiking program of the steel capitalists, and 3) tax breaks and government subsidies for the steel capitalists. These proposals have nothing to do with saving jobs. What do they really mean for the working class?

1) The steel capitalists demand import restrictions because, with the development of the capitalist economic crisis, there has been a shrinking of markets for their steel on a world scale. The capitalists are fiercely competing for the smaller markets. It is in order to better compete with their foreign capitalist rivals that the U.S. steel barons call for import re-

strictions. This would give them a monopoly on the U.S. steel market and enable them to have complete control over steel prices, that is, allow them to raise the price without restriction by cheaper competition. The price-hiking program of the steel capitalists forces the working class to pay the inflationary prices passed on in all the products made from steel, including cars, appliances, etc. The steel capitalists call upon the workers to support restrictions on foreign imports in the name of "patriotism" in order to whip up national chauvinism and prepare conditions to send the working class to war with these capitalist rivals for the sake of their "own" capitalists' profits.

2) To demand an end to government interference in the pricing policies of the steel capitalists is pure political deception. It is only Jimmy Carter himself, providing a deceptive cover for the crimes of the government which he heads, who has pretended to oppose the steel capitalists by "criticizing" their price increases. In the meantime, the steel capitalists have continually raised prices to the maximum the market would allow, free from government interference.

3) The steel capitalists demand tax breaks and government subsidies in order to finance the introduction of new machinery and technology in their plants, again in order to better compete with their rivals. This introduction of new machinery makes more workers expendable and jobs are lost, not "saved". In addition, it is increased taxation of the workers that goes to pay for the capitalists' tax breaks and subsidies.

Every proposal being offered by these government officials is essentially the same. Under the guise of "saving jobs" they are seeking ways to assist the Bethlehem capitalists in maximizing their profits by forcing the workers to bear the burden of the capitalist economic crisis.

This phony debate is aimed at deceiving the workers into believing the government is going to help alleviate the worsening conditions they face by "saving jobs". It is aimed at pacifying the workers and liquidating any resistance they develop by promoting the government as a "neutral" force, the savior of both the capitalists and the workers. It is based on the line that "what is good for capital is good for labor". But all the experience of the working class shows that the capitalists' drive for profit means the ruination and impoverishment of the workers. The experience of the working class also shows that the government, contrary to being "neutral", is nothing but a machine for managing the affairs of the capitalists and a tool of the rich for enforcing their dictatorship over the workers.

The working class must sternly reject all the schemes of the capitalist government to help Bethlehem. In order to defend their basic interests against the attacks of the capitalists, the workers must rely on their own efforts and oppose every attempt to shift the burden of the crisis onto their backs. Already the working class has been developing its resistance to the shifting of the burden of the crisis. A powerful strike movement has been developing nationally

and in Buffalo as well. This movement has dealt sharp blows to the capitalists' program to shift the burden and has provided the workers valuable lessons and experience in the class struggle. Right in the ranks of this movement, however, the line of class collaboration given by the labor bureaucrats seeks to tie the workers' struggles hand and foot to the capitalist government. This line calls upon the steel workers to beg the government to "help Bethlehem", promoting the same political deception that it will "save jobs". This is just lying propaganda aimed at disarming and disorganizing the workers who want to fight this attack by the Bethlehem capitalists. The only real solution for the working class is to get organized for revolutionary struggle to shift the burden of the crisis back onto the shoulders of the rich. The workers must take up revolutionary politics in order to overthrow the line of class collaboration and purge its influence from their ranks. Only by overthrowing the monopoly capitalist system, along with its government machine, can the workers eliminate economic crisis and all of its consequences once and for all.

WORKERS!

REJECT ALL THE SCHEMES
OF THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT!
REPUDIATE THE LINE OF
CLASS COLLABORATION!
TAKE UP ACTIVE RESISTANCE!

End.

OPPOSE THE "COST-CONTAINMENT" ATTACKS OF THE HOSPITAL CAPITALISTS

Leaflet issued to workers at an unorganized hospital.

Since our last leaflet (1) appeared exposing the "Hospital Cost Containment" fraud being pushed by the monopoly capitalist class and its government, the hospital capitalists have continued to step up their exploitation of the workers. Before the leaflet, and the unrest among the workers which it reflected, there was no talk of a general raise. Yet within two weeks of its appearance supervisors in each department were promising the workers a raise. Some called it a cost-of-living raise. Some called it a "semi-annual equity adjustment". The workers called it what it really was -- "hush money".

This is a familiar tactic at the hospital, as it is in any unorganized place of work in capitalist society. When the workers attempt to organize themselves to collectively resist capitalist exploitation, the capitalists try to undermine this resistance with petty concessions. They aim to delude the workers into thinking that the capitalists are reasonable after all or that they need only be pressured or threatened, but not that they must be struggled against.

This old device is wearing thin. The mere 3% pitance which most workers received in no way makes up for their losses to inflation -- particularly the increases for necessities like food and utilities. At the same time, the "hush money" is accompanied by stepped up attacks. The hospital capitalists are on a rampage of firings and suspensions under various pretexts such as "excessive lateness". There is also speed-up and compulsory overtime to keep up with the increased workload. A particularly low attack being carried out very quietly is that women workers in housekeeping are now being required to work three weekends out of four instead of every other weekend. All hospital workers should come to the aid of the housekeeping workers and oppose this despicable attack on their working conditions. The hospital capitalists would like to impose this weekend schedule, department by department throughout the hospital. Only the active resistance of the workers can defeat these and other attacks by the capitalists.

In addition, the capitalists have plans for future "sacrifices" by the workers which they have not yet begun to implement. The July issue of the newspaper

of the hospital administration announced that the "Manpower Committee" is considering "sharing personnel" -- that is working employees to the maximum in one area during its busy period. Then, when it has its slack period, send those employees to another area which is in its busy period and work them to the maximum there. This reduces the need to staff all areas fully and steps up the rate of exploitation of the workers considerably. All this is being done under the holy banner of "efficiency, productivity, and cost containment", of course! All this, really, is being done to shift the burden of the capitalists' economic crisis onto the backs of the workers through overwork of some of the workers and unemployment for the rest.

At the same time that the hospital attacks its workers in the guise of cost cutting it announces not that it is passing on these savings to consumers, but that it is investing these added profits into a \$14.6 million expansion! The "medical care crisis" and the "cost containment" hysteria are devices of the rich and their government to maximize their profits through greater plunder and exploitation of the laboring masses. The developments at the hospital are

part and parcel of the state-organized attacks to make the workers pay for the capitalist economic crisis. These attacks are not temporary and are bound to intensify.

In the face of this capitalist offensive, the resistance movement of the working class is developing in breadth and strength. Strikes by the gas workers, the coal miners, the iron ore miners and countless other workers who are making great sacrifices, are dealing the capitalists telling blows. This growing resistance movement is absolutely correct and the only possible path forward for the working class. The workers at the hospital, like the workers in all other industries have no choice but to rely on their own strength, to wage active resistance and prepare for revolutionary mass struggle to force the monopoly capitalists to bear the burden of all their crises.

(1) This leaflet was reprinted on p. 4 of the August 1 issue of *The Workers' Advocate*. End.

For Your Reference:

BACKGROUND TO THE MEDICAL COSTS CRISIS How the Cancerous Growth of Finance Capital in the Medical Care Industry Has Led to Sky-Rocketing Prices and Poor Care

On April 26, 1977 President Carter announced his budget proposals for the Health, Education and Welfare Department including a recommended Hospital Cost Containment Act of 1977. Accompanied by a barrage of mystification as to the nature of the crisis in the financing of health care, the appropriate agents of the monopoly capitalist class (Blue Cross, Hospital administrators, government officials, etc.) have enacted a series of cost containment measures against hospital workers and patients. This offensive is part of the general attempt of the monopoly capitalist class to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the backs of the workers. A look into the history of the medical care industry will show that it is the monopoly capitalists and their state who are the real culprits behind this latest crisis.

The medical care industry began its rapid cancerous expansion leading to its present bloated, monstrous form after World War II. This growth was marked by the development of health insurance and pre-payment schemes and was given impetus by huge government subsidies. This growth set medicine firmly on a monopoly capitalist basis, ensuring huge profits for insurance companies, bankers and parasitic finance capitalists in general. The huge health monopolies jacked up prices and destroyed quality, often resulting in assembly-line medicine, with surgery performed and dangerous drugs prescribed at the flimsiest pretext in order to ensure maximum profit to the health capitalists at the expense, both financial and directly in flesh and blood, of the laboring masses. All the bad features inherent in the capitalist system of medicine for profit were aggravated to the utmost.

The first massive government subsidy after World War II to the development of finance capital in the health industry was the Hill-Burton Act of 1947. This act subsidized the construction and expansion of thousands of hospitals amounting to billions of dollars in the last 30 years. These hospitals in turn provided a vast new market for further investment and development. This government subsidy was a tremendous boon to the insurance capitalists. In 1950 private health insurance took in \$1/2 billion, in 1976 it was about \$50 billion -- a one hundred fold increase. When the insurance industry would not insure the low income, high risk groups (like the elderly), the monopoly capitalist state funneled the tax money of the workers through the Medicare and Medicaid programs (1965) to artificially expand the market even further. It was at this point that medical

costs, already rapidly climbing exactly in step with the growth of insurance schemes and finance capital in the health industry, began to sky-rocket even further. From 1959 to 1966 medical care prices increased at an average annual rate of 3.2%. From 1966 to 1971 they rose at a rate of 7.9% per year. (1) They are now increasing at an annual rate of from 12 to 13%.

The tremendous increase in the subsidy of the health care sector by the monopoly capitalist state as well as the recent slowing of this growth is shown by the following figures from the U.S. Statistical Abstract (1976):

Health Care Spending in Federal Budget (\$billions)

1960	1965	1970	1975	1977 (est.)	1978 (est.)	1979 (est.)
.8	1.8	13.1	27.6	39.3	43.2	46.7

% of total budget

1960	1965	1970	1975	1976
.9	1.5	6.7	8.5	8.6

Paralleling the increase in government subsidy has been the growth of finance capital in this area. For example, Blue Cross, which administered \$2.9 billion in claims in 1965, handled \$26 billion in 1975. (2) This provided a tremendous pool of capital for investment (tax exempt by the way). In Cleveland, public hearings for rate increases have brought out that Blue Cross was seeking to make up for its losses in the stock market by increasing the rates the workers must pay for health insurance. Of course the insurance commissioner allowed the rate increases anyway. While having spent \$330 million for 30 new headquarters in the last six years, Blue Cross claims to be near financial collapse (it posted a \$500 million deficit in 1975). With such qualifications it too proposes to lecture the workers on holding down costs. In March it sponsored a conference on cost containment and proposed that hospitals lay off up to 20% of their workers (training them to qualify for jobs in other industries of course). (3)

Another way in which the state subsidizes finance capital in this area is through the issuing of tax exempt hospital bonds. Modeled after the tax exempt municipal bonds which have assisted in bankrupting so many U.S. cities, these bonds have increased 597% since 1971 and now total \$5 billion. (4) They are quite profitable, yielding 7 3/8% as opposed to an

average 6.1% for corporate bonds. (5) Many state and local governments have set up Hospital Financing Authorities to assist finance capital in exploiting this market. However, an additional feature of the all-round financial crisis is that many hospitals are nearing default to bond holders who have mortgage liens on hospital property. Further adding to the plunder of the workers on this front is the so-called malpractice insurance crisis created by the monopoly capitalists. Beginning around 1974 the insurance monopolies began doing propaganda that patients were suing their doctors in record numbers and that juries were making astronomical awards thereby threatening to bankrupt the insurance companies. With this subterfuge the finance capitalists increased malpractice premiums some tenfold since 1974. They did not, however, take any steps to improve the quality of medical care. What substance there is to this malpractice scare can be seen from statistics published quietly in the June 1977 *State Underwriter*. In 1976 the top 10 insurers charged doctors in one state alone \$52 1/2 million in premiums. They paid out \$13 million in claims. That leaves the insurance companies \$36 1/2 million.

Meanwhile the monopoly capitalists have been developing their state machine to further centralize their control in the health care area and to aid in shifting the burden of the economic crisis onto the backs of the workers and to suppress their resistance. Since 1972 the federal government has spent \$11 million on propaganda to mystify the reason for soaring medical costs and to develop programs to make the hospital workers and patients pay. (6) One of these programs is the Hospital Productivity Center in Austin, Texas, funded by HEW in 1975. "The center puts special emphasis on reducing personnel because it is the single largest item on every hospital budget, accounting for 50-60% of the total." (7) They also develop propaganda on efficiency and productivity to deceive the workers into accepting these attacks ("Accustoming the staff to the new methods has been the main problem so far" admits one flunkie).

In 1974 the National Health Planning and Resources Development Act set up a network of 196 regional planning agencies called Health Systems Agencies (HSA's) to bring hospital administration more directly under government control. Now HEW Secretary Califano is pushing for a 9% ceiling on increases in hospital charges as a "stop gap" measure, to be in effect by Oct. 1. He also proposes to have a more comprehensive national plan for health care ready by

March 1978, possibly including National Health Insurance.

As well the capitalists are talking more about "preventive medicine", by which they do not mean preventing illnesses but instead preventing the patients from utilizing the health care facilities which they have been bled white to pay for.

The monopoly capitalists and their state have engineered the tremendous expansion of the medical care industry in the last thirty years and are directly responsible for the present crisis. They are stepping up their exploitation of workers in this area, are deteriorating services, and are doing large scale propaganda to blame the masses for the problems. The Carter administration has singled out the health care sector for particular attack and promises to intensify this offensive to make the workers pay in the months to come.

FOOTNOTES

1. "The Problem of Rising Health Care Costs", by the Council on Wage and Price Stability, 1976, p. 7
2. *Forbes*, March 1, 1977, p. 33
3. *Modern Healthcare* magazine, March 1977, p. 7
4. *Ibid*, June 1977, p. 48
5. "Sick Hospital Bonds", *Forbes*, Sept. 1, 1976, p. 45
6. "The Race to Cut Medical Costs", *Dunn's Review*, May 1977, p. 48
7. "Hospitals Trim Off Their Staffing Fat", *Business Week*, May 16, 1977, pp. 127-130.

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Fight the Govt.-Organized Fascist Anti-Busing Movement in Chicago

The following article is reprinted from a special issue of *Chicago Worker*, newspaper of the Chicago Branch of the COUSML, vol. 4, no. 3.

As the new school year begins the working class and oppressed people of Chicago are facing a serious problem. A racist and fascist movement is being organized in Chicago by the government of the rich monopoly capitalist bloodsuckers. This movement openly declares that it opposes the democratic rights of Blacks to equality in education, and opposes integrated schools for all youth. Furthermore, this movement is openly preparing for lynch-mob attacks on the Afro-American people such as occurred in Boston and Louisville.

The government of the rich has organized this movement, first, through continual propaganda against school integration by many government officials from Carter down to school Superintendent Hannon; second, by direct organized links between the government and the racist organizations; and third, by setting up a voluntary transfer plan -- a plan to bring a very small number of Black students into certain areas where the racists have been organizing for decades, thus creating the conditions to attack the Afro-American people. This plan is admitted to be insignificant as far as actual integration is concerned.

Government officials from President Carter down to Chicago School Superintendent Hannon have carried out continual propaganda against school integration and for the racist and fascist so-called "anti-busing" movement by promoting its catchwords "quality education" and "neighborhood schools".

Despite all his slick talk about supporting equality for Blacks, Carter declared himself in favor of segregated and unequal housing and education with his statements in defense of "ethnic purity" and for the "neighborhood school concept" during his campaign.

Mayor Bilandic has publicly met with virulent racist spokesmen, sympathized with them and said he has an "open mind" (to racism and fascism). Hannon has also made many public statements to spur on the fascist movement such as "quality education may have to precede integration"; "our basic responsibility is quality education"; and "We do not even have the resources to provide quality education".

This demagoguery about "quality education" is just a relish of the old racist formula "separate but equal". It is just fascist mystification meant to divert attention from the real issue involved in school integration -- that is, supporting the equality of education. It is a well-known fact that the worst schools, the most overcrowded, with the fewest facilities are reserved for the Afro-American people and other oppressed national minorities. The monopoly capitalists have always imposed segregation on the Afro-American people in order to subject them to unequal conditions in all aspects of life, and to make superprofits from the intense exploitation of the Afro-American people.

Further proof that the government is consciously organizing the racist and fascist movement can be seen from the fact that they have chosen to organize only token integration of the schools. They are concentrating this movement in the area of the Southwest side where racist gangs and neighborhood associations, organized to attack Blacks and keep them out of the area, have been consolidated for many years. The School Board plan is to send a very few Black students into this area in order to set them up for attack and provide the best opportunity for the development of the racist movement and for it to win victories.

Meanwhile the Bogan area racists have taken up their cue and recently vowed that they will come under the leadership of the nazis and the KKK if the school officials don't quit their talk about integration (and it is only talk, as the school board itself admits that its voluntary transfer plan will not integrate the schools). They make no secret that their aim is to resurrect Hitlerite fascism and the lynch-mob and cross-burning attacks on the Afro-American people by the KKK.

This fascist movement is being closely coordinated with the violent attacks on Afro-Americans in the Marquette Park area, such as the bombing of houses, stoning of motorists, etc. These two campaigns are organized to complement each other. This can be seen by the fact that various city and government officials, including aldermen and police, who are active in organizing these campaigns, refer to these two campaigns with the same breath, and actually call on the racist forces to intensify these attacks.

WHY IS THE MONOPOLY CAPITALIST CLASS ORGANIZING RACIST AND FASCIST MOVEMENTS?

Over the past 22 years since the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955 and before, the Afro-American people have waged a vigorous struggle against racial discrimination and violent repression. Victories were won over some of the most blatant aspects of the Jim Crow segregationist system, such as the segregation of eating places, transportation, etc. One of the positive results of the recent Afro-American struggle is that the Blacks threw off some of the most humiliating aspects of their oppression and lifted their heads with full dignity and pride as they heroically fought to a standstill an enemy -- U.S. imperialism -- as blood-thirsty as the world has ever seen. The struggle and resulting dignity not only galvanized the Afro-American people to great achievements and prepared the Black workers to act as an advanced contingent in the cause of the American proletariat, and it also won the Blacks wide admiration and respect by the ordinary masses in social and political life, both in the United States and throughout the world. Today the rebellious working class, students and youth of all races and nationalities in the U.S. look to great Black revolutionary heroes such as Malcolm X and George Jackson for inspiration. Despite the fact that the struggles of the Afro-American people did not yet reach their goal of complete emancipation, yet an extremely important advance was made against the barbarous, semi-feudal, semi-slave Jim Crow system of racial segregation in social life.

The Black workers could not fully play their role as part of the leading and main force of the U.S. revolution -- the proletariat -- had they not waged militant resistance to the medieval outrages perpetrated by U.S. imperialism.

SCHOOL INTEGRATION IS IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WHOLE WORKING CLASS

School integration is supported by the class-conscious workers. It is a matter of winning what limited democratic rights are possible for the Afro-American people and the workers as a whole under the dictatorship of the monopoly capitalist class. School integration opens up contact among the working class youth of different nationalities and assists them in uniting against their common enemy, the capitalist class. It is precisely for this reason that the monopoly capitalist state will never implement full integration. In Chicago everyone knows this. The public school student population here is 75% national minorities and the full integration of the schools would mean the annihilation of the racist and fascist movement by the Black and progressive white youth. It would obviously greatly develop the unity of the Black and white youth in common struggle. Thus it is easy to see that integration serves building the revolutionary struggle of the working and oppressed people.

The monopoly capitalists and their state machine have never reconciled themselves to the vigorous development of the Afro-American movement and the victories it has won. They want revenge. They want to break up the unity which has developed among the working and oppressed people as a result of these struggles, further split the working class, incite the white working people to go against their class interests and become the hangmen for the rich, and to drive the Afro-American people back to the conditions of Jim Crow segregation.

The present period is a period of deepening all-round crisis for the monopoly capitalist class. These bloodsoaked parasites are attempting to shift the burden of economic crisis onto the backs of the working class and oppressed people and are preparing to launch aggressive war. In order to do this the monopoly capitalists must stifle the growing resistance of the working class movement by intensifying their fascist rule. These racist and fascist attacks against the Afro-Americans form the cutting edge of this growing fascism. The government is organizing this racist and fascist movement and inciting racist attacks, and then using these attacks as an excuse for the further build-up of the police state. (For example, when the police recently admitted that they would not prevent racist attacks against Black school children, Police Supt. Rochford quickly called for the stationing of police in every classroom.) These are the monopoly capitalists' reasons for organizing the racist and fascist movement.

This movement is being directed not only into the heart of the most revolutionary class -- the industrial proletariat -- but also at its most revolutionary section -- the youth. With their attempts to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the backs of the workers, and in their preparations for imperialist aggressive war, the U.S. monopoly capitalist class places great store in gaining control over and misleading the youth with the most reactionary ideology. The bourgeoisie is fully aware that the youth are a tremendous revolutionary force and play a major role in the development of the revolutionary movement. In order to try to block the youth from participating in the growing revolutionary movement, the monopoly capitalists are using this racist and fascist movement to attack the Black youth, and try to mobilize the white youth into fascist gangs and incite them against their Black class brothers.

However, the youth today have fresh in their minds the experience of the great revolutionary mass movements -- the Afro-American movement, the struggles against the U.S. imperialist war of aggression in Indochina, the youth and student movement against the bourgeois educational system, etc. They will not simply relinquish this experience and become pawns in this racist and fascist onslaught.

THE STATE EXISTS TO SERVE AND PROTECT THE RICH

In order to oppose these attacks, the working and oppressed people must discard all illusions that they can rely on their enemy for protection, or that their enemy will become soft-hearted and stop organizing racist attacks of their own accord. The monopoly capitalist class is consciously organizing this racist and fascist movement. The entire state machine, including the police, courts, army, National Guard, etc., is the organ of the monopoly capitalist class, with which they carry out their dictatorship over, and suppression of the working and oppressed people.

In the past two weeks, Police Supt. Rochford, Mayor Bilandic, and others, have issued statements that they stand for "order", that the children will be protected, and that police will even be stationed inside the classroom to "insure" this. The working and oppressed people have ample experience with how the various sections of the state machine "protect" them. For instance, when the marches took place against segregation of housing in Marquette Park last summer, racist attacks were organized against them. The police, other government officials and the bourgeois media were actively calling for these fascist attacks to take place. When the march materialized the police were there supposedly to "protect" it. In fact, they set the marchers up for attack by forcing them into a position of being easy targets for the racist thugs who were there awaiting their arrival. The police then arrested those who actively defended themselves against these attacks. Black homeowners who took up weapons to defend themselves against these racist goons were also arrested. The police then arrested, mainly on minor charges, a few of the

racist thugs, including an "off-duty" cop, who carried out these attacks. None of these thugs ever spent a day in jail, and in fact, the "off-duty" cop miraculously vanished before reaching the police station!

This is what Comrade Lenin had to say about "order":

"According to Marx, the state is an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class

Anti-Fascist People Defeat Klan Again

Once again in Columbus, Ohio, the broad masses of the people demonstrated their sentiment to oppose the racist and fascist Ku Klux Klan when it tried to organize an anti-busing rally. 500 anti-fascists showed up to denounce the KKK and demonstrators clashed with the police called out by the bourgeois state to guard the Klan rally and to punish the demonstrators.

On September 5, a few KKK fascists tried to organize the anti-busing rally on the steps of the state capitol. Their attempt to rally the people around racist and anti-communist propaganda was aborted. Instead 500 anti-fascist people showed up to disrupt the rally. The people denounced the Klan spokesman and splattered him with eggs as he tried to address 24 cordoned-off supporters. At the same site in July the anti-fascist people had dealt a sharp blow to the KKK and its racist and fascist ideology when the Klan tried to organize an anti-busing rally on July 300 demonstrators then marched against the rally and attacked and beat the klansmen. On September 5, the KKK was shown to be unable to organize anything in Columbus, Ohio, other than deep opposition from the people.

The government, which gives the KKK its only substance, first issued the permit to the Klan to hold its rally and peddle its racist and fascist lies on the

state capitol's steps, and then sent in its police force to protect the KKK from the masses. After the Klansmen left the rally by retreating into the statehouse, the police tried to punish the people for their anti-fascist stand by attempting to disperse the demonstration, but the demonstrators resisted. At least two demonstrators were clubbed to the ground and seven were arrested. At least three police were seriously injured. While the KKK has no support from the people and the people have great enthusiasm to oppose the KKK, the monopoly capitalist class uses its entire state apparatus to support and defend the fascists. This shows that the KKK is a flimsy state-organized gang created to attack the people.

The monopoly capitalist class, hoping to get out of its insoluble crises, is trying to prop up the KKK and other fascist organizations for use as a commando squad to attack the Afro-American people and split the working class in order to aid it in shifting the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the people. However, whenever the KKK or other state-organized fascist gangs have tried to organize anything, the American people have risen up to punish the fascists and to oppose their attacks on the Afro-American people, other oppressed nationalities and the whole working class and people. End.

Continued on next page

BRITISH PEOPLE SMASH FASCISTS

In mid-August the anti-fascist British masses smashed a demonstration in London and a meeting in Birmingham of the Nazi National Front. The anti-fascists from all sectors of the working class and people waged bloody battles with the police who were sent en masse by the bourgeoisie to protect the nazis. The people broke through the police lines to get at the nazis, seized them and punished them severely.

The Nazi National Front, which does the dirty work of the imperialist bourgeoisie of Britain with the support of its reactionary state machine, has been carrying on a vicious campaign of racist, anti-communist and anti-worker propaganda and is also guilty of the murder of four East Indian people in the last year. For these and all its crimes the National Front has won the hatred and felt the blows of the democratic and anti-fascist British working class and people.

On August 13, 1,000 nazis tried to march through the Lewisham district of London where East Indian and West Indian and other immigrants and working people live. Their banners and slogans blamed the immigrants for the increase in crime and other problems caused by the capitalists' deepening crisis. 4,000 police, one-fourth of the entire London police force, marched alongside the nazis to protect them from the seething masses. The 5,000 anti-fascists, shouting "Smash the National Front", charged the police lines and battled the police who defended the nazis to the hilt, outfitted for the first time in London with anti-riot equipment. In the fierce struggle 56 police were seriously injured. When the anti-fascists broke the police lines, the nazis suddenly lost all their "courage" and ran, but were unable to escape severe beating by the anti-fascists who used pieces of wood, bottles and stones as weapons. 214 anti-fascists were arrested by the police.

Two days later the nazis organized a "Keep England White" meeting in Birmingham under police protection. This was a deliberate provocation against the East Indians, the West Indians and all workers in this industrial center. 400 anti-fascists clashed with the police in order to break into the meeting hall and thrash the nazis.

Not only the police, but the entire racist and fascist apparatus of the reactionary bourgeoisie's state machine defended and promoted the nazis. The High Court refused requests for bans on the Nazi demonstrations and the Home Secretary of the British government even went on the radio to defend the Nazi demonstrations under the hoax of "the right for the people to demonstrate in our sort of society". The reactionary bourgeoisie uses its state machine to deny all rights to the immigrants and to suppress the struggles of the youth and the entire working class against the shifting of the burden of the economic crises onto their backs. This same state machine champions the "democratic" rights of the nazis to carry out their crimes and with this as its excuse sends its armed police to fight on the side of the nazis against the people. This exposes the bourgeois state as the real organizer of the attacks on the immigrants and of the fascist gangs.

The reactionary press of the bourgeoisie in Britain and internationally also played its role of serving its reactionary masters by slandering the British people and propagating the racist line of the nazis. On the one hand, the press promoted the National Front as a "way out" of the present capitalist crisis in Britain and as an "alternative" to the bankruptcy of the other bourgeois parties in the next election fraud there. On the other hand the press claimed that the British people, not the government, were racists who oppose the immigrants and are responsible for the nazis and their crimes. This is a great slander against the revolutionary British working class and people, whose true spirit is represented by the thousands of anti-fascists who soundly thrashed the nazis!

The promotion of the National Front nazis by the imperialist bourgeoisie of Britain and the intensification of the state-organized racist and fascist at-

tacks on the immigrants comes at a time when the economic and political crisis of the capitalists is deepening and broadening there. Unemployment is at the highest levels since World War II, with 1.6 million unemployed. Prices are rising at the rate of 17% a year. The youth are being denied jobs and are being blocked from every side by the capitalists. The workers are rebelling against the deals worked out by the trade union bosses, the capitalists and the government for imposing "sacrifices" on the workers, and they are launching militant struggles to resist the shifting of the burden of the crisis onto their backs. Under these conditions the state of the reactionary bourgeoisie is viciously attacking every section of the working class to suppress the struggles of the workers against being saddled with the crisis. Racist attacks are being organized against the immigrants by the state through the fascist gangs and through legislation to intimidate them and suppress their struggle against intensified capitalist exploitation. The Nazi gangs, which the bourgeoisie in each country always keeps standing in the wings, are being invigorated for use as a reserve detachment against the entire working class.

The revolutionary violence of all sections of the working class in Lewisham and Birmingham directed against the National Front is a fine example of the correct attitude to be taken towards these racist and fascist state-organized attacks which are aimed at splitting the working class and suppressing revolutionary struggle. So too, the slogan of the fighting organization of the East Indian people in Britain, the Indian Defense Committee, "Self-Defense is the Only Way!", points to the correct path of active resistance to fascism. It is this common stand of the immigrants and all the British proletariat and people that will steel the people in struggle against their enemy and will lead to the overthrow of the reactionary bourgeoisie. Any opportunist theories that preach the "peaceful road" or uniting with the reactionary bourgeoisie of one's own country allegedly to oppose the Soviet superpower have as their aim to turn the people from the revolutionary path and must be thoroughly exposed as being on the side of the reactionary bourgeoisie.

The reactionary bourgeoisie in Britain is preparing conditions for Nazi fascism in the country. It is resorting to the promotion of Nazi political parties and is disguising this with only a very thin veil of demagoguery about "democratic rights" of the Nazi assassins. The state of the reactionary bourgeoisie has already started massacring immigrant workers and is attempting to whip up racist hysteria and national chauvinism to implicate the rest of the British working class in this suppression of the immigrant workers. But the bourgeoisie is facing determined opposition from the working class and people of Britain. The British working class and people have a deep sentiment against fascism. The best sons and daughters of the British proletariat and people died on the battlefields of the Spanish Civil War fighting the fascism of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. Throughout the great anti-fascist war against German nazism the British working class and people made great contributions and lost hundreds of lives to defeat Nazi terror. The British people will never forget the devastation into which the racist, anti-people and anti-communist ideology of Nazism plunged the people of Britain and all Europe. The recent stand taken by the British masses in Lewisham, Birmingham and elsewhere reflects this deep anti-fascist sentiment of the British working class and people. The united stand of the immigrant workers and the rest of the British workers and people against the racist and fascist National Front is a blow against the plans of the bourgeoisie to incite the British workers against the immigrant workers, and the resolute opposition of the entire working class and people against the National Front nazis is a firm block to the bourgeoisie's plans for fascism. End.

Red Salute to the Communist Youth of Canada!

Speech by a representative of the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists to the First National Canadian Youth Festival held in Montreal, August 12-14, 1977. This youth festival was organized by the Communist Youth Union of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), the Canadian Cultural Workers' Committee, and the Canadian Workers' Association.

I bring a bright red salute to the Communist youth of Canada from the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists. The American Marxist-Leninists and proletariat harbor a great love for the Canadian youth. In the 1960's the American working class, the Afro-American people, the youth and students all arose in great revolutionary struggles against the U.S. monopoly capitalist class. The American youth played a central role in all of these struggles: going to the front lines of the battle against U.S. aggression in Cambodia, Viet Nam and Laos, to the front lines against the barbaric racial discrimination and violent repression of the Black people, and on the front lines against the intensified capitalist exploitation in the U.S. The revolutionary American youth waged untold battles with the U.S. state and on numbers of occasions sacrificed their lives in heroic struggle. But within this revolutionary mass upsurge the dark forces of revisionism and "new leftism" were active to stifle the revolutionary initiative of the youth, to mystify the target of the revolutionary movement, and to suppress it. The revisionists and "new leftists" hid the guide to revolutionary action, Marxism-Leninism, and peddled anti-Marxist, capitulationist, reformist and terrorist theories.

It was during this time when the American proletariat and youth were being stifled by revisionism and "new leftism" that the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution burst on the world like a clap of spring thunder and brought us Mao Tsetung Thought, a sure guide to revolutionary thought and action, to combat revisionism and "new leftism". It is to the undying glory of the Canadian youth, organized as the Canadian Internationalists and led by Comrade Hardial Bains, that they swept away this fog of revisionism, implanted the lessons of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution on North American soil, and created a great movement against revisionism and for proletarian revolution that led to the founding and consolidation of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist).

Comrades, the bringing of the lessons of the Cultural Revolution to North America and establishing the theory and methods of smashing revisionism and opportunism has been an inestimable contribution to the American revolution; it is the contribution of Marxism-Leninism. It is with Marxism-Leninism and the lessons of the Cultural Revolution that the American youth were able to fight revisionism and establish the American Communist Workers' Movement (Marxist-Leninist) -- the main predecessor organization to COUSML -- as the first national center for the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It is with this contribution of the Canadian Communist youth that we were able to create and develop the great movement for Marxism-Leninism and against revisionism, the great movement to establish the U.S. Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

Comrades, it is for this reason that we will forever harbor love and friendship for the Canadian

youth. A friendship established on the granite foundations of the class struggle against U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie of every country. A friendship nurtured in the truth of Marxism-Leninism and the struggle against revisionism.

Today, the American working class, the Afro-American people, the American youth and students are again embarking on the road of revolutionary mass struggle -- a struggle to put to death the tyrant and butcher of the American and world proletariat, U.S. imperialism. Over the last few months 70,000 coal miners have for the third year in a row organized a general strike against the monopoly capitalists' shifting of the burden of the economic and energy crisis onto their backs. They are throwing the monopoly capitalists into ever-deeper chaos and smashing Jimmy Carter's dreams of solving the capitalist energy crisis at the expense of the American proletariat. The Afro-American people and the working class have now arisen several times to combat the increased fascist terror of the U.S. state and to put a stop to the state-organized racist and fascist mass movements. The revolutionary masses are developing struggle on many fronts, and as in the 1960's it is the youth who are advancing to the front lines of the struggle. The youth are especially hard hit by the capitalist economic crisis, having the largest unemployment, lowest pay, etc. They are being attacked and jailed by the fascist U.S. state and subverted with a fascist and decadent culture that is aimed at sapping their revolutionary energy. It is this oppression that is again turning the youth, full of vitality and life, to revolutionary struggle to smash the fascist U.S. state. Comrades, in today's world who is it that really has initiative? U.S. imperialism has aspirations to control and run rough-shod over the proletariat and people of the entire world -- but it is rapidly becoming the case that they cannot even control their own proletariat. Initiative is in the hands of socialism, the proletariat and revolutionary people the world over; it is these forces that have become the main trend while imperialism and reaction find themselves in ever-deeper chaos and crisis.

It is in this excellent situation that social-chauvinism is raising its head to stifle the American anti-fascist proletarian socialist revolution and to save imperialism. Comrades, the "new leftism" which we fought in the 1960's is adapting Marxism-Leninism to itself and has degenerated into the utter morass of social-chauvinism. The so-called "Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)" (formerly October League) is the concentrated expression of this social-chauvinism; it is reviving all of the discredited and dead opportunist theories of Browder, Tito and Khrushchov; it is adapting itself to the U.S. monopoly capitalist state which is crisis-ridden and facing increased rivalry with Soviet social-imperialism. The OL is whipping up an hysteria about impending inter-imperialist war between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism to float the social-chauvinist thesis that the American proletariat should direct its main blow against the New Tsars of the Soviet Union. This theory which opposes the preparation and organizing for proletarian socialist revolution in the U.S., seeks to make the American proletariat "patriotic" defenders of the fatherland and cannon fodder for the U.S. imperialists' united front against Soviet social-

imperialism.

In the "draft program" of its "party" the OL admits that the war of which they are speaking is an inter-imperialist war -- that is, a war between two slave-masters to redivide the slaves and loot -- that is, a totally unjust war, a war that should be fought against. But to justify themselves they claim that the Soviet Union is the "main source of war", "the most dangerous of the two super-powers", the "mightiest military power in history". The main point to make on this is: that with these sophistries the social-chauvinists are trying to justify taking sides in what they themselves admit is an inter-imperialist war. A war between slave-masters, no matter who starts it or who "unjustly" has the most slaves to start with, etc., is still a war between slave-masters and a war to attack the slaves. The proletariat is against all slave-masters -- against the world imperialist system. The U.S. proletariat can only hope for the defeat of its own government in an unjust war and works for its overthrow by means of a revolutionary civil war. In so doing, the U.S. proletariat is rendering the deepest support to the oppressed proletariat in the Soviet Union and to the proletariat and oppressed people of the world. The OL has become so degenerate that it is now claiming that the U.S. state is not stepping up war preparations fast enough; it is claiming that the U.S. is "soft" on the Soviet social-imperialists, that this is supposedly increasing the threat of war and that therefore the proletariat must assist U.S. imperialist war preparations by demanding increased production of the B-1 bomber, etc. The OL has simply capitulated to U.S. imperialism and wants to drag the American proletariat down the same road.

By capitulating to U.S. imperialism, the OL has capitulated to the entire world system of imperialism. This truth is seen in practice in the OL's failure to support the national liberation war in Angola led by UNITA against Soviet social-imperialism. And this shameful capitulation is raised to a "theory" in OL's Titoite version of the opportunist theory of "Three Worlds". This theory denies proletarian revolution in the U.S. under the guise that the American proletariat is part of the counter-revolutionary "first world" and must direct the "main blow" at the Soviet Union. This theory apologizes for neo-colonialism -- and in particular prettifies the U.S. neo-colonial empire -- and totally negates the great theory of new-democratic revolution by handing over the "third world" struggle to feudal landlords, the reactionary bourgeoisie and other neo-colonial puppets. This theory prettifies the reactionary "lesser" imperialist bourgeoisie of the "second world", urging them on to imperialist exploitation of Asia, Africa and Latin America under the hoax of "uniting with the third world". And this theory totally ignores and negates the great role of the socialist countries as bastions of world revolution and the leading role of the international communist movement. OL's theory of "Three Worlds" is a theory of all-round capitulation to the entire international reactionary bourgeoisie.

Comrades, the American youth and students, the proletariat, which made many sacrifices in the struggle against U.S. aggression in Cambodia, Viet Nam and Laos, is not about to accept this capitulation to the reactionary bourgeoisie nor this justification for neo-colonialism. It is because this social-chauvinism

is so completely unacceptable to the revolutionary masses that the OL is having to resort to the Khrushchovite methods of political blackmail. In the 1960's Khrushchov attacked Chairman Mao Tsetung and Comrade Enver Hoxha as "splitters of the International Communist Movement", "adventurists", "trotskyites" and "anti-Soviets" in an effort to cow them down and impose his revisionist line on the International Communist Movement. Today OL calls anyone who opposes their social-chauvinism "revisionist", "centrists", and "trotskyites" of all types, from Brezhnev on down". Khrushchov speculated on the prestige of Lenin and the Great October Socialist Revolution to try and impose revisionism on the International Communist Movement. Today the OL, speculating on the love for Chairman Mao Tsetung, is hiding its revisionist line under alleged loyalty to Mao Tsetung Thought. But OL has never supported the International Communist Movement. They have consistently negated the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (which was personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao Tsetung) and today its political blackmail is most of all directed at opposing the leadership of the International Communist Movement, Comrade Enver Hoxha and the Party of Labor of Albania. For instance, despite its written promise after the 7th Congress of the PLA, OL never published the historic Report to the 7th Congress, and in a recent series of articles on the communist movement in Europe they fail to mention a word about the stand of Enver Hoxha and the PLA. This silence on their part demonstrates their opposition to the leadership of the International Communist Movement and shows that their sudden so-called loyalty to Chairman Mao Tsetung is a complete sham, a vicious attempt to negate the true teachings of Chairman Mao Tsetung, and is nothing more than an attempt to float political blackmail against Marxism-Leninism and the line of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania.

Comrades, on March 13 a representative of the COUSML pointed out at the closing rally of the 3rd Congress of CPC(M-L) that the COUSML has a rich heritage of fighting revisionism and opportunism and that we would never allow this social-chauvinism to develop in the U.S. Today, comrades, I can report to you that there is a great movement underway in the U.S. to DENOUNCE SOCIAL-CHAUVINISM, UNITE THE MARXIST-LENINISTS AND TO BUILD THE MARXIST-LENINIST COMMUNIST PARTY THROUGH THE REPUDIATION OF REVISIONISM AND OPPORTUNISM. Marching forward under the slogan of CLOSELY FOLLOW THE LEADERSHIP OF COMRADE ENVER HOXHA this movement is already isolating the social-chauvinists and imbuing the revolutionaries with the spirit to stand up and fight. Comrades, I am quite convinced that it is only this movement to denounce the social-chauvinists, unite the Marxist-Leninists and build the party that has any future while opportunism, revisionism and social-chauvinism have only a past of ignoble defeats.

Again a red salute to the Communist youth of Canada and to its leader, the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist).

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA (MARXIST-LENINIST)! End.

Four Point Program of the Canadian People's Defense Committee

The following is reprinted from People's Canada Daily News, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist), Vol. 7, No. 163, July 11, 1977.

The Canadian People's (Citizens and Residents) Defense Committee will work resolutely to defend the broad masses of the people against any and all attacks by the reactionary Canadian state. It will fight all kinds of political and social persecution as well as state-organized racist attacks. This fight will be waged by relying on the strength of the people themselves, creating no illusions that there are other means to make the state stop its political and social persecution and racist attacks.

The CPDC will work tirelessly for the genuine independence of Canada and will oppose all foreign domination of our country, especially the domination by U.S. imperialism which is the main foreign im-

perialist power dominating the economic, political, social and cultural life of Canada. It will oppose the two superpowers and the aggressive military alliances of NORAD, NATO and the Warsaw Pact. It will oppose the traitorous Canadian state for participating in war preparations or using the youth of Canada as cannon fodder in imperialist war on behalf of either superpower. Furthermore, the CPDC will vigorously support the struggle for genuine independence, democracy, peace and progress on a world scale.

The CPDC will oppose the subjugation of the nation of Quebec and will work vigorously for the total national and social emancipation of the people of Quebec. It will firmly support the struggle of the Native people for the restoration of their hereditary rights and will oppose any form of intrusion in the land and life of the Native people. It will resolutely support all people who are subjected to discrimination be-

cause of their race or region of residence.

The CPDC will work for the establishment of genuine democracy in Canada. Today, the so-called "democracy" in Canada is the democracy of the rich. It is the democracy of a tiny minority which controls all the means of production and distribution and which uses its state to oppress the nation of Quebec, deprive the Native people of their hereditary rights, immiserate the youth, discriminate against women and viciously exploit and suppress the broad masses of the people. Genuine democracy means the democratic right of the Quebec nation for self-determination and secession (if the people of Quebec so desire), the restoration of the hereditary rights of the Native people, and an end to attacks by the state on the youth, women workers and the broad masses of the people. It means an end to all social and political persecution of people because of their ethnic or cultural back-

ground. The CPDC will work tirelessly for the establishment of a genuine democratic state, a state of the vast majority of the people. That state will appropriate the tiny minority that today owns the means of production and distribution, and it will suppress all national traitors and those who persist in exploiting the broad masses of the people.

The Canadian People's (Citizens and Residents) Defense Committee calls upon all genuinely democratic, progressive and patriotic people to unite in action in order to implement the Four Point Programme of the CPDC.

DEFEND THE BASIC INTERESTS OF THE CANADIAN PEOPLE!

For further information, write to CPDC, P.O. Box 451, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada. End.

CHICAGO BUSING
Continued from page 5

privating the oppressed classes of definite means and methods of struggle to overthrow the oppressors." Bourgeois "order" is order which deprives the working class and oppressed people of definite means and methods of struggle. The everyday experience of the Afro-American people, when it comes to the police "protecting" them from racist attacks, is that this protection, even when it includes the arrest of a few racists, is primarily organized to suppress the resistance of the Afro-American people and to prevent them from actively defending themselves. Such are the intentions of the police department when Rochford says they will "keep a low profile" in relation to racist attacks on school children, and yet be prepared to put a "cop in every classroom" to "maintain order". The police act in service to the rich ruling class. They are notorious the world over for their suppression and wanton murders of the Black people, Black revolutionaries, and youth. They will not change their sole basis for existence and suddenly become the defenders of the interests of the people.

As well, one hardly needs to be reminded of the atrocities carried out by the National Guard at the command of their monopoly capitalist masters. The ruling class called out the National Guard to suppress the Afro-American rebellions in the '60's; to attack the students of Jackson State and Kent State Universities who were denouncing the U.S. imperialist aggres-

sion in Cambodia in 1970; and the National Guard is repeatedly used to attack workers who are waging militant strike struggles. It is utter nonsense for anyone to suggest that the monopoly capitalists would call on the National Guard to protect the very people they are violently attacking. To make such a suggestion is to attempt to disorganize resistance and leave the people prone to more intensified attacks.

ACTIVE RESISTANCE IS THE ONLY PATH FORWARD

The Afro-American and other working and progressive people have the experience of the past 22 years and more of waging glorious struggles against racial discrimination and violent repression. The Afro-American rebellions of the '60's shook the very foundations of U.S. imperialism's bloody rule. Active resistance to racist and fascist attacks is of vital importance to opposing growing fascism and to preparing the working class for proletarian revolution. The complete overthrow of the monopoly capitalist blood-suckers, and the triumph of socialism in the U.S. is the only way to put an end, once and for all, to racism and fascism.

DENOUNCE THE GOVERNMENT-ORGANIZED RACIST AND FASCIST MOVEMENT!!!!
ACTIVELY RESIST RACIST AND FASCIST ATTACKS!!!!

End.

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IMMIGRATION
Continued from page 1

CARTER'S RACIST AND FASCIST "ALIENS" BILL

The U.S. government, the state machine of the monopoly bourgeoisie, has always viciously persecuted immigrants, especially those who are driven to this country from oppressed nations and progresses seeking political and social refuge. Carter's bill will not change this policy, but will only further legalize the persecution of immigrants. The "aliens" bill is aimed at stepping up and intensifying this historical racism and fascism of the U.S. state.

Except for the Native People, the U.S. is a country of immigrants and descendants of immigrants (voluntary and involuntary, as in the case of the Afro-Americans). However, according to the government, an estimated eight million immigrants, who, because of racist and arbitrary immigration laws, have entered the country without papers, are condemned as "criminals", as "illegal aliens". Carter's new bill is being painted as an act of "compassion", giving "amnesty" to these so-called "illegal aliens". This legislation will put these immigrants into three classifications for persecution.

First, those who have entered the U.S. "illegally" since January 1, 1977: The bill calls for the round-up and mass deportation of these immigrants. Heavy fines of \$1,000 for each offense are to be placed on employers for hiring "illegal" immigrants. The Border Patrol is to be doubled to 4,000 troops and equipped with more electronic equipment, helicopters, etc., and other repressive forces throughout the country will be beefed up for the surveillance and deportation of immigrants.

Second, those immigrants who entered the country between Jan. 1, 1970 and Jan. 1, 1977: These make up the great majority of the so-called "illegal aliens". They will be given an official classification of "temporary alien residency" to last for a five-year period, after which their status will be re-determined, possibly to be deported. Immigrants with this status will have absolutely no rights whatsoever. They will be allowed no social services, such as unemployment benefits, welfare, etc. They will not be allowed to bring in their families. They will be denied voting, jury and other legal rights. They will be put under close surveillance by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, subject to deportation if they prove to be "undesirable", which means if they have progressive ideas and "cause trouble" for the bourgeoisie. The millions of these "temporary alien residents" will be allowed only the "right" to be obedient slaves for the capitalist employers.

Third, the tiny minority of immigrants without proper papers who can prove that they have lived in the U.S. uninterruptedly since before 1970: The Carter administration, through its "devotion to human rights", has proposed that these immigrants, less than ten per cent of the total, be allowed the "privilege" to stay in the U.S. and apply for eventual citizenship.

How "compassionate" are the U.S. imperialist slave-masters? They are going to let less than 10 per cent of past "illegal" immigrants, who have lived a life of hunted slaves for over seven years, become "legal" wage-slaves like the rest of the American workers, while the rest of the immigrants are forced into a "legal" slave-labor pool and the status of "illegal aliens" is maintained for all those who refuse to accept this fascist program.

It has already been admitted in the bourgeois press that this anti-immigrant bill is unworkable, that immigrants will, in the main, reject this so-called "amnesty" and will be forced to continue to live as so-called "illegals". However, this legislation will mean that immigrants will be subjected to even fiercer persecution than before. All Spanish speaking, or non-English speaking, or even so-called "foreign looking" people (including the nearly two million Puerto Rican immigrants, who, as direct colonial subjects of the U.S. state, are allegedly granted some rights here, as well as the millions of non-immigrant Mexican nationality people of the Southwest), will be subject to surveillance and harassment, classification, vicious discrimination in employment as "possible illegal aliens" and even deportation.

CARTER'S "ALIENS" BILL IS PART OF THE GROWING FASCISM OF THE U.S. STATE

Presently, the U.S. monopoly capitalist system is in the grips of severe all-round crisis. In their drive to make the people bear the burden of the deep economic crisis, the capitalist moneybags are stepping up the exploitation of the workers, imposing high rates of inflation and massive unemployment and increasing prices and taxes through such means as Carter's energy fraud, etc. The imperialist monopolies are also trying to shift the burden of their crisis onto the oppressed peoples and nations abroad, particularly those of Asia, Africa and Latin America. So as to escape from the deep crisis, the U.S. imperialists are preparing for war against their chief imperialist rivals, the Soviet social-imperialists, for the re-division of markets and spheres of influence. Thus, to serve increasing exploitation and war preparations, the monopoly capitalist war-mongers are fascizing the state.

The bourgeoisie has singled out definite sections of the people for particularly fierce attack. The Black people and other oppressed nationalities and the millions of immigrants with no rights whatsoever are particularly hard-hit with the consequences of the capitalist economic crisis. The racist and fascist attacks of the state against the Afro-Americans, other nationalities and immigrants are the cutting edge of the growing fascism of the big bourgeoisie.

In Germany in the 1930's, when the monopoly capitalist system was in deep crisis and the German imperialists were preparing for aggressive war, the bourgeoisie installed Hitler and imposed fascism on the German people. To put the entire German working class and people under fascist slavery and tie them to the Nazi war machine, the Hitlerites carried out the most barbaric persecution and slaughter of the Jews,

Slavs and other peoples. In the U.S. today, while the various Nazi sects of Hitler worshippers and the KKK carry out open propaganda for Hitlerism, the monopoly capitalist state is intensifying the racial discrimination and violent repression against the Black people and other oppressed nationalities and is stepping up its persecution of immigrants, implementing a Hitlerite program in deeds.

The racist and fascist attacks on the immigrants are aimed at maintaining them as a super-exploited sector of the proletariat and population with the lowest pay and no rights to resist. Under the constant threat of deportation, immigrants are forced into a condition of the worst slavery. They are forced into jobs often way below the legal minimum wage with intolerably long hours (and under certain contract schemes, immigrant laborers receive no wages at all). Young immigrants are often forced into crime and prostitution on threat of deportation. In the factories and sweatshops, the immigrants labor on the assembly lines with one eye over their shoulder, on the watch for the armed goons of the state making a raid. In one such raid on a plant in the Chicago area last April, 20 thugs of the Immigration and Naturalization Service made 124 arrests and immediately deported over 90 workers to Mexico. Nearly 900,000 arrests and over 800,000 deportations were made in 1976 alone. Furthermore, the dark skinned immigrants from Mexico, the Caribbean and Asia are subject to a system of racial discrimination and violent repression similar to that imposed on the Black people. They are systematically driven into the worst ghettos and their children to the worst schools, etc. These are the conditions which face this heavily exploited sector of the proletariat. Carter's new bill will only intensify these attacks on the immigrants.

STEPPED-UP PERSECUTION OF IMMIGRANTS IS AN ATTACK ON THE ENTIRE WORKING CLASS

The persecution of immigrants is not a question facing only immigrants, but is an attack on the entire working class and people. The super-exploitation of the immigrant workers is aimed at splitting the working class as a whole and weakening the class in the face of attacks by the bourgeoisie. When the rich single out a sector of the people for brutal attack, this is only to pave the way for similar attacks against the working class and people as a whole.

For example, several months ago the Carter administration floated the scheme to make mandatory the carrying of identification cards for every employable person in the country, complete with fingerprints, photos and coded numbers with political and other information (similar to the hated pass laws of the racist regime in South Africa). This is aimed at tighter fascist state control of the masses in order to suppress their struggles. While Carter now professes to have "doubts" about this scheme (which he hypocritically calls a "police-state" measure), his "aliens" bill will, in fact, mean the issuing of these I.D. cards. Presently, both immigrants and non-immigrants are subject to interrogation and harassment by immigration agents and must prove that they are not "illegals". But to force I.D.'s for one section of the population is unworkable unless the other sections of the people carry I.D.'s to prove they are not of the first category. Thus the logic of Carter's bill will force the imposition of a fascist I.D. card system onto the entire working class and people. Thus, under Carter's bill, not only will "illegals" be classified and issued a number, but non-immigrants will also have to carry proof that they are not immigrants. For this, members of the Carter administration have already proposed a counterfeit-proof Social Security card as a step in the direction of a national I.D. card for greater surveillance of the working people as a whole.

Another example of how the persecution of immigrants is part of the attacks on the entire working class is the welfare cut-backs contained in the "aliens" bill and Carter's new welfare "reform" bill. It was only two weeks after Carter announced that immigrant workers who can't find work will not be allowed to collect welfare, that he announced his welfare "reform" under which all workers on welfare who "refuse" to work at slave-labor or at non-existent jobs will also be thrown off of welfare.

These conditions of the worst slavery imposed on the immigrants by the monopoly capitalists serve to drive the whole proletariat deeper into capitalist wage-slavery. The Mexican and other immigrants are brought by the capitalists to this country not out of the "charity" of the government but to be exploited as low paid laborers in the most back-breaking and dangerous jobs for the very purpose of driving down the wages and working conditions of the working class as a whole. Immigrants are used by the capitalist employers to create competition and stir up contradictions among the workers. For example, President Carter, who is so "concerned" about "downward pressure on wages", last month personally intervened to allow a big capitalist grower in Texas to bring in over 800 Mexican contract laborers to harvest his onion crop at wages and under working conditions which other farmworkers would not accept. Through such measures, the growers have driven down the wages of the onion harvesters of the Southwest from 50¢ per bushel picked last year, to this year's 25¢ per bushel. The government also has a policy of importing trained personnel, hospital staff such as nurses from the Philippines, doctors, engineers, technicians, etc., which are cheaper to have trained abroad. Bringing in these immigrants, who are viciously persecuted and low paid, brings down the pay in these professions.

Thus, the vicious persecution and super-exploitation of immigrants is aimed at stepped-up political oppression and increased impoverishment of the working class and people as a whole. The Hitlerite racist attacks on immigrants are part of the fascistization of the state, and are aimed at making the people pay for the crisis and preparing for imperialist war.

MONOPOLY CAPITALISM, NOT IMMIGRATION, IS THE CAUSE OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND THE GROWING IMPOVERISHMENT OF THE WORKING CLASS

The monopoly capitalists seek to "justify" their Hitlerite attacks on the immigrants by the standard fascist propaganda of blaming the victims, the immigrants, for the crimes of their attackers, the big bourgeoisie. The so-called "liberal bourgeoisie", the "friends of labor", the Democrats from Kennedy to Carter, are the most avid enthusiasts for the persecution of immigrants, claiming that immigrants are the cause of unemployment and put "downward pressure on wages".

It should be pointed out that, on their part, the chieftains of the AFL-CIO and other top labor bureaucrats are also advocates of the most rabid racism and fascism against the immigrants. These traitors are carrying out a propaganda campaign for mass deportations and for the exclusion of all immigrant workers from the U.S. They want to set the American proletariat against the poor proletariat and tie the American workers to aggressive U.S. imperialism, against the people of the world. This chauvinist campaign has gone to the extent of organizing picket lines of Mexican nationality workers to protest immigration by their own people. Carried out in the name of the workers, this campaign only serves the interests of the top stratum of sold-out labor aristocrats and the monopoly capitalist class. It does not serve the basic U.S. proletariat, an important revolutionary part of which is immigrants and whose interests lie with the proletariat and oppressed people of the world. This campaign is aimed at splitting the working class and tying a part of it to the enemy class, the bourgeoisie and its state, against the immigrants.

The bourgeoisie is expending a great deal of resources in pushing its big fascist lie that immigrants are the cause of unemployment and the growing impoverishment of the working masses. They have set up several organizations solely for this purpose, such as the Washington based Zero Population Growth organization, which has shifted its anti-people propaganda from "there are too many people" in general, to "there are too many immigrants" in particular. However, nothing can hide the fact that unemployment and the growing impoverishment of the working masses are an inherent feature of the monopoly capitalist system.

In the present world economic crisis of the capitalist system, the bourgeoisie has thrown tens of millions of workers into the street to make the people pay for their economic crisis. This, not immigrants, is the cause of wide-scale unemployment. Massive unemployment exists in every country of the capitalist-revisionist world without exception, regardless of the number of immigrants there. In the U.S., while the rate of immigration recently has been below the historical rate of the last 30 years, the rich have thrown over eight million workers into the ranks of the unemployed. In fact, the bourgeoisie imports immigrants for the very purpose of causing competition among the workers, cutting wages and grabbing higher profits, so as to shift the burden of its crisis onto the workers. And yet it has the nerve to blame unemployment on the immigrants!

As for the alleged "concern" of the government about immigrants putting "downward pressure on wages", this is nothing but a cruel joke. Since when is the government of the rich "concerned" about the low wages of the workers? If itself is the biggest instrument for suppressing the wages of the workers. The state -- the armed forces, police, courts, jails and so on -- is an instrument in the hands of the rich for exploiting the workers. It drives the workers' wages down to the minimum, breaking workers' strikes for higher wages, etc. It is this very same state which viciously attacks the immigrant workers, driving them into a lowest-paid section of the proletariat, for the very purpose of putting "downward pressure on wages" of the working class as a whole.

The propaganda campaign of the bourgeoisie that the problems facing the workers are caused by immigrants is aimed at creating public opinion in support of attacks on the immigrants and splitting the resistance of the working class. It is intended to divert the working-class struggle against unemployment and for higher wages away from its real target, the monopoly capitalist government and economic system.

PERSECUTION OF IMMIGRANTS TO PROTECT U.S. NEO-COLONIALISM ABROAD AND MONOPOLY CAPITALIST RULE AT HOME

The bourgeoisie and the state completely mystify why immigrants come to the U.S. Except for the

fascists and reactionaries (ex-Nazi war criminals, Hungarian and Cuban counter-revolutionaries, blood-soaked puppet generals from Viet Nam and elsewhere, who are driven out by the people), the basic masses of immigrants are toilers driven from oppressed and dependent nations by imperialism. The majority come from the countries under the heel of the U.S. neo-colonial empire -- Mexico, the Caribbean and other parts of Latin America, the Philippines, Palestine and other Asian countries. These nations have been decimated by imperialist plunder and exploitation and are ruled by the neo-colonial or colonial puppet regimes of U.S. imperialism. The working masses of these countries are driven from their homelands by the barbaric imperialist, bourgeois and feudal exploitation, mass destitution and political persecution imposed on them.

The Mexican, Haitian, Dominican, Filipino, Palestinian and other immigrants are marked by the storm of anti-U.S. imperialist, anti-feudal revolutionary struggle which is raging in these countries. At the heart of the U.S. proletariat, the millions of immigrants from the U.S. neo-colonial empire constitute a powerful revolutionary force. These immigrants are very receptive to Marxist-Leninist politics, create public opinion for revolution and against U.S. intervention in their own countries and militantly participate in the struggles of the U.S. proletariat against the capitalist system. Thus, to suppress the struggle against U.S. neo-colonial domination of the weak nations, to persecute a militant contingent of the U.S. working class and to suppress the working class movement and communist movement, the U.S. state carries out Hitlerite attacks on immigrants and the Carter administration has proposed legislation to intensify these racist, anti-worker and anti-communist attacks.

FIGHT THE HITLERITE ATTACKS OF THE STATE AGAINST IMMIGRANTS!

In the face of the Hitlerite attacks of the state on the immigrants, the Mexican and other immigrant communities have no choice but to get organized to wage fierce, blow-for-blow struggle against these attacks. The working class and all progressive people must fight the vicious persecution of the immigrants. However, to defeat the government, there can be no illusions about the enemy. The state, headed by the Carter administration, is extremely treacherous. It presents a "humane" face of smiles and demagoguery to cover up the worst sort of fascism. To launch his anti-immigrant campaign, Carter first removed an ex-Marine Corps commander and appointed a Mexican-American, Leonel Castillo, an ex-poverty program director, as the Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service to carry out racist and fascist attacks against his own people. The state will carry out mass deportations, jailings, political persecution, the enforcement of a national identification card, etc., all in the name of "compassion" and "human rights".

The monopoly bourgeoisie paints its savage dictatorship over the working class and oppressed peoples as a "democracy" and a "free society". It tries to create illusions among the people that, for instance, immigrants can rely on the state to win "democratic rights". But in the U.S. there is freedom only for the blood-sucking monopoly capitalists to exploit and persecute the working people and none for the people to resist. The government's persecution of immigrants shows clearly that imperialism means reaction all down the line and that the state of monopoly capital is thoroughly racist, anti-working class and anti-communist. Illusions about "American democracy" are aimed at liquidating the struggle against the racist and fascist attacks of the state on immigrants and other revolutionary struggles.

However, neither Carter's appointment of Leonel Castillo, nor his preachings about "compassion", "human rights", and "American democracy" can liquidate the revolutionary struggles of the people. The fight against racist and fascist attacks on immigrants is part of the struggle of the American proletariat and people to smash the growing fascism of the state and overthrow the barbaric system of monopoly capitalism. This struggle will certainly be victorious. End.

Report on Albania



By Comrade Hardial Bains
Head of the Delegation of
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ONLY THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE WILL

Four years have elapsed since the fascist military coup in 1973. Four years of brutal oppression and super-exploitation of the Chilean working class and people for the benefit of U.S. imperialism and the Chilean oligarchy.

Even though these long years of repression have been extremely difficult, the Chilean people have drawn important lessons in their struggle against fascism. They never cowed down before the fascist beasts and have fought them with all the means at their disposal.

This year witnessed an upsurge in the struggles of the masses against the tyranny. Struggles such as a large number of strikes by workers in different sectors of production, struggles of the peasants in defense of their land, of university students against self-financing, etc.

The junta has responded to this situation with new repressive measures and reinforcing those already in effect, such as the state of siege, curfew and other measures. In spite of the criminal repressive measures, the Resistance is developing day by day with the proliferation of underground committees of Re-

sistance and the publication of new underground newspapers.

There exist conditions increasingly more favorable for the development of an ever larger number of mass battles that would culminate with the overthrow of the Junta and the smashing of the repressive apparatus. U.S. imperialism as well as the civilian reactionary sectors in Chile have responded to this situation by both continuing to give economic and military aid to the dictator Pinochet and at the same time initiating a series of manoeuvres to replace Pinochet and give a more "democratic" image to the neo-colonial regime in Chile. In this way they attempt to diffuse the explosion of the popular hatred against their hangmen, while preserving the repressive apparatus which serves the interests of the U.S. imperialists and the Chilean reactionary bourgeoisie.

This process corresponds to the new tactics of U.S. imperialism and serves their global strategy of world domination. Carter uses the method of imperialist pacifism, such as posing as defender of "human rights", to conceal the war preparations and counter-revolutionary activities of U.S. imperialism on a

world scale and mobilize the oppressed peoples abroad and in the U.S. into the "anti-Soviet-social-imperialist front" the U.S. is preparing in order to fight the equally aggressive "anti-U.S. imperialist front" the New Tears of the Kremlin are setting up.

To these new imperialist tactics correspond the "criticisms" of Carter against Pinochet for the violations of human rights in Chile. The tyrant Pinochet has also initiated a series of manoeuvres in response to these new tactics of U.S. imperialism. Manoeuvres such as the recent "dissolution" of the DINA, the sinister private police, changing it by a so-called "National Center of Informations" (CNI) which is just a new name for the same repressive organ.

At the same time certain "leading" sectors that participated in the Popular Unity government, such as the leadership of the revisionist party, have pledged their support to the reactionary manoeuvres of U.S. imperialism and they see these manoeuvres as "the alternative" for replacing Pinochet. They are following the same line of always, trying to divert the people from the road of determined class struggle against their enemies, while engaging in

dirty deals with the military and other reactionaries behind the backs of the people.

In the face of all this, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the People's Front are raising ever higher the flag of the Resistance, upholding the line of class struggle. By relying mainly on their own forces, with the support of the international proletariat and the progressive people of the world, the Chilean people are bound to win.

**LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE!
LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S FRONT!
ONLY THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE WILL OVERTHROW FASCISM!**

End.

The Second National Conference of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile--Press Communique

The following Press Communique and 16 Public Resolutions of the Second National Conference of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, which were published in ANCHA, No. 22, July 1977, were sent to People's Canada Daily News. The full text follows:

PRESS COMMUNIQUE

Somewhere in Chile, on the 29th of May, 1977, the successful conclusion of the Second National Conference of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile called by its Central Committee took place. Important resolutions on the present national and world situation were discussed and approved. Furthermore, the necessary measures and orientations were established to raise to a higher level the struggle which the Chilean people are developing to overthrow the fascist pro-Yankee dictatorship and to finally smash the regime of oppression, exploitation

and dependence with which the reactionaries and imperialists subjugate Chile.

In circumstances in which the ultra-reactionaries and the Yankee imperialists unleash a brutal dictatorship against our people, the convocation, development and successful conclusion of the Second National Conference of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, constitutes a triumph of the Chilean proletariat in its fight to open up the road toward its liberation. Also it represents a hard blow to the attempts of the fascists to suppress the Chilean proletariat and people through its regime of terror and hunger. In spite of the existence of this sanguinary system of oppression, our Party has shown its revolutionary mettle strengthening itself day by day. It has linked itself closer to the masses, leading important struggles and developing in the heat of them.

The successful culmination of this Second National Conference has also constituted a serious defeat to

the attempts of the revisionist clique to brake and stop the struggle that our people are waging to overthrow the dictatorship and fight imperialism. Their pretensions of dragging the anti-fascist resistance movement toward the road of capitulation and "exchange" raised by Freim which signifies the replacement of Pinochet but the leaving intact of the present repressive system of exploitation and social dependence, will have to be repudiated and swept away by the popular revolutionary struggle. The Chilean people, united around the anti-fascist Minimum Programme and under the leadership of the proletariat, forges ahead day by day, impelling all forms of struggle against the dictatorship. Finally, with their own weapons in their hands, they will succeed in completely destroying the system of oppression, exploitation and dependence of Yankee imperialism and the native reactionaries.

In conclusion, we should hold very high the steel-

like political, ideological and organizational unity demonstrated by the Party, around the correct line laid down by its Central Committee. The Second National Conference adopted measures for the greater strengthening of the Party on all fronts. The event concluded with a warm and profound revolutionary homage to our dear and remembered comrade Guillermo Arevalo, assassinated by fascists in September 1973.

**LONG LIVE THE CHILEAN PROLETARIAT AND PEOPLE!
LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM!
LONG LIVE THE SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE!**

National Propaganda Commission
Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile
End.

Adopted by the National Conference of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, May 1977

1. Redouble the efforts which the Party has begun to realize to organize, encourage and lead the struggle of the popular masses for the overthrow of the pro-Yankee fascist dictatorship.
2. Encourage and develop the largest unity of the popular masses and the other anti-fascist and patriotic democratic sectors to vigorously fight against the dictatorship and smash it. The key to this broad front is the unity between the workers and peasants. The leadership should be in the hands of the proletariat. Its immediate content is summed up in the Minimum Programme of the People's Front. The perspective is indicated in the Democratic Programme of Anti-Fascist Unity, as a prior and necessary step to advance the Popular Democratic Programme established by the revolutionary Chilean

SUPPORT THE CHILEAN RESISTANCE MATERIALLY!

(From September ANCHA)

Together with the various tasks of international solidarity, such as the isolation of the dictatorship, the repudiation of its crimes, the moral support to the struggles of La Resistencia, we should seriously take up the problem of material support to the struggle which is being carried forward in Chile.

From Chile, El Frente del Pueblo (the People's Front) has asked us to initiate a campaign to economically support the various tasks which are called for by the clandestine style of work.

Especially, we should send money to finance the persecuted comrades who should work illegally, to help the political prisoners and their families, for the development of a fund underground press and for the different tasks of the Committees of Resistance.

As to the question of finances, the comrades in Chile adhere to the politics of supporting themselves by their own means, however, because of the difficult situation which exists over there, it is necessary for us to increase our efforts to assist them in this respect.

All the money which is received is sent to Chile, and from there El Frente del Pueblo sends a note confirming receipt and the comrades who gathered the money.

RESPOND TO THE CALL MADE TO US BY LA RESISTENCIA CHILENA!

Send the donations by postal money order or check to BERNARDO GUERRA at the following address:

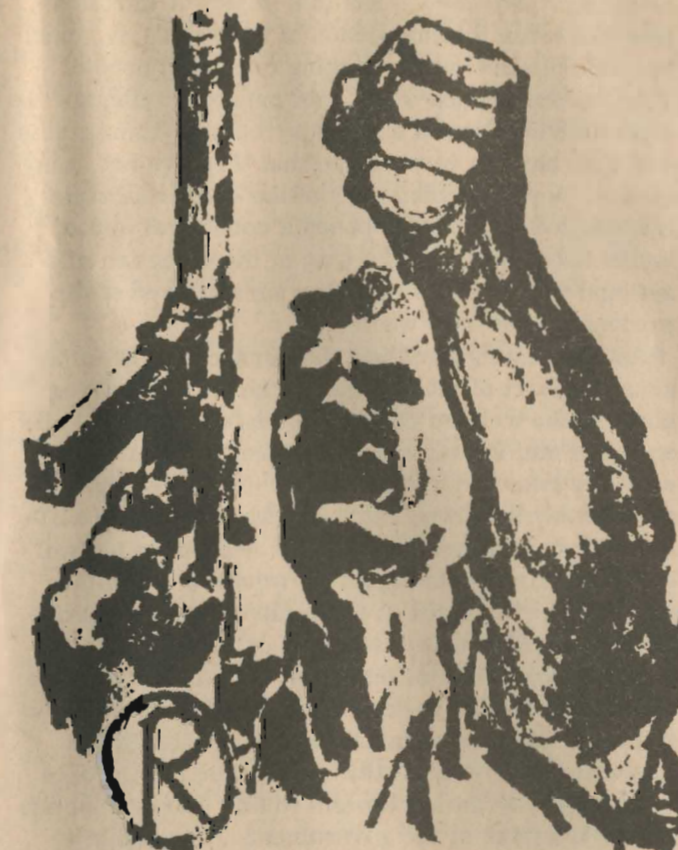
ANCHA
R.P. 58 Paris 75023
Cable: 13 France

Comrades of El Frente del Pueblo: We are sending you this as a first step to contribute to the struggle which the Chilean people are carrying forward to overthrow the dictatorship, smash fascism and win their own liberation.

NAME
ADDRESS
CITY AND COUNTRY
COMMENTS

3. To fight against defeatism, pacifism and the wait-and-see attitude that the Freim clique and the revisionists attempt to sow amongst the popular masses. The Party should firmly expose such positions which capitulate before the reactionaries and imperialism, by denouncing, isolating and hitting at such opportunist cliques. To oppose any way out which would leave intact the instruments of repression perfected by the fascists, because with them, they are attempting to perfect the present system of oppression and exploitation and dependence and to brake the popular revolutionary struggle against the reactionaries and Yankee imperialism. This type of way out is what the Freim movement proposes, to which revisionists adhered, thus adding one more treachery to its list of capitulations.
4. Encourage and develop all the forms of organization and struggle, starting from the level of the consciousness of the masses, of each sector, and stressing especially the organization and development of increasingly more combative mass actions. No form of struggle should be excluded in the fight against the dictatorship, even though the people will not be able to overthrow and destroy the last roots of fascism and the system of exploitation and present dependence except by developing as the principal form of struggle the people's armed struggle, victoriously led by the proletariat and its Marxist-Leninist vanguard.
5. Consolidate the unity of the people by encouraging and developing with greater vigor the basic organizations of the People's Front at all levels and in all possible sectors. The unity of the people should be built up from their own basis. To give priority to the natural forms of organization of the masses but understand, left to themselves, in the present conditions, these are very limited in the sense of mobilizing the masses in a revolutionary manner. The Party established that, while encouraging the development of the natural organizations of the masses, in their daily clandestine organizations of different sizes are established with the most advanced elements. Such have been to date the People's Front committees, the Resistance committees, the anti-fascist committees, etc. The actions of these natural organizations of the masses are completed by that of the committees comprised of the most advanced elements.
6. To give priority to the work in the working class and amongst the young peasants. This work in the proletariat is the big in fact and in the nature of political importance. The Party, at each level, must and methodically conduct this important work.
7. To realize all the alliances and agreements possible with the other anti-fascist political forces, on the basis of the organization, encouragement and development of the struggle of the broad masses to smash the dictatorship. The content of these alliances is determined by the Minimum Programme of the People's Front and the perspective they will take up is determined by the degree of unity and the revolutionary importance that will develop in the course of the anti-fascist struggle. The Party must make the greatest efforts at all levels to encourage these political alliances in such a manner that they serve to develop the unity, the organization and the struggle of our people to overthrow the dictatorship.
8. To emphasize the building and the development of the Party, through the masses. To carry out local

in an uninterrupted manner the liberation struggle of our people, build a firm and disciplined Party, closely linked with the masses, armed with Marxism-Leninism and which continuously practices criticism and self-criticism. To achieve the greater and faster development of the Party, through systematic planning and control, be vigilant as far as recruitment, regular functioning of the organs of leadership at all levels (taking the cell as the basic organization of leadership) and the formation of revolutionary prole-



THE RESISTANCE WILL WIN!

arian cadres. Overcome those styles and practices of study and work which are harmful, by means of periodic standing up which combines criticism and self-criticism, and the systematization and synthesis of the experience and in which concrete measures to reach are firmly implemented in practice. To make efforts to make all the Party organizations, at all levels, into genuine organizations which lead the struggle, give priority in the political discussion to the problems of the masses and to the encouragement of a group guided by the political line of the Party and which mobilize them in a revolutionary manner.

9. Improve the proletarian composition of the Party, by developing it in the first place among the working class. Make our Party a proletarian party, in its ideology, ambitions as well as its class composition and political mettle.

10. Develop the internationalist tasks of the proletariat.

11. Develop the unity of the International Marxist-Leninist Movement and the development and strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist parties. Greatly develop the international solidarity amongst the proletariat, the peoples and their Marxist-Leninist vanguards in the common struggle for national independence, people's democracy and socialism. The Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile publicly thanks the Marxist-Leninists and progressive sections of

the peoples of the world for the solidarity and support given to the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist struggle of our people.

12. Encourage the struggle against modern revisionism and its variations by bringing forward our own experience. The dissemination of the conclusions drawn by the Chilean revolutionary proletariat -- the light of Marxism-Leninism -- on the failure of the experience encouraged by the revisionists in our country during the Popular Unity government, the object of which was to try to replace in Chile a state bureaucratic capitalist regime dependent on Soviet social-imperialism, is of great importance for the affirmation of correct ideas.

13. Promote the international unity of the proletariat and the peoples in a large world front, under the leadership of the proletariat and the Marxist-Leninist parties, to fight against the two imperialist superpowers (the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.), main enemies of the peoples of the world, of the revolution and socialism. Place particular emphasis on the struggle against the two superpowers, in each region or country, and the necessity of concentrating the blows against that which constitutes the dominant power, without depending on one to fight against the other and vice versa, to take advantage of the contradictions between them that benefits the revolutionary struggle. Furthermore, hold very high the leadership of the proletariat, which is to give imperialism of each country and the internal reactionaries who in consequence and success, it is indispensable to simultaneously fight a revisionism.

14. To hereby affirm the Joint Statement of the Eight Latin American Marxist-Leninist Parties which reportedly publishes the resolutions of the meeting held in Tehran, Albania, between the same parties in November 1976.

**LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST MOVEMENT!
LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!
LONG LIVE MARXISM-LLENINISM!
THE ARMED PEOPLE WILL NEVER BE SMOTHERED!**

Central Committee of the Revolutionary Committee!
Party of Chile!
Second National Conference of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile
May 29, 1977
End.

MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES OF LATIN AMERICA DOCUMENTS

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Page 4

OVERTHROW THE FASCIST REGIME IN CHILE!

In Latin America's "Southern Cone" -- The Strategy of Terror

Today Latin America is rising up in struggle against U.S. imperialist domination and all imperialism and colonialism. The U.S. imperialists have not become sensible or reasonable on this account, but are stepping up the most savage terror in revenge against the people's struggle and in order to strengthen U.S. domination. The U.S. imperialists are aided in their brutal aggression by the U.S. social-chauvinists (socialists in words, but U.S. great-power chauvinists in deeds). These social-chauvinists are negating the existence of a vast U.S. colonial empire. Whistling in the dark, they are presenting neo-colonial regimes and feudal-military oligarchies in Latin America as alleged fighters against the hegemonism of the two superpowers. Under the hoax of "supporting the third world struggles" they are opposing the national liberation movements, betraying the proletariat, peasantry and other patriotic elements in the oppressed nations and fervently embracing fascist dictators. Only by exposing and fighting the social-chauvinists can the proletariat display the true spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The following article from ANCHA, the Chilean Anti-Fascist News Agency edited abroad by the People's Front, exposes U.S. imperialism's brutal aggression. It exposes various concrete ways in which the U.S. neo-colonial empire operates and it denounces the U.S. imperialist lackeys and local reactionaries. In our opinion, it thus exposes the hoax of "third world unity" between imperialist butchers and hangers-on. The "unity" of imperialist agents stands in direct opposition to the true unity of the peoples fighting imperialism, a unity based on struggle against imperialism and the local reactionaries. The proletariat must support the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed nations and peoples against U.S. imperialism or else it will sink in a sea of chauvinism and be slaves forever to the U.S. monopoly capitalist dictators.

The following article is reprinted from the June 1977, No. 21 issue of A.N.C.H.A., the Chilean Anti-Fascist News Agency.

Latin America is passing through difficult times. As a continent in the hands of the U.S. and considered as nothing more than the U.S.'s "back porch", Latin America is subjected to the most brutal oppression and despicable exploitation.

The Monroe Doctrine, "America for the Americans", is applied today more than ever, with the people's suffering as the result. Day after day, the people live and suffer under hunger, poverty, fascist terror, death and all types of repression.

We are speaking of Latin America as a whole, because even in the few countries which still have "democracy", U.S. imperialism exercises its power and domination through different means. So we can safely say that from the Rio Grande to the Patagonia, one boss gives the orders and reaps the dividends from the super-exploitation that the peoples of Latin America face.

But, what we want to detail in this account is the method of power exercised by the U.S. in the countries known as the "Southern Cone" -- Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Bolivia.

The fascist dictatorships in these countries, supported by the U.S., have worked out a common strategy against the peoples of their respective countries for several years now. The cycle began in Brazil, where they have worked out the model for the other dictatorships to pattern themselves after. Since 1964, the Brazilian people have lived under fascist terror. Since the military coup, all political parties and trade union associations have been outlawed, and censorship of the press has been instituted, as well as torture. Brazil also was where the "death squads" began to carry out their work. These are secret police organizations whose only task is the systematic assassination of anyone opposed to the regime.

All these repressive measures are practiced and developed by the Brazilian military, following the instructions of the CIA and other U.S. secret services.

The strategy of terror created by the U.S. and carried out by the fascist military is the means which U.S. imperialism uses to maintain its hegemony in the continent. This is the case, even with all of the "good intentions" spoken of by President Carter during his election campaign, when he was the champion of human rights and spoke out against the "injustices" committed by certain Latin American military regimes. Although many people had faith in the new president of the U.S., the facts show that U.S. imperialism has never thought of cutting off aid to the dictatorships that they themselves have installed.

The "advice" given the Pentagon by Nelson Rockefeller after his 1969 trip through Latin America is also in effect. At the time, he said, "Considering the increase in subversion, terrorism, and violence against the citizens, it is necessary that we maintain and reinforce the training program in the U.S. for the military and police of other hemispheres."

The Pentagon has carried out this advice to the letter. Every year, hundreds of officers in different branches of the Latin American armies are trained in the most sophisticated methods of repression in special U.S. centers. That is one aspect. There is also the tremendous help given through the massive shipments of arms sent every year to the Latin American dictatorships.

Aside from the training and U.S. aid, and following the strategy mapped out by them, the governments of Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia, Paraguay and Chile have extended their ties and have created an international repression machinery to coordinate all their repressive actions. So it's not strange to find among the old "graduates" of the "School of the

Americas" (one of the military training centers in the U.S.) two of the most bloody Latin American dictators, Pinochet and Videla.

The coordinated repression of the fascist governments is evident in all areas. Each one has declared, and sometimes jointly, their alignment with the "western, Christian world" in its struggle to the death against "Marxism-Leninism" and "terrorism". They have united around these "principles" to carry out terror and deliver whatever is left of their respective countries to their U.S. bosses.

To illustrate, we only have to mention some statistics of the degree of repression and the methods practiced by the fascists in the countries we have already mentioned.

The statistics for Chile are already well known. There have been more than 30,000 deaths since the fascist military coup, thousands of disappearances, concentration camps, torture, secret jails, censorship on all levels, the closure of universities considered "terrorist centers", and the suppression of all political parties and trade unions. At the same time, the deterioration of the people's standard of living has reached unimaginable depths. Thousands of workers and salaried employees have been condemned to unemployment; more than a third of the country's active population have no jobs.

The situation is almost identical in other countries. In Argentina, since Videla's coup d'etat of March, 1976, up to December, 1976, over 8,000 people have been assassinated.

By their own figures, the fascist "Triple A" organization claims to have murdered more than 10,000 people since 1973.

There are more than 25,000 political prisoners in Argentina today being held in jails and concentration camps. There have been more than 15,000 "disappearances".

During the last few months, political assassinations have averaged 15 daily. In the Federal Capital and Greater Buenos Aires alone, there are more than 40 "habeas corpus" petitions a day.

In Uruguay, the drama is even greater. Known as the "Switzerland of Latin America" in the past, the country is gripped in agony today. With a population of 2,500,000 Uruguayans, close to 500,000 have been forced into exile. The jails are overflowing with political prisoners, and in this area, Uruguay "boasts" of the world's record: 1 prisoner for each 450 residents. 1 out of every 54 residents has been interrogated or detained by the military.

Similar or the same conditions are also true in Paraguay, Bolivia, and Brazil.

In all these countries, the techniques of repression are identical. The common denominators are assassinations, mass arrests, exile, kidnappings, and torture. The fascists rely on decrees and guns to carry this out. Calling on the "danger of terrorism", they have permanently instituted the "internal state of war", the "state of siege", "curfews", "exceptional laws", etc.

Their goal in all this is to implement and institutionalize terrorism aimed at stamping out all opposition. Daily terror and violence are waged against the people in struggle, who are demanding justice and a decent life.

One more example which re-affirms what has already been pointed out can be found in the 1976 Annual Report of Amnesty International regarding human rights in Latin America. According to the Amnesty International department in charge of the abolition of torture, of 100 investigated cases concerning the practice of torture, 80 were from Latin America. This means that torture is being systematically applied and has become a normal part of the interrogation of detainees in our continent.

But, the fascist militarists haven't just built a common model to institutionalize repression; they have also begun to coordinate their repressive actions.

An example of this is the case of torture and repression "advisors" in Chile. The majority of them are Brazilian and Argentinian police who have come to help the Chilean military perfect its repressive techniques. This has been sworn to by hundreds of patriots who have been in the DINA's hands in different jails in the country.

Another example is the case of Edgardo Enriquez, a leader of M.R. Enriquez was detained in Buenos Aires on April 10, 1976. He was then tortured by Videla's secret services. His detention was recognized by the Argentinian Vice-Minister of Foreign Relations, but his "habeas corpus" petition presented to the government was rejected. At the time, the Chilean newspapers controlled by the Junta announced his arrest, and later wrote that Enriquez had died "in struggle against the Argentinian repressive machinery". The truth is that Enriquez was turned over to the DINA on April 27, and since then has suffered the worst possible tortures. Both the Videla and Pinochet governments deny his detention.

This example has been repeated thousands of times, as Chilean, Uruguayan, Brazilian and Paraguayan refugees who had sought asylum in Argentina before the 1976 coup have been turned over to the fascist authorities in their home countries.

The coordination of the fascist regimes can also be proved in the murders of Bolivian General Juan José Torres and Chilean General Carlos Prats. Both were murdered in Argentina by the Argentinian repressive services in collaboration with the DINA and the Bolivian police. Other more recent cases which show the ties between the Argentinian and Uruguayan police are the assassinations of the Uruguayan political leaders Zelmira Michelini and Hector Gutierrez Ruiz, both killed in Argentina. Aside from these cases, there are hundreds of workers' leaders and Uruguayan students detained in Argentinian jails. One of these is the leader of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Uruguay, Mario Echegaray.

The coordination between the Argentinian and Uruguayan fascists is nothing mysterious. Even the press they control has made it public knowledge. In the October 29, 1976 issue of the Montevideo, Uruguay newspaper, "The Morning", they stated: "After long and detailed research by the Uruguayan security services, a new subversive movement based in Buenos Aires has been dismantled".

The Argentinian, Uruguayan, Bolivian, Chilean and Brazilian police agencies operate freely in the different countries. The fascist governments cover for each other to hide their crimes. We only have to remember the case of the 118 disappearances which the Chilean government claimed had "been killed in confrontations with the repressive agencies of other countries" to confirm this. This has become normal for the fascists. Last December, the Chilean Junta once again claimed that 8 disappeared people had "left the country for Argentina". The Videla government has acknowledged these reports, but the truth is that these people have been murdered or are still prisoners in the torture centers or secret jails.

Another example is the cooperation between the Bolivian and Chilean police. Many Chilean citizens have been arrested in Bolivia and sent back to Chile where they have been interned in the concentration camps. For its part, the fascist Bolivian government condemns many of its political prisoners to exile, sending them to Chile where Pinochet relegates them to the barren southern regions, where they are kept under constant surveillance.

We can go on forever with details of these deeds, but what we're interested in isn't just to show the level of cooperation reached among the fascist regimes, but also to show how this coordination follows the lead of the U.S., who sees this institutionalized violence and terror as the only alternative to make the Latin American peoples submit.

From the Front Ranks of the Chilean Resistance The Masses' Struggle is the Beginning of the People's Armed Struggle!

The following are quotes from an interview with Fanny Zulema, resistance fighter, freed recently from Chilean prison.

Q: Tell us a little bit about your role in the People's Front and as an active participant in the Resistance.

Zulema: I have been a member of the People's Front since its founding in 1974 and have seen how our ranks have swelled day by day in struggle.

As a professional, I actively participated in the Building of Resistance Committees. There are many tasks of the Resistance Committees, from discussion and study to secret propaganda work among the masses.

In May of 1975, I participated in a flash action in downtown Santiago where we passed out thousands of leaflets in the heart of the city. In other neighborhoods, the comrades went to the top of the most central buildings and stuck leaflets wetted with alcohol on the patios and windows so that when the alcohol evaporated the wind would carry the leaflets down to the streets below, giving the comrades time to leave the buildings with ease. This is just a small example of the masses' ingenuity. They have learned to use every means at their disposal to fight the most modern weapons and techniques of the fascist dictatorship.

During my imprisonment in the concentration camps, where the fascists thought they could extinguish my revolutionary convictions, my militancy in the People's Front never slacked for a moment. On the contrary, since this is one of the fronts where the Resistance is organizing and fighting.

The tortures that I was subjected to were aimed at lowering my morale and forcing me to inform on our organization. After my first interrogations I realized the desperation of the fascists, who didn't know a thing about the Front although we are carrying out daily actions across the country.

Q: What is the level of unity of the Chilean people in the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship and what are the difficulties which you still face for the completion of your objective?

Zulema: We in the Resistance see a great unity of action in our base among the people which is developing hundreds of organizations born in the flames of anti-fascist struggle. This unity of the people is the foundation which the entire activity of the People's Front supports and develops. Our Front represents the most advanced of the victorious political lines of the Chilean Resistance.

This line's principal objective is the overthrow of the fascist military junta by means of active struggle. That concretely means the use of all measures and in the unity of all sectors of the people who can be united.

But the people's response to oppression and terror has also developed. The Resistance in each of these countries is perfecting its methods of struggle to confront the fascist machinery.

In Argentina, between only March, 1976 and August of the same year, a 30% reduction in automobile production was registered, caused by sabotage and work slowdowns by the autoworkers. There have also been important workers' struggles in the electric company, the dock workers, and among student and other groups.

In Brazil, the student struggles have found new strength. During late April and early May of this year, thousands of youth marched in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and other cities demanding freedom for the political prisoners and democracy for the whole people. Also, on May Day important actions were carried out across Brazil. As a result, the police arrested many people, which sparked new, larger student demonstrations in the country's main cities.

In Chile, the Resistance has continued to grow in struggle and struggle has never ceased against fascist terror. The coal and copper miners have won strikes, as have other groups of workers.

We believe that, facing the coordinated repression in the "Southern Cone", we must build up the conditions for the common struggle of the people against the fascist tyrannies led by U.S. imperialism. Only the determined and joint struggle of our peoples can stop the unleashed terror and violence. To do this, we must support and unite with all aspects of these struggles being waged by the peoples in each of these countries and make them our own. End.

This political line is not the only among sectors who are opposed to the dictatorship. There is also the view that has no confidence in the masses and sees the salvation with one or another fraction of the bourgeoisie or among the U.S. imperialists.

These years of Resistance have been the best school for the Chilean people and have shown them in the course of struggle the best road to follow.

There is only one road today: **THE MASSES' STRUGGLE IS THE BEGINNING OF THE PEOPLE'S ARMED STRUGGLE!**

Q: What about the maneuvers of the Carter government concerning a supposed "democratization" of Chile? What is the view of the People's Front and what alternative do the Chilean people propose?

Zulema: Inside Chile, imperialism's followers are preparing to make a substitution for Pinochet. These changes are aimed at washing the hands and the face of the armed forces, to guarantee that U.S. imperialism's power doesn't become endangered by the masses in that part of the continent.

Today there are two alternatives that face the masses: first, that the U.S. government succeeds in substituting Pinochet and gives life to a pseudo-democratic government; or second, that the masses through the mobilization of a broad front go onto the offensive in all areas, making life difficult for imperialism and its scabs.

This offensive implies the beginning of higher forms of struggle. At the beginning, the armed struggle might have characteristics of hitting spies, torturers and fascists to justice and actions which would discredit the dictatorship. This would sharpen the contradictions and would polarize the reactionary forces on one hand and the people on the other. The mass struggle which is developing is the broadening of the People's Front into a broad anti-fascist front as its principal task.

We have always said that the People's Front is the seed of a unified mass front which would only exclude those who support the junta or who negate the struggle against the dictatorship. In other words, we promote the unity of the broad masses of the people.

Today it is necessary to reinforce the solidarity with the People's Front. It is also necessary to economically support the Resistance. Another important task is the campaign for the freedom for the political prisoners and in particular, solidarity with the "disappeared" comrades. Whatever is done in this sense is a very important contribution to the struggle which our people are carrying on with great sacrifices against fascism. End.



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60th Anniversary of the October Revolution in Russia

The Great October Socialist Revolution Is the Common

This year marks the sixtieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. The October Revolution was the greatest epoch-making event in world history. It revolutionized the entire world. It was not only a revolution of the Russian working class, but it belongs to the whole international proletariat and all oppressed peoples. It opened up the path to the liberation of all oppressed mankind. Its lessons must be studied by the proletariat of all countries in order to fight and overthrow their own oppressors. As Comrade Lenin, the leader of the October Revolution, wrote: "CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL FEATURES OF OUR REVOLUTION HAVE A SIGNIFICANCE WHICH IS NOT LOCAL, NOT PECULIARLY NATIONAL, NOT RUSSIAN ONLY, BUT INTERNATIONAL." (1) What are some of these features?

I.

The October Revolution was the first revolution of the proletariat to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie, establish a durable dictatorship of the proletariat, the rule of the working class over the capitalist exploiters, and build socialism. Led by Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, the Russian working class aroused the masses of laboring peasants and rose up in a mighty, violent proletarian revolution, smashed the repressive state apparatus of the capitalists and established a new proletarian state, a dictatorship of the vast laboring majority over the tiny exploiting minority. The proletarian state seized the factories from the capitalists and made them the property of the whole people and seized the land from the landlords and turned it over to the peasants for their use. The October Revolution breached the world front of imperialism, and, in one country, overthrew capitalism and replaced it with socialism. Like a peal of spring thunder, the October Revolution announced that a new world had been born from the ashes of the old. The overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat was the greatest historical victory of the international working class and of all oppressed mankind.

The Paris Commune of 1871, the very first time in history that the workers overthrew the bourgeoisie and established the dictatorship of the proletariat, was the glorious forerunner of the October Revolution. But it lasted only a brief period before it was crushed by the capitalists due to mistakes it made resulting from its lack of the leadership of a revolutionary proletarian party. The October Revolution was the first time in history that the exploited, toiling masses were able to seize and hold onto political power. Previous revolutions had all ended up in replacing the rule of one exploiting minority over the working masses with another one, replacing an obsolete form of exploitation with a new one. In the October Revolution, however, the proletariat, the most revolutionary class in history, in alliance with the laboring peasants, seized power from the exploiters and administered it in the interests of the vast majority, the exploited and oppressed masses. For this reason the October Revolution marked what Comrade Stalin called "A RADICAL TURN IN THE WORLD HISTORY OF MANKIND". (2)

The rule of the proletariat in Russia lasted roughly forty years. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party headed by Lenin and Stalin, the Russian people defeated the internal and external reactionaries, built socialism with a socialist modern industry and collectivized, mechanized agriculture, heroically defeated fascism in World War II and gave immense support to the world revolution. After Stalin's death in 1953 the Khrushchov revisionist clique overthrew the proletariat and temporarily restored capitalism, turning Russia into the social-imperialist superpower it is today. But this historical relapse did not eliminate the great revolutionary force of socialism, which continued to exist in the countries which remained on the path of socialism such as Albania and China. Nor could capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union and most of Eastern Europe change the fact that the October Revolution still gloriously blazes the way for the entire world revolution.

II.

The victory of the October Revolution brought to the world proletariat the revolutionary theory of Leninism. Under the leadership of Comrade Lenin the Russian proletariat made the dictatorship of the proletariat a reality, at once confirming the universal truth of Marxism and showing that it had developed into the new stage of Leninism. Comrade Stalin said that "LENINISM IS MARXISM OF THE ERA OF IMPERIALISM AND THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION. TO BE MORE EXACT, LENINISM IS THE THEORY AND TACTICS OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION IN GENERAL, THE THEORY AND TACTICS OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN PARTICULAR." (3) In the present era of developed imperialism, of the unfolding of the world proletarian revolution, the theory of Leninism is the absolutely obligatory guide to action for the proletariat and oppressed peoples to successfully carry out the revolution. The revolutionary authority of Leninism has become established as an irresistible force which is embedded in the hearts and minds of the millions of exploited proletarians and peasants the world over. At the call of Great Lenin, the Communist International was formed, Communist Parties were founded in many countries and the world revolution went through an unprecedented upsurge, leading to the establishment of still more socialist countries following World War II and to the wide-scale disintegration of the old colonial system. Chairman Mao Tse-tung wrote that "THE



SALVOES OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION BROUGHT US MARXISM-LENINISM" (4), the fundamental pre-requisite to the success of the Chinese Revolution, which followed the path of the October Revolution and breached the eastern front of imperialism. Similarly, the October Revolution brought Leninism to the American working class and it founded its Communist Party in 1919. Since then, all the advances of the revolutionary struggle of the U.S. proletariat have come about when its party followed the guidance of Leninism, whereas its defeats took place when the party departed from Leninism and embraced revisionism, ending up as the revisionist, bourgeois party it is today. The growth of the Marxist-Leninist movement in the U.S. in opposition to revisionism has, likewise, only been possible by firmly following the revolutionary authority of Leninism.

III.

Leninism came into being through a hard and bitter struggle against the revisionism of the Second International. The Second International developed in a relatively peaceful period of capitalist development, when imperialism was only emerging and the working class movement was undergoing the preparatory work for the proletarian revolution. With the guidance of Comrade Engels until his death in 1895, the parties of the Second International disseminated Marxism and developed mass political parties and trade unions of the workers on a large scale. The left wing of these parties later became the foundation for the new Marxist-Leninist parties of the Communist International. But after Engels' death, with the exception of the Bolshevik Party, the parties of the Second International departed from Marxism, conciliated with opportunism and fell into opportunism and revisionism. The parties of the Second International greatly overestimated the peaceful features of the period and degenerated from utilizing bourgeois legality into becoming subservient to it. They fell into a flabby spirit of philistinism and compromise. They flagrantly divorced theory from practice, issuing tons of revolutionary declarations but when crisis broke out and reality tested their determination to carry out these declarations, they gnawed before the bourgeoisie. These revisionists led peaceful, respectable lives competing with the bourgeoisie and each other for posts in parliament and the trade unions. They spread ideas of reformism in the working class, ideas that capitalism would change into socialism by the peaceful, evolutionary means of parliamentary and trade union struggle rather than by violent, revolutionary struggle, thus tying the proletariat to the bourgeois system. They failed to make serious preparations for revolution while denouncing the revolutionaries as "anarchists". When the First Imperialist World War broke out, their reformism led all the parties of the Second International except the Bolsheviks to betray their promises of "war against war" and go over openly to the side of the bourgeoisie. They became open social-chauvinists, calling upon the workers to desert their maternal land in the imperialist wars of "their own" bourgeoisie and thus to slaughter each other for the profits of capital "in defense of the fatherland". Thus the Second International collapsed and betrayed the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship. When the October Revolution took place, the revisionists of the Second International viciously attacked it and supported the armed intervention of imperialism against it.

Comrade Lenin led a vigorous struggle against the revisionism of the Second International. Lenin defended the purity of Marxism, linked it to the concrete practice of the revolution, restored its living soul and developed it to a new stage. He provided the proletariat with revolutionary theory, trained it in revolutionary methods of struggle, combated not

only the chauvinism of the revisionists but also their entire arsenal of reformist theories, methods and organizational forms, and thus brought to birth the October Revolution and gave the world Leninism. Today, just as truly as yesterday, Lenin's statement lights our path: "THE FIGHT AGAINST IMPERIALISM IS A SHAM AND HUMBLED UNLESS IT IS INSEPARABLY BOUND UP WITH THE FIGHT AGAINST OPPORTUNISM." (5)

IV.

Marking "A RADICAL TURN IN THE WORLD HISTORY OF MANKIND", the October Revolution put an end to the era of bourgeois revolutions, in which the exploiters play the central role and the workers and peasants take the back seat. The October Revolution opened up an entire new era in which the proletariat has mounted the center stage of world history and determines the destiny of the whole world, the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, the epoch of the transition of capitalism to socialism on a world scale. It aroused the proletarians of the imperialist countries onto the revolutionary path and drew the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and elsewhere into the common struggle against imperialism, against the international bourgeoisie and all reaction. The October Revolution formed what Comrade Stalin called "A UNITED WORLD FRONT OF REVOLUTION AGAINST THE WORLD FRONT OF IMPERIALISM". (6) Since the October Revolution the world has been fundamentally divided into two: the new, rising, revolutionary world of labor and socialism, and the old, declining, counter-revolutionary world of imperialism and capitalism. These two worlds are locked in life-and-death struggle against each other. The world of labor is made up of the socialist countries, the world proletarian movement and the national-democratic revolutionary movements of the oppressed nations. The world of imperialism and capitalism is comprised of the bourgeoisie of the imperialist and social-imperialist countries, the reactionary bourgeoisie, feudal remnants and reactionaries of all countries and the revisionists and opportunists of all stripes. The content of this struggle is the world proletarian socialist revolution, which will end in the transition of the entire world to socialism and communism. Our era, the era opened up by the October Revolution, is the era of the smashing up of this old world by the new.

The October Revolution took place under conditions of imperialism, the highest and final stage of capitalism. Lenin called imperialism "MORBUND CAPITALISM" (7) and said that "IMPERIALISM IS THE EVE OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION OF THE PROLETARIAT". (8) The October Revolution demonstrated the profound truth of these statements. The October Revolution breached the world front of imperialism, establishing the world's first socialist state. One-sixth of mankind broke free from the sphere of capitalist exploitation. This was a big sign pointing out the road to the graveyard for capitalism. As a result of the October Revolution and the First World War, the capitalist system entered its period of general crisis, a continuing crisis on all fronts of life characterized by, on the one hand, stagnation of production and all economic life, political crises, ideological degeneration and all-round decay, and, on the other hand, by the vigorous growth of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and peoples. The October Revolution spelled out the doom of the international bourgeoisie.

V.

The October Revolution opened up the path of the proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries like the United States. The October Revolution

showed that the proletariat of these countries can and must mobilize the urban and rural laboring masses behind itself and rise up in a violent proletarian revolution to overthrow the rule of imperialism and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, carry out socialist transformation of the mode of production and render selfless aid to the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed peoples. The October Revolution proved that in our era the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship are on the agenda in all the imperialist countries. It showed that the proletariat of these countries is fully capable of this lofty task and is a powerful revolutionary force which cannot be suppressed.

At the time of the October Revolution, Russia itself was an imperialist country, enrolled as a partner in the aggressive blocs conducting the First Imperialist World War. All the opportunist leaders of the Second International became social-chauvinists in that war and called on the proletariat of each country to slaughter the others in the name of "defense of the fatherland". The October Revolution showed that, provided the proletariat follows the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary line of aiming its main blow at "its own" imperialist bourgeoisie, it can defeat the chauvinism of the bourgeoisie and its agents and, by turning the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war, can utilize the war-time predicament of the bourgeoisie to overthrow it. The Russian proletariat, under the masterful leadership of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, turned even the frustration of an imperialist world war into the occasion for the proletariat to seize power, defeating even this desperate attempt of the bourgeoisie to save its rule from destruction.

Thus the October Revolution opened up the path for the revolution of the proletariat and working people of the imperialist countries.

VI.

The October Revolution also opened up the path of the new-democratic revolutions of the peoples of the colonial and dependent nations against imperialism and its lackeys. Formerly the national and democratic revolutionary movements in these countries were under the leadership of the bourgeoisie and led to the establishment of capitalism. The October Revolution shattered the control of the bourgeoisie over the liberation movement and made the liberation movement a part of the world proletarian socialist revolution. In our era the liberation movement is led by the proletariat and its party. By waging a revolutionary war, it carries out the democratic stage of the revolution and the national-democratic stage passes on to the stage of the socialist revolution. Thus, after the October Revolution, the national-democratic revolution was no longer part of the old world of capitalism but had become part of the new world of labor and socialism and a powerful force in combatting imperialism. As Comrade Stalin said, the October Revolution "ERECTED A BRIDGE BETWEEN THE SOCIALIST WEST AND THE ENSLAVED EAST, HAVING CREATED A NEW FRONT OF REVOLUTIONS AGAINST WORLD IMPERIALISM, EXTENDING FROM THE PROLETARIANS OF THE WEST, THROUGH THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, TO THE OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE EAST." (9) The Chinese Revolution, led by the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, was a great confirmation of the fact that the October Revolution had opened up the path for the liberation of the oppressed nations and is the common path for all oppressed mankind. Chairman Mao said: "THE CHINESE PEOPLE HAVE ALWAYS CONSIDERED THE CHINESE REVOLUTION A CONTINUATION OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION." (10) The Chinese proletariat founded its party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and led the Chinese people in the new-democratic and socialist revolutions, overthrowing first imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucratic capitalism, then the bourgeoisie as a whole, revealing in living practice the inevitable and necessary course of the oppressed nations on the path of the October Revolution, the only path to their salvation.

VII.

The October Revolution created the first country in the world with the social system of socialism, a country fundamentally different in its class nature from the capitalist countries ruled by the bourgeoisie, a country in which the most revolutionary class, the proletariat, held power. This is why the creation of the socialist Soviet Union was the greatest historical victory of the working class and of all oppressed mankind over the centuries of their struggles against the exploiting classes.

The creation of the first socialist state provided the world proletariat revolution with an organized base from which to mount its attacks on the bourgeoisie, a center around which to rally itself and all the oppressed for revolution. This is why all the capitalists so bitterly hated the Soviet Union, as long as it was socialist, and never ceased to try and overthrow the proletarian state power. During their lifetimes, Comrades Lenin and Stalin led the Russian working class in the class struggle and the exercise of the dictatorship of the proletariat, defeating all the internal and external enemies of socialism one after the other. Using the Soviet Union as a base, the Communist International was organized at the call of Lenin. Selfless assistance was given to the proletariat of each country in its task of organizing its party and waging the revolution. The oppressed nations were given assistance in their liberation struggles. The Russian people, under the leadership of Stalin, gave millions of their best sons and daughters in carrying out the immortal task of defeating

Path for the Liberation of All Oppressed Mankind

German fascism in the Second World War, greatly hastening the world revolution. As Stalin wrote: LENIN NEVER REGARDED THE REPUBLIC OF THE SOVIETS AS AN END IN ITSELF. HE ALWAYS LOOKED ON IT AS AN ESSENTIAL LINK FOR STRENGTHENING THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN THE COUNTRIES OF THE WEST AND THE EAST, AN ESSENTIAL LINK FOR FACILITATING THE VICTORY OF THE WORKING PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD OVER CAPITALISM. LENIN KNEW THAT THIS WAS THE RIGHT CONCEPTION, BOTH FROM THE INTERNATIONAL STANDPOINT AND FROM THE STANDPOINT OF PRESERVING THE REPUBLIC OF SOVIETS ITSELF." (11) The socialist Soviet Union continually urged onward the revolutionary struggle in all countries. Comrade Stalin also wrote: "I CANNOT IMAGINE A SITUATION EVER ARISING IN WHICH THE INTERESTS OF OUR SOVIET REPUBLIC WOULD REQUIRE DEVIATIONS TO THE RIGHT ON THE PART OF OUR BROTHER PARTIES. . . I CANNOT IMAGINE THAT THE INTERESTS OF OUR REPUBLIC, WHICH IS THE BASE OF THE WORLD-WIDE REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAN MOVEMENT, COULD REQUIRE NOT THE MAXIMUM REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF THE WORKERS OF THE WEST, BUT A DIMINUTION OF THEIR ACTIVITY, A BLUNTING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SPIRIT." (12) Such was the revolutionary role of the socialist Soviet Union, the child of the October Revolution.

Since the October Revolution, socialism and the political power of the proletariat has never ceased to exist in the world and the world revolution has never ceased to have just such a base as Lenin and Stalin built. The Khrushchovite revisionists restored capitalism in the Soviet Union and most of the Eastern European People's Democracies, entirely departing from the path of the October Revolution and joining the camp of imperialism and reaction. But socialism was not eliminated and socialist countries such as China and Albania continued to exist. The Great Debates against Khrushchovite revisionism were led by the Communist Party of China headed by Chairman Mao and the Party of Labor of Albania headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. These debates drew a firm line of demarcation between Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism and rallied the genuine forces of the Marxist-Leninist movement. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, initiated and led by Chairman Mao Tsetung, was a tremendous blow to revisionism and a great inspiration to the world revolution. The Cultural Revolution re-invigorated the entire International Communist Movement. Together with the Great Debates, the Cultural Revolution provided the impetus for the formation and consolidation of new Marxist-Leninist parties in many countries in opposition to revisionism. It also gave a powerful encouragement to the revolutionary youth and student movement on a world scale. Today the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, led by the Party of Labor of Albania with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, is gloriously carrying forward the task of serving as the rallying center of the world revolution. With his historic Report to the Seventh Congress of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha charted out the strategy and tactics of the world revolution at its present stage. The PLA is leading the present international struggle against Titoite and Khrushchovite revisionism and the anti-Leninist theory of "Three Worlds". As in the past, today the proletariat and the oppressed peoples have a reliable base of revolution, Comrade Enver Hoxha's Albania, where the banner of the October Revolution is being held firmly aloft.

VIII.

The October Revolution showed that for the proletariat to carry out its revolution under conditions of imperialism, the loose, flabby and reformist parties of the Second International were not only insufficient but were a major obstacle; instead, what is required is a revolutionary party, a party of a new type, a party built on the theoretical basis of Marxism-Leninism and in the revolutionary style of the Bolshevik Party. Comrade Lenin built such a party in Russia through his struggle against all forms of opportunism; it is only under the leadership of such a party that the proletarian revolution can succeed. Comrade Stalin wrote: "THE UNDIVIDED LEADERSHIP OF ONE PARTY, THE COMMUNIST PARTY, AS THE PRINCIPAL FACTOR IN THE PREPARATION FOR OCTOBER -- SUCH IS THE CHARACTERISTIC FEATURE OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION." (13) He also wrote that such a party must be "A NEW PARTY, A MILITANT PARTY, A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, ONE BOLD ENOUGH TO LEAD THE PROLETARIANS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER, SUFFICIENTLY EXPERIENCED TO FIND ITS BEARINGS AMIDST THE COMPLEX CONDITIONS OF A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION, AND SUFFICIENTLY FLEXIBLE TO STEER CLEAR OF ALL SUBMERGED ROCKS IN THE PATH TO ITS GOAL. . . THIS NEW PARTY IS THE PARTY OF LENINISM." (14)

The parties of the Second International put the struggle for reforms in first place; the Leninist party of the new type puts foremost the training of the proletariat in revolutionary mass struggles, its active resistance to the attacks of the bourgeoisie. The parties of the Second International followed a policy of cowardly subservience to the legality of the bourgeoisie, of "going through established channels" to win paltry reforms; the Leninist party of the new type trains the workers in illegal as well as legal methods of work and mobilizes the workers to break through the chains of red tape and bourgeois "law and order", reactionary rules and regulations, with mass struggle, so as to build their revolutionary spirit and fighting capacity. The parties of the

Second International embraced opportunism and tailed after the spontaneous movement, pursuing the interests of the moment; the Leninist party of the new type takes opportunism as its principal enemy and devotes every effort to winning the masses away from the opportunists and to the revolutionary program of the party, to the revolution. The parties of the Second International flagrantly divorced theory from practice, betraying in deeds all the revolutionary promises they had made, all the revolutionary theory they had proclaimed; the Leninist party of the new type works in a Bolshevik style, linking theory to practice, using it as a guide to action, not a dogma. The parties of the Second International were loose, educational associations devoted to capturing parliamentary posts district by district; the Leninist party of the new type is a compact, disciplined party with a single center, united around a single political line, with its basic organization at the places of work where the industrial proletarians are concentrated; its aim is a violent insurrection to overthrow the bourgeoisie.

These are some of the characteristics which make the Leninist party of the new type fundamentally different from the revisionist parties of the Second International, which make it a revolutionary party. Building such a party is the common task of all revolutionaries who march on the path of the October Revolution.



Since the October Revolution and especially since the death of Comrade Stalin, the bourgeoisie of all countries has waged a savage, coordinated attack on the path of the October Revolution and its adherents, the Marxist-Leninist parties. Not only have the imperialists tried to wipe out Marxism-Leninism and socialism by armed force but they have carried out a massive program of deception and diversion through their agents posing as Marxists. But all these attacks have failed to stop the forward march of the revolution.

Since the 1930's, Browderite, Titoite and Khrushchovite revisionism have arisen to challenge the proletariat. The Browderites advocated that imperialism was still a young, rising capitalism and that the proletariat of both the imperialist countries and the oppressed nations should give up the leadership of the revolution and become the servile tail of the bourgeoisie, particularly of U.S. imperialism. Under Browder's banner, the Communist Party of the U.S. was dissolved outright during the Anti-Fascist Second World War and the revolution was betrayed in several Latin American countries. Browderism was defeated as an open trend in the international communist movement, but was never thoroughly repudiated in the U.S. and has continued to do its dirty work there, finding in the October League a convenient organizational form to promote its social-chauvinism as "Marxism-Leninism". The Titoites attempted to overthrow the Eastern European People's Democracies from within in order to split up the socialist camp. They tried to turn the world proletariat and people against the then-socialist Soviet Union with theories of "red imperialism" and tried to detach the national liberation movement from socialism, its natural ally, with theories of "non-bloc" and "non-alignment", which, by opposing alignment with socialism, inevitably mean alignment with imperialism. A gang of murderers and spies in the service of U.S. imperialism, the Titoite revisionists were unanimously denounced by the entire International Communist Movement led by Stalin in 1948. Khrushchovite revisionism arose next. It ignominiously followed in the footsteps of the traitor Tito and utilized Titoite revisionism to create weaknesses in the dictatorship of the proletariat in the countries of the socialist camp. Khrushchovite revisionism succeeded in restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union and most of Eastern Europe. It peddles reformism and pacifism on a wide scale and turned the majority

of the world's communist parties, including the American party, into revisionist parties of the bourgeoisie. It peddles the theory of "non-capitalist development" for the oppressed nations, opposing their armed national liberation struggle under the leadership of the proletariat. Khrushchovite revisionism, too, met with a firm rebuff at the hands of the Party of Labor of Albania led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Communist Party of China led by Chairman Mao Tsetung and other genuine Marxist-Leninist parties.

Today, while the Titoite and Khrushchovite revisionists are stepping up their attacks on the revolution, a new form of opportunism is also challenging the International Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement. The advocates of the opportunist theory of "Three Worlds" have arisen to oppose the world revolution. Led in the U.S. by the October League (now calling itself the "Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)"), they give lip-service to the October Revolution while in fact denying that its path is the common path of all mankind. Like the revisionists of the Second International, the OL leaders have "correct" declarations for everything under the sun -- only to violate them in theory in the next breath and in deeds as soon as they are subjected to the test of practice. The OL leaders abandon the dictatorship of the proletariat as the common goal of the world revolution, leaving the fate of the proletariat in the hands of the reactionary bourgeoisie of the "Third World", the

reactionary bourgeoisie. Thus they deny the nature of our era, an era of world proletarian socialist revolution, an epoch of the transition of capitalism to socialism. They deny the revolutionary mobilizing force of socialism, indeed, the very existence of socialism as a system, which they liquidate into the "Third" or "Second World". The proletariat of the imperialist countries such as the United States is consigned to be a mere tail of the bourgeoisie in preparations for a world slaughter under the hoax of striking the "main blow" at the "main danger", the Soviet Union. The national-democratic revolutions of the oppressed nations are liquidated by tying them to the apron-strings of the reactionary bourgeoisie of each country, the lackeys of the neo-colonial empire of U.S. imperialism and other imperialist powers, who are called part of the "objectively progressive" "entire Third World", the "main force" of the world revolution. The undivided leadership of a single Bolshevik-style party is sabotaged by the creation of factional groupings like the October League which are loose, Browderite educational associations based on an opportunist, social-chauvinist political line to fight against the genuine Marxist-Leninists. Thus the social-chauvinist October League leaders, advocates of the anti-Leninist "Three Worlds" theory, are trying to trample into the mud the banner of the October Revolution.

But the hammer of the October Revolution is invincible. Today it is borne aloft by the Party of Labor of Albania led by Comrade Enver Hoxha and by all genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and groups. Social-chauvinism, revisionism and opportunism will never triumph! In the U.S. the proletariat will establish its genuine revolutionary party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will defeat social-chauvinism and all opportunism, fight "its own" bourgeoisie and oppose the U.S. neo-colonial empire, and rise in an anti-fascist proletarian socialist revolution to overthrow the bourgeoisie, making the path of the October Revolution a reality in the United States.

Footnotes:

1. V.I. Lenin, "Left-Wing" Communism, An Infantile Disorder, Peking, 1970, p.1
2. J.V. Stalin, "The International Character of the October Revolution", Works, Moscow, 1954, Vol.19, p.244
3. J.V. Stalin, The Foundations of Leninism, Peking, 1970, pp.2-3
4. Mao Tsetung, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship", Selected Works, Peking, 1969, Vol. IV p.413
5. V.I. Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Peking, 1970, p.153
6. J.V. Stalin, The Foundations of Leninism, Peking, 1970, p.27
7. V.I. Lenin, Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Peking, 1970, p.153
8. V.I. Lenin, ibid, p.10
9. J.V. Stalin, "The October Revolution and the National Question", Works, Moscow, 1953, Vol.4, p.170
10. Mao Tsetung, speech of April 17, 1957, cited in Leninism or Social-Imperialism, Peking, 1970, p.4
11. J.V. Stalin, "On the Death of Lenin", Works, Moscow, 1955, Vol.6, p.52
12. J.V. Stalin, "Speech Delivered at the German Commission of the 6th Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.P.", Works, Moscow, 1954, Vol.8, p.115
13. J.V. Stalin, "The October Revolution and the Tactics of the Russian Communists", On the Opposition, Peking, 1974, p.164
14. J.V. Stalin, The Foundations of Leninism, Peking, 1970, pp.102-103

End.

SPECIAL ISSUE OF "THE WORKER'S ADVOCATE" ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

In the Light of the Ideas of the 7th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE REVOLUTION (Editorial of the Newspaper "Zeri i Popullit")

- The Socialist Revolution -- Only Road to Social Progress
- Questions of War and Peace in the 7th Congress Report
- U.S. Imperialists and Soviet Social-Fascists -- Instigators of Conflicts in World
- Through So-Called Aids the Two Superpowers Apply Neo-Colonialism
- Proletarian Internationalism -- Ideology and Weapon of Proletariat
- Dictatorship of Proletariat in Albania Has Always Stood Like a Granite-Like Rock
- On Contradictions in Socialist Society
- hegemony of Working Class and Undivided Leading Role of its Party
- Ideological and Organizational Unity of Party, Main Factor for its Leading Role
- Talk of Comrade Enver Hoxha with Comrade Pedro Fomez
- Grand Rally of Proletarian Internationalism in Lisbon
- Internationalist Rally in Rome
- Zeri i Popullit on Rome Rally
- Joint Communique of CP(M-L) of Argentina and CP of Germany (M-L)
- Zeri i Popullit on Joint Communique
- Report on Albania by Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist) Delegation
- Freeze Political Resolution of 3rd Congress of CP(M-L)
- Message from Chairman Mao to 5th Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania

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505

The Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists

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Oppose the Counter-Revolutionary Meddling of the Soviet Revisionist Renegade Clique in the Ethiopian Revolution

-Part Two-

This is the second and concluding installment in the serialization by *The Workers' Advocate* of the Statement of the Central Committee of the Ethiopian Students Union in North America (ESUNA) which came out under the above title in Vol. VI, No. 2, of the *Journal Combat* dated March 1977. The first part of this statement appeared in *The Workers' Advocate* of August 1, 1977. This excellent statement provides vivid material exposing Soviet revisionism and the aggressive meddling of the Soviet New Tsars in Ethiopia. It shows how the Soviet revisionists collaborate with the fascist Mengistu regime, praise its suppression of the people and outrageously slander the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party, and the statement refutes a number of revisionist theories, such as the road of "non-capitalist development" to socialism.

Today in Ethiopia both superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, are competing with each other to strangle the Ethiopian revolution and keep Ethiopia as an object of plunder and control by the world system of imperialism. In our opinion, this is a good example refuting the opportunist theses of those who have capitulated to one superpower on the plea of allegedly fighting the other superpower, but who are really fighting the revolution. The Statement by ESUNA restricts itself to criticizing the Soviet revisionists. But, in our opinion, the statement's description of Soviet meddling and refutation of the Soviet revisionist theses provide good material to illustrate the utterly reactionary nature of the social-chauvinist and revisionist theories that are creating disunity in the U.S. Marxist-Leninist movement.

There are those revisionist yellow journalists who claim that although the Soviet Union may have had intentions, nevertheless it is much weaker than U.S. imperialism and thus out of selfish reasons it will aid the liberation movements. On this plea, they prettify Soviet aggression and subversion and seek to impose revisionist sabotage on the people's movements. The situation in Ethiopia refutes this fallacy. The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party is valiantly fighting the U.S. imperialist-dominated Ethiopian regime. The Soviet social-imperialists did not, however, back the EPRP in order to weaken the U.S. imperialists. On the contrary, they seek influence among the reactionary classes in Ethiopia, among the classes which are the local base of imperialist domination, and help these classes attempt to suppress the Ethiopian revolution and the Eritrean national liberation struggle. The Soviet social-imperialists seek influence on the basis of being better able to suppress the revolution than the U.S. imperialists, thus showing once again that Soviet social-imperialism is an aggressive superpower.

There are also those U.S. great-power social-chauvinists who deny the existence of the U.S. neo-colonial empire, prettify the U.S. imperialist puppets around the world, take refuge under the U.S. nuclear umbrella and oppose revolution. Exposure of the Soviet revisionist theses distorting the class character of the Ethiopian regime and of the revisionist "road of non-capitalist development" also strikes straight at the heart of U.S. social-chauvinism and its denial of the existence of U.S. neo-colonies. Both Soviet revisionism and U.S. social-chauvinism prettify the same fascist Mengistu and paint imperialist lackeys as "anti-imperialist fighters". Both theories negate the road of the new-democratic revolution. Both hold that the way out for the neo-colonies is to develop the productive forces by a series of reforms within the old neo-colonial system. Of course, U.S. social-chauvinism is adapted to serving U.S. imperialist interests, while the road of "non-capitalist development" is advocated by the New Tsars, but their theoretical and ideological basis is similar. This is no accident, as revisionism is the main danger in the international communist movement. This exposes U.S. social-chauvinism as revisionist and opportunist and is fully opposed to Marxism-Leninism.

We hold that everyone should pay attention to the developments in Ethiopia. We are convinced that by committing aggression in Ethiopia, the Soviet social-imperialists are only putting a noose around their neck, and the revolutionary masses led by the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party will give them the same beating that they are administering to the U.S. imperialists.

STATE OWNERSHIP OF INDUSTRY

The complete denunciation of the Soviet revisionists from fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism is also manifested in their attitude to and analysis of the nationalization measures of the Ethiopian Military Junta.

The nationalization measures being referred to are the expropriation by the Junta of 80 industrial enterprises and 20 banks, financial establishments and insurance companies formerly owned by foreign capital, the royal family and the aristocracy; the take-over by the state of the main shares in 29 industrial and commercial enterprises, which were largely owned by foreign capital; and the nationalization by the state of all land and superfluous houses and reduction of rent in urban areas.

The military Junta took all these reform measures under the pressure of the people's revolutionary struggle.

How do the Soviet revisionists appraise these measures?

Doris Asoyan, a special correspondent of the Soviet *New Times* magazine shamelessly chimed that these measures placed "hundreds of leading firms" under the people's control. (*New Times*, December, 1976 #31, p. 25).

Lauding these measures sky-high and obliterating the distinction between reform and revolution, Soviet revisionists also claim that the above-mentioned measures have placed Ethiopia "on the non-capitalist road of development, toward socialism".

Yesefew Hizb Dintz, which is the voice of revisionism in Ethiopia, echoed this same fallacy when it said:

"Those measures (i.e. the takeover of industries by the state) follow the path of socialism".

Here, the Soviet revisionists and their domestic servants expose their complete bankruptcy and their complete ignorance of elementary Marxist theory.

Elementary Marxist theory teaches that the character of state property depends on the class holding state power. This fact was pointed out by Engels a century ago in his works, "Anti-Duhring" and "Socialism; Utopian and Scientific".

In these works, Engels clearly elucidated the point that state ownership is always the ownership of that class which holds state power. And therefore, he showed that as long as the state power is in the hands of the bourgeoisie, state ownership, too, can be none other than a form of bourgeois ownership.

This principle is universally applicable and, of course, applicable to Ethiopia, too.

In Ethiopia, state-power is, obviously, not in the hands of the people, but in the hands of the imperialists and the domestic lackeys. Far from holding state-power, the people are, in fact, deprived of all democratic rights and are subjected to incessant and savage persecution and exploitation.

In view of this, it is crystal clear that the military regime's takeover of some industries formerly owned by foreign monopoly capital and the domestic reactionaries did not give birth to "people's control" of the means of production. This is concretely manifested in the fact that the state owned enterprises do not belong to the people, are not managed by the people, and are not run for the benefit of the people. Quite the contrary, these enterprises are owned by the bureaucratic-capitalists, are managed by them and are run in their interest.

These are indispensable facts. So, when the Soviet revisionists claim that these enterprises are controlled by "the people", they gloriously expose the fact that their concept "people" is completely alien to the Marxist-Leninist concept of "people".

According to Marxism-Leninism, the class-content of the term "people" in the historical conditions of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, is "the proletariat and the peasantry, if we take the main, big forces and distribute the rural and urban petty-bourgeoisie (also part of the 'people') between the two". (Lenin, *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, p. 52)

This means that according to Marxism-Leninism "the people" are essentially the workers and the peasants, and "people's" ownership is essentially the collective ownership of the workers and peasants, and "people's" control of the economy is essentially control by the workers and peasants.

Evidently, the Soviet revisionists do not agree with this. For them the "people" are the bourgeoisie, "people's ownership" is bourgeois ownership, and "people's control" of the economy is bourgeois control of the economy.

What a glaring self-exposure! The Soviet claim that state-ownership of industry in Ethiopia has ushered in the "non-capitalist road of development toward socialism" is yet another self-exposure.

This absurd claim is based on the revisionist theory which mechanically equates private property with capitalism and state ownership with socialism.

According to this "theory", when a sizable sector of the means of production are property of the state (even of bourgeois state), capitalist relations are suppressed and an "anti-capitalist" or "non-capitalist" road is ushered in.

Here again, it is not superfluous to note that Engels has long ago pointed out that nationalization by a non-proletarian state does not lead to socialism. In this respect, Engels pointed out that the more the bourgeoisie state takes over the means of production,

"the more it becomes a real aggregate capitalist, the more citizens it exploits. The workers remain wage-workers, proletarians. The capitalist relationship is not abolished, rather it is pushed to its limit" (Engels, *Anti-Duhring*, Foreign Languages Press, 1970, p. 339).

Engels' conclusions are borne out by the reality in Ethiopia. The nationalization measures carried out by the Junta greatly strengthened the power of the state. However, they have not ended the production relations in which the workers in industrial enterprises, commercial firms, public utilities, etc., are subjected to capitalist exploitation, wage-slavery and oppression.

As a matter of fact, the economic plight of the workers in enterprises owned by the state, or by foreign monopoly capital or by both the state and foreign monopoly capital, is deteriorating every day.

Apart from being victimized by land shortages and shortages (or complete disappearance) of many staple commodities from the market, the working class and other working people also suffer from skyrocketing inflation. For example, the retail price index in Addis Ababa rose by 22.5% between October, 1976 and March, 1978, giving an annual rate of 33%. Over the 15-month period up to March last year, the rate was 30% and there is no doubt that the rate has increased since then. Due to this skyrocketing inflation, the real wages of the working class and their purchasing power is falling every day.

Under the reign of the military regime, the unemployment problem, too, has gotten worse than ever. Since the regime's rule the revenues of the state for buying tanks and planes, and for waging a costly war in Eritrea, has not been able to open new jobs opportunities for the people.

Also, mass dismissal of revolutionary workers from industries and public utilities takes place regularly. Consequently, the ranks of the unemployed has swollen to alarming proportions.

All in all, despite the nationalization measures, the working class in Ethiopia still lives a life of poverty, destitution and misery; without adequate food, shelter, clothing and political rights.

Such is the stark reality in Ethiopia. Thus, to describe the reality as the "non-capitalist road to socialism" is nothing but downright betrayal of socialism and defense of bourgeois reaction and exploitation.

LAND REFORM

The bourgeois revisionist class stand of the Soviet press is also manifest in its analysis of the land reform program of the military Junta.

The reform program being referred to is the one entitled "Proclamation Providing for the Nationalization of Rural Land", which was issued on March 4, 1975.

This proclamation called for confiscation without compensation of all rural land, most of which was previously held by the royal family, the aristocracy and feudal landlords. The Proclamation said:

"All rural land shall be the collective property of the Ethiopian people", "the relationship between landlord and tenant shall be abolished" and that "without differentiation of sexes, any person who is willing to personally cultivate land shall be allotted land sufficient for his maintenance and that of his family". The proclamation also said that peasant associations will be formed to implement the serene and later organize cooperative farming.

The chief sins committed by Soviet journals in analyzing the above-mentioned proclamation boil down to the following:

- (1) They see the land reform proclamation not as a by-product of the revolutionary class struggle of the peasantry but as a "gift" of the Junta to the masses;
- (2) they pass in silence the numerous atrocities committed by the Junta to hamper the implementation of the agrarian reform law and
- (3) they gloss over or ignore the bloody class struggle which was waged by the masses to implement the reform and defend the gains of their struggle.

For example, if we read through various issues of the Soviet *New Times* magazine, we will get the following picture of the agrarian reform: The military regime seized power in September, 1974, and after a few months in power, "launched an all-out offensive against feudalism"; the March, 1975 proclamation "put an end to feudal land ownership and gave land to the tillers". "The peasants' dream is coming true: an end has been put to big landlord estates and land is being given to those who till it"; the military regime "made the land collective property and delivered from slavery millions of peasants who under the monarchy were at the bottom of the social ladder"; "millions of hectares of land have already been turned over to the peasants", etc.

From the above, it is clear that the Soviet revisionists see the land reform not as a by-product of the revolutionary class struggle of the people, but as a gift to the masses by the Junta "to deliver them from slavery".

The truth, however, is just the opposite. The regime did not issue the land reform program because of its benevolence to the masses. It was actually compelled to issue the proclamation by the fierce class struggle of the peasants which had reached insurrectionary levels in the wake of the February Uprising.

It could be seen in the fact that, at the time the Junta seized power, the whole countryside was ablaze with the greatest agrarian revolt in Ethiopian history. In the rural areas, particularly in the south, peasants were taking over landlord estates, burning granaries, besieging governors' mansions, driving off tyrant officials and were even capturing their own landlords, tribunals and organs of power. Clearly, it was this volcanic and irrepressible agrarian upsurge which compelled the regime to issue the agrarian reform law.

Apparently, the Soviet revisionists do not see the people's revolutionary struggle as the single real moving force of history, so they have chosen to ignore it altogether.

Another thing which Soviet journals have ignored or passed in silence is the widespread outrage perpetrated by the Junta to hamper the implementation of the reform. Here are some examples:

The issuing by the Junta of various internal circulars with the clear intention of menacing or postponing certain parts of the proclamation are passed in complete silence.

The Junta's atrocious crimes against Zemetcha students and teachers (e.g. arrest, torture and execution of Zemetcha students, pushing them, en masse, in concentration camps and subjecting them to inhuman and disgusting punishments, etc...) are passed in complete silence.

The Junta's heinous crimes against peasants and their associations (e.g., physically liquidating revolutionary peasant leaders, dismantling autonomous peasant associations, disarming peasant militias, mass bombing of villages, pardoning feudal landlords rampaging the countryside, etc...) are passed in silence.

Apart from all the above, Soviet journals also pass in silence the bloody class struggles which were waged by the peasantry, both against rampaging feudal reactionaries and against the Junta's police and bureaucracy, to implement the reform and defend the gains of their struggles. Thus, the independent tactics of the peasantry such as disarming feudals, organizing militias, administering justice on feudal landlords, chasing away Junta officials, etc... are all ignored by Soviet journals.

VI "NON-CAPITALIST ROAD" TO SOCIALISM

Thus far, we have shown how Soviet revisionists adulterate and distort Marxist principles in their analysis of the class character of the state-power in Ethiopia, the question of nationalization of industries, the question of state capitalism and the question of land reform.

Here, it must be emphasized that the errors which the Soviet revisionists commit on these series of questions are not isolated but represent an interconnected and integral part of their whole anti-socialist theory and program for negating revolution in neo-colonial countries. The "new" theory and program which the Soviet revisionists have dished up to oppose revolution in neo-colonial countries is what is called the "non-capitalist road of development to socialism".

According to the Soviet revisionists, the countries of Africa and Asia that had been marching along "the non-capitalist road of development to socialism" for many years, include such neo-colonial states as Egypt, Burma, Syria and Somalia.

Now, the Soviet revisionists claim that Ethiopia, under the military regime, has joined this group of countries, and is advancing to socialism along the "new road", namely the "non-capitalist road", which allegedly leads to socialism without the leading role of the working class (and its Communist Party), without a people's democratic revolution and without the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Below, we will show that the so-called "new road", being loudly advertised by the Soviet revisionists, completely negates the correct road to achieve socialism in neo-colonial countries.

What is the correct road to achieve socialism in neo-colonial countries?

According to Marxism-Leninism, socialism can be achieved only through the road of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the case of neo-colonial countries like Ethiopia, it can be achieved only by first completing the transitional stage of New Democratic Revolution. The transitional stage of New Democratic Revolution can be completed only when the proletariat (through its Communist Party) leads the masses on the road of the people's armed struggle against armed counter-revolution, only when feudalism, imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism are overthrown, and only when the old bureaucratic and military apparatuses are smashed and the people's democratic state established.

This is the only road for achieving socialism in neo-colonial countries as has been proven by the historical experiences of the Chinese, Cambodian and other revolutions which took place in neo-colonial countries.

There is not the slightest doubt that the general laws derived from the historical experience of these revolutions have universal significance.

However, the Soviet revisionists, by speculating with certain changes in the world situation and with certain specific features of the newly independent states, have completely discarded this road of achieving socialism even though its correctness has been proven by practice. In its place, they have substituted the "new road" which they claim to have discovered, namely, the "non-capitalist road".

According to proponents of this "new road", there is no need for present day neo-colonial countries like Ethiopia to have a new-democratic revolution; there is no need for the proletariat and the Communist Party to lead the revolution; there is no need to adopt the people's armed struggle as the main form of struggle; there is no need to smash the bourgeois state machine and there is no need to establish the people's democratic state.

Indeed, the Soviet revisionists claim that socialism can be built in neo-colonial countries gradually and peacefully, merely through a succession of reforms. The succession of reforms which will allegedly lead these neo-colonial countries to socialism are said to be: "the nationalization of foreign monopoly capital through gradual nationalization", "the regulation of small and medium national capital", "the creation of a profitable state sector", "the assignment of rural and urban jobs to give them jobs", "the mass outgrowth of peasants", "the mass progress of labor legalism", etc. (V. S. Oshchepkov, *Non-Capitalist Development in the Third World*).

From the above, it is crystal clear that the Soviet revisionists have reduced the entire content of the struggle for socialism in neo-colonial countries to a series of reforms within the framework of neo-colonialism. This means that the Soviet revisionists have rejected the road of proletarian revolution and have substituted for it the road of counter-revolutionary bourgeois reformism.

Since the Soviet revisionists reject the road of revolution and uphold the road of counter-revolutionary bourgeois reformism, it is not a fallacy in saying that they also reject the possibility and necessity of the leadership of the proletariat in the struggle for socialism.

In this respect, the Soviet revisionists openly propagandize the counter-revolutionary fallacy that the struggle for socialism in neo-colonial countries should be led by the non-proletarian classes and social strata: the national bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie and the middle strata of the military. They also say, in the "new world situation" with a "broadly socialist camp" exists, bourgeois state powers (and as these in Burma, Ethiopia, etc...) can carry out a capitalist police and can become the "barriers" of the heels of socialist and leaders of its realization.

Since the Soviet revisionists so completely reject the road of proletarian revolution and uphold the road of bourgeois reformism, it is not surprising that they also reject mass struggle and proletarian class collaboration; it is not surprising that they also reject

16 YEARS OF GLORIOUS ARMED STRUGGLE IN ERITREA

On September 1, 1961, Eritrean patriots fired the first shots heralding the Eritrean's armed liberation struggle. After decades of organized political resistance, the launching of the armed struggle marked a new stage in the Eritrean people's long and militant struggle against foreign domination and for national liberation. It showed the deep determination of the Eritrean people to drive out the Ethiopian fascist junta and their imperialist-zionist overlords.

Today after 16 years of arduous struggle against external and internal reactionaries, an entirely new situation prevails in Eritrea. Under the leadership of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), the armed struggle which was started by a few men with outdated guns has developed into a full-scale people's war, engulfing all corners of the country, with the broad masses fully participating in the revolution. This festival of national liberation of the Eritrean people has received even greater impetus since the historic First Congress of the EPLF, in January, 1977. It was at the First Congress, of the EPLF, where the revolutionary and democratic forces laid down the program and political line of their struggle -- to organize, politicize, and arm the masses; to struggle to build principled and genuine unity through the formation of a united front; to advance the economic and social transformation of the liberated areas; and to persist in protracted people's war on the basis of self-reliance.

On the battlefield the EPLF has either wiped out the fascist Mengistu troops or sent them fleeing for their lives from two entire provinces (Sahel and Senhit) and the major cities of Keren, Decamere, Nacfa and Ela Bered, thus bringing almost all of Eritrea under the control of the liberation forces. The Eritreans have also begun their final offensive against the Ethiopian troops in Asmara (the capital of Eritrea) and the port city of Massawa. Already they have captured a prison in Asmara, freeing more than one thousand political prisoners, as well they have secured large amounts of arms from the fascist troops during bold attacks on military posts in the capital city.

During the 16 years of national liberation, the Eritrean people have followed the slogan "destroy the enemy with his own bullets". Over this period they have captured millions of dollars in U.S. arms and more recently in the battle at Aduwa they

have captured Soviet arms. These accomplishments of the Eritrean fighters has given the Ethiopian fascist junta and the two superpowers the distinction of chief supplier in arms to the liberation forces.

In the liberation areas, deep-going social transformation is taking place. The EPLF has consolidated itself and is organizing the liberated areas so that final victory is assured. Headquarters have been dug deep into the mountains and munition plants and munition stockpiles have been established. Schools, hospitals, military training centers and rear camps have been set up. Large numbers of patriotic Eritrean women and youth have been recruited and trained for the final offensives. With the liberation of these regions, large areas of agricultural lands and other important means of production have also been put into the hands of the liberation fighters. This has resulted in an increased ability of the EPLF to continue the struggle on the basis of relying on their own efforts. Thus the EPLF guided by its Democratic Program is laying the foundations for the total liberation of Eritrea from the fascist Mengistu regime and the two superpowers.

The armed struggle in Eritrea is an important component of the international struggle against imperialism, social-imperialism and all reaction. Its victories have become an ominous threat to the interests of the imperialists, zionists, social-imperialists, Cuban puppet troops and all reactionaries and an inspiring example to the national liberation struggles in the region and elsewhere.

As the final victory approaches the Ethiopian fascists and the two superpowers are frantically trying to stop the Eritrean people's revolution. Both the Soviet Union and the U.S. are propping up the fascist junta, and arming it to the teeth, directly with their imperialist "aid" and weapons and through the counter-revolutionary meddling of their lackeys, the Israeli zionists, Castro's Cuba and East Germany. This aid is given in the vain hopes that the Ethiopian fascist regime can crush the Eritrean revolution "once and for all". While maintaining its support for the Mengistu junta, the U.S. imperialists are desperately manoeuvring to impose a neo-colonial settlement onto the Eritrean people, through their support for the counter-revolutionary splittist Sabbe clique. As well, the so-called leader of the "non-



Eritrean liberation fighters with newly-captured Soviet weapons.



Photo shows Eritrean People's Liberation Front fighters escorting some of the many Ethiopian fascist troops who have been captured in recent fighting.

aligned countries". For these theories claim (1) the U.S. is a "declining" superpower and that the national liberation movement can align itself with it to fight the other super-power; (2) the fascist governments of Asia, Africa and Latin America, like Mengistu and Castro, are "objectively progressive" and "the main force in fighting hegemonism"; (3) the "second world" countries like East Germany are allies of the people of the "third world" in their fight against hegemonism and (4) the leaders of the "non-aligned movement" are great fighters against the two superpowers. But, as the facts and life in Eritrea itself show, the two superpowers, directly and through their lackeys in the so-called "second" and "third world" and "non-aligned movement", have only one aim: to attempt to put out the fires of the Eritrean revolution.

No matter what the junta and its backers say or do, the Eritrean people are determined to persist on the road to armed struggle and self-reliance until they carry the war of national liberation through to victory. From Addis Ababa, to Washington D.C., to Moscow and to the last out-posts of the fascist troops huddled inside Eritrea, the mere whisper of the name EPLF sends terror through their hearts, for they know that their dream of a conquered Eritrea is evaporating before their eyes by the gallant and undaunted Eritrean masses led by the EPLF.

**DEATH TO THE FASCIST ETHIOPIAN JUNTA AND ITS SUPERPOWER BACKERS!
LONG LIVE THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE ERITREAN PEOPLE!
LONG LIVE EPLF!
LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE ERITREAN PEOPLE AND THE AMERICAN WORKING CLASS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE IN STRUGGLE AGAINST THE COMMON ENEMY, U.S. IMPERIALISM!**

ETHIOPIA

Continued from preceding page

violent revolution and preach peaceful transition; and it is not surprising that they also reject the necessity to smash the bourgeois state machine and uphold "structural reform".

All these "new" theories, ideas and strategies are a component part of the so-called "non-capitalist road" of development which the Soviet revisionists have invented with the sinister motive of spreading ideological confusion, turning the masses of neo-colonial countries from the road of revolution, subverting their aspirations for socialism and perpetuating the neo-colonial order in a new guise.

But, in an attempt to cover up their ulterior motive and in order to seal their counter-revolutionary merchandise under a socialist label, the Soviet revisionists have dished up all sorts of deceitful theses and arguments.

Below, we select just three main arguments of theirs for exposure and refutation.

First: In order to deny the possibility and necessity of proletarian leadership of the revolution in neo-colonial countries, Soviet revisionists use the argument that the working class in such countries is "small in number", "primitive", etc. Using this as a pretext, they vigorously advocate the idea that the revolution can and must be led by the national bourgeoisie, or the petty-bourgeoisie or the intelligentsia, etc. . . .

As is well known, this argument of the Soviet revisionists was long ago refuted by Lenin in a polemic against Kautsky.

In refuting Kautsky's fallacy, Lenin pointed out that the small number of the working class cannot be used as a pretext for denying the leading role of the proletariat. He proved, on the basis of Marxist theory, that the leading role of the proletariat does not depend on its numerical strength but on its objective, social, economic, and political condition within capitalist society.

Practice is the criterion for testing truth.

The great victory of the October Revolution in Russia as well as the victories of the Chinese, Albanian and other revolutions, proved the complete bankruptcy of the argument peddled by Kautsky to forbid the proletariat from making revolution.

At the same time, they proved the correctness of Lenin's theory that the proletarian party can be founded and emerge in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle even when the working class represents a very small per cent of the country's population.

Therefore, when the Soviet revisionists use the "small number" of the working class in neo-colonial countries, as a pretext for denying its leading role, they are simply trying to resurrect a rotten argument that has long gone bankrupt.

Second: Soviet revisionists say that the conditions for an immediate socialist revolution do not exist in neo-colonial countries. From this premise, they draw the conclusion that neo-colonial countries must take the "non-capitalist road of development" in order to prepare the basis for a socialist society.

For example, a Soviet "expert" in this field defines the "non-capitalist road" as "the revolutionary process by which the national liberation struggle gradually and consistently develops into a socialist revolution in countries where the conditions for an immediate socialist revolution have not yet matured". (*Non-Capitalist Development, An Historical Outline*).

The same "expert" says elsewhere: "The non-capitalist way is, above all, the way of creating the material prerequisite for the building of a socialist society".

Clearly, this argument in defense of the "non-

capitalist way" is sheer revisionist nonsense.

It is an undeniable fact that in neo-colonial countries, the prerequisites for an immediate socialist revolution do not exist.

But it does not follow from this that the way out is to embark on the "non-capitalist road" of development.

Here again, practice is the criterion for truth.

As has been proved by the practice of the Chinese and other revolutions in semi-colonial countries, the way out lies in waging the New Democratic Revolution as a transitional stage for the subsequent socialist revolution. As Mao said:

"The democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable trend of the democratic revolution."

In other words, the road of preparing the pre-conditions for the socialist revolution under neo-colonial conditions is not the "non-capitalist road" but the New Democratic Road.

Therefore, when the Soviet revisionists peddle with their theory of "non-capitalist road", they are openly repudiating the possibility and necessity of waging the New Democratic Revolution as a necessary preparation for the socialist revolution.

Third: The Soviet revisionists also use the reactionary theory of productive forces in defense of the "non-capitalist road".

According to this reactionary fallacy, "socialist revolution is impossible and the socialist road cannot be taken in any country where capitalism is not highly developed and the productive forces have not reached a high level". (*Peking Review* #19, 1964 P.S.)

Therefore, it is said that the way out for backward neo-colonial countries is to develop the productive forces by a series of reforms within the framework of the old neo-colonial order.

Such is the essence of the so-called "non-capitalist road of development" advertised by the Soviet revisionists.

Is this prescription in accord with the Marxist-Leninist law of social development?

No. It is not.

Marxism-Leninism recognizes that productive forces and the economic base in general, play the principal and decisive role in relation to production relations and the superstructure. But, at the same time, Marxism-Leninism affirms that once the old relations of production and political superstructure have outlived their usefulness and turned decadent, a qualitatively higher development of productive forces can take place only after a revolution in the superstructure and the relations of production.

As Chairman Mao said:

"When it is impossible for the productive forces to develop without a change in the relations of production, then the change in the relations of production plays the principal and decisive role"; "and when the superstructure... obstructs the development of the economic base, political... changes become principal and decisive."

The process of transformation of the old backward, semi-feudal and semi-colonial China into the advanced socialist New China eloquently proves the validity of this law.

Old China, like many neo-colonial countries of the present time, was a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country in which the productive forces were at a very low level and had long stagnated. This resulted mainly from the cruel oppression by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism and also from the proponderance of comprador feudal relations.

The Chinese people were able to enormously develop their productive forces and overcome their

backwardness only after the proletariat (through its Communist Party) led the masses (mainly the peasant masses) in carrying out the New Democratic Revolution and following its victory, shifted over to the socialist revolution and socialist construction without let up.

This historical experience proves the fundamental law of social development that only by first creating revolutionary public opinion seizing state power and then changing the relations of production, is it possible to greatly develop the productive forces.

Clearly, the so-called "non-capitalist road of development" hawked by the Soviet revisionists, is in irreconcilable opposition to this fundamental law of social development. As has been stated before, this reactionary theory openly negates the leading role of the proletariat and its party, it negates class struggle; and it negates revolution. Instead, it reduces the entire theory and practice of the struggle for socialism to a series of practical reforms carried out by a bourgeois state power within the framework of neo-colonialism.

This means that the so-called "theory of non-capitalist development" completely denies that the proletariat's consciously making revolution under the guidance of revolutionary theory, seizing political power and changing the relations of production is the only road for greatly developing the productive forces in neo-colonial countries and pushing social development ahead.

All this shows clearly that the "theory of non-capitalist development" is an out-and-out counter-revolutionary fallacy.

SOME FINAL REMARKS

In this short statement, we have attempted to make a limited exposure of how the Soviet revisionists distort the Ethiopian reality, how they seek to whitewash the monstrous crimes of the military Junta, how they fanatically hate the Marxist-Leninist Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Party and hurl on it infamous calumnies and slander, how they disseminate out-and-out counter revolutionary fallacies on a series of fundamental problems of the Ethiopian revolution, how they attempt to spread ideological confusion by preaching the so-called "non-capitalist road of development" and how all this reflects the growing counter-revolutionary collusion of the Soviet revisionists and the Military Junta.

We hope this limited exposure of the counter-revolutionary theories and deeds and ulterior motives of the Soviet revisionists will make people keenly aware of the necessity and urgency of firmly opposing and thoroughly criticizing the Soviet revisionists.

We think that in a situation where the Soviets are fiercely contending with the U.S. imperialists for sphere of influence in Ethiopia, and in a situation where they are directly colluding with the domestic reactionaries in an attempt to sabotage the people's revolutionary struggle, there can be no road other than the road of revolution which recognizes the necessity of merciless onslaught against all counter-revolutionary forces and their poisonous views.

We think we live in a period in which it is impossible to raise a single serious political question in Ethiopia, or in Djibouti, or in the Horn of Africa, or far that matter, anywhere in the globe, without having to come to grips with the real nature and intentions of not only the U.S. imperialists, but also the Soviet revisionists.

Therefore, the Central Committee of the Ethiopian Students Union in North America, calls upon all chapters and study groups to resolutely carry out the task of combating and exposing Soviet revisionism.

At the present conjuncture, it is of particular importance to undertake the following tasks.

First: The slanderous and counter-revolutionary propaganda being carried out by the Soviet press against the E.P.R.P. must be firmly opposed and thoroughly criticized.

Second: The campaign by the Soviet press to prettify and embellish the diabolical rule of the Fascist Mengistu Haile Mariam regime and distort the reality in Ethiopia must be unswervingly and consistently opposed and combatted.

Third: The out-and-out counter-revolutionary theories being propagated by the Soviet revisionists (such as the "non-capitalist road", the theory of productive forces, the theory of peaceful transition, the theory of structural reform, etc.) must be criticized and repudiated in a deep-going, all-round and sustained way.

Fourth: The activities and deeds of the Soviet revisionists and U.S. imperialists in Ethiopia, Somalia and the neighboring regions should be closely followed, monitored and studied. On this basis, their counter-revolutionary and hegemonistic ambitions, desires, tricks, plots and conflicts must be exposed in a sustained way.

Fifth: The origin and development of differences in the International Communist Movement, as well as the real nature of present-day Soviet Union, Cuba, etc., must be studied in a systematic and concentrated manner.

Finally, we call upon all chapters and study groups to carry out these tasks as an inseparable part of their struggle against feudalism, imperialism and all reaction.

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QUOTATIONS FROM "THE THEORY AND

Editorial of Zeri i Popullit, Organ of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania

NATURE OF THE EPOCH AND THE HISTORICAL MISSION OF THE PROLETARIAT

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.

In his brilliant works on imperialism, V.I. Lenin arrived at the conclusion that imperialism is capitalism in decline and decay, the final phase of capitalism and the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat.

"All these factors transform the present stage of capitalist development into an era of proletarian socialist revolution." (Works, vol. 24, p. 469)

He (Lenin -- ed.) said that it is important to keep well in mind "which class stands at the hub of one epoch or another, determining its main content, the main direction of its development, the main characteristics of the historical situation in that epoch, etc." (Works, vol. 21, p. 145)

Defining the fundamental content of the new historic epoch, as the epoch of imperialism and the proletarian revolutions, he (Lenin -- ed.) remained consistently loyal to the teachings of Marx about the historic mission of the proletariat as the new social force which will carry out the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist society of oppression and exploitation and build the new society, classless communist society.

With this analysis of imperialism, Lenin showed that the contradictions of capitalist society had reached their culmination and that the world has entered the period of proletarian revolutions and the triumph of socialism.

... confirmed that the Leninist thesis on the present epoch, as the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism, reflects the fundamental law of the development of present-day human society.

"The fundamental features of our epoch, as the epoch of the transition from capitalism to socialism of the struggle of two opposing social systems, as the epoch of the proletarian and national-liberation revolutions, of the collapse of imperialism and the liquidation of the colonial system, as the epoch of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale, are becoming more pronounced and more clearly obvious each day." (Enver Hoxha, Report at the 5th Congress of the PLA, p. 5)

FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTION

"The Communist Manifesto" of Marx and Engels and the call "Workers of all countries, unite!" came out to announce that the fundamental contradiction of human society was now that between labor and capital, and the proletariat was called on to resolve it by revolution.

By ignoring socialism as a social system, the so-called "theory of three worlds" ignores the greatest historic victory of the international proletariat, ignores the fundamental contradiction of the time, that between socialism and capitalism.

THE FOUR MAJOR SOCIAL CONTRADICTIONS WHICH CHARACTERIZE THIS EPOCH

The Marxist-Leninists have always based their definition of the present epoch and their revolutionary strategy on the analysis of the major social contradictions which characterize this epoch. What are these contradictions which characterize this epoch? Following the triumph of the socialist revolution in Russia, Lenin and Stalin spoke about four such contradictions: the contradiction between two opposing systems -- socialist and capitalist; the contradiction between labor and capital in the capitalist countries, the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and nations and imperialism; the contradiction between imperialist

powers... Therefore, the recognition and admission of the existence of these contradictions constitute the basis for defining a correct revolutionary strategy.

THE WORLD IS DIVIDED INTO TWO CAMPS

"...the key problem which is predominant today on a national and international scale, the ruthless struggle between the bourgeois-imperialist world, on the one hand, and socialism, the world proletariat, and its natural allies, on the other." (Enver Hoxha, Report at the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 132)

Exactly from this angle V.I. Lenin, in 1921, said is, when only one socialist country existed in the world, Soviet Russia, wrote: "there are now two worlds; the old world of capitalism, that is in a state of confusion, but which will never surrender voluntarily, and the rising new world,

which is still very weak, but which will grow, for it is invincible." (Works, vol. 33, p. 150)

On his part, J.V. Stalin, in his well-known article "The Two Camps" published in 1919, also stressed, "The world has definitely and irrevocably split into two camps: the camp of imperialism and the camp of socialism... The struggle between these two camps constitutes the hub of present-day affairs, determines the whole substance of the present home and foreign policies of the leaders of the old and new worlds." (Works, vol. 4, p. 240)

The view of our Party is that today, too, we should speak about the socialist world, as Lenin and Stalin did, that the Leninist criterion is always correct, as Leninism itself is vital and correct.

THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION

The Leninist strategy considers the world proletarian revolution as a single process, made up of several great revolutionary trends of our era, at the center of which stands the international proletariat.

This revolutionary process is going on unceasingly in the countries which are advancing on the road of true socialism as a fierce and irreconcilable struggle between the two roads -- socialist and capitalist -- to ensure the complete and final triumph of the former over the latter, to bar all the paths to the danger of turning back through counter-revolutionary violence and imperialist aggression or through peaceful bourgeois-revisionist degeneration.

In the metropolises of capitalism the process of world proletarian revolution is embodied today in the growing class struggles of the proletariat and the other working and progressive strata against the bourgeois exploitation and oppression, against the attempts of the bourgeoisie to load the burden of the present crisis of the world capitalist system onto the backs of the working people, against the revival of fascism in this or that form, etc.

The other major trend of the world revolution in our time is the national liberation movement of the peoples, which is spearheaded against imperialism, neo-colonialism and colonial vestiges.

Ever since the time of Lenin, the Marxist-Leninists have always regarded the national liberation struggle of the peoples and nations oppressed at the hands of imperialism as a powerful ally and great reserve of the world revolution, of the proletariat.

REVISIONIST BETRAYAL HAS NOT ELIMINATED SOCIALISM AS A WORLD SYSTEM OR CHANGED THE CHARACTER OF THE PRESENT EPOCH

The fact that the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution were betrayed by the Soviet Union and a number of former socialist countries does not alter the Leninist thesis on the character of the present epoch in the least, because this is nothing but a zigzag in the course of the inevitable victory of socialism over capitalism on a world scale.

The revisionist betrayal, the return of the Soviet Union and a number of former socialist countries to capitalism; the spreading of modern revisionism widely in the international communist and workers movement and the splitting of this movement, were a heavy blow to the cause of the revolution and socialism. But this by no means implies that socialism was liquidated as a system and that the criterion of the division of the world in two opposing systems must be changed, that the contradiction between socialism and capitalism no longer exists today.

ON THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AS A POWERFUL BASE AND CENTER OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

They (the revolutionaries and peoples of the whole world -- ed.) give the socialist countries their full and unreserved support and backing against any attempt of imperialism against these countries, because in the socialist countries they see a powerful base and center of the revolution, they see the realization in practice of the ideals for which they themselves are fighting.

Lenin and Stalin always considered the revolutionary task of the proletariat of a socialist country, not only as making every effort to develop socialism in its own country, but also as supporting the revolutionary and liberation movements in the other countries on an all-round way. "Lenin never regarded the Republic of Sovietia as an end in itself", wrote Stalin. "He always looked on it as an essential link for strengthening the revolutionary movement in the countries of the West and the East, an essential link for facilitating the victory of the working people of the whole world over capitalism. Lenin knew that this was the only right conception, both from the international standpoint and from the standpoint of preserving the Republic of Sovietia itself." (Works, vol. 6, p. 29)

Exactly for this reason, a truly socialist country cannot include itself in such groupings as the so-

called "third world" or "non-aligned countries", in which any kind of class boundaries have been erased and which serve only to divert the peoples from the road of the struggle against imperialism and for the revolution.

J. Stalin stressed: "I cannot imagine a situation ever arising in which the interests of our Soviet Republic would require deviations to the Right on the part of our brother parties... I cannot imagine that the interests of our Republic, which is the base of the world-wide revolutionary proletarian movement, could require not the maximum revolutionary spirit and political activity of the workers of the West, but a diminution of their activity, a blunting of their revolutionary spirit." (Works, vol. 8, p. 115)

ON THE ALLEGED DISINTEGRATION OF THE IMPERIALIST WORLD

The present day facts speak not of disintegration of the imperialist world, but of a single world imperialist system, which is characterized today by the existence of two big imperialist blocs: on the one hand, by the western imperialist bloc, headed by U.S. imperialism, the instruments of which are such inter-imperialist organizations such as NATO, the European Common Market, etc., and on the other hand, by the bloc of the east, dominated by Soviet social-imperialism, which has as the instruments of its expansionist, hegemonistic and war-mongering policy the Warsaw Treaty and COMECON.

THE TWO SUPERPOWERS REPRESENT, TO THE SAME DEGREE AND THE SAME EXTENT, THE MAIN ENEMY FOR SOCIALISM AND FREEDOM

Soviet social-imperialism is a savage, aggressive imperialism, thirsty for expansion, which is pursuing a typically colonialist and neo-colonialist policy.

But this in no way means that the other enemy of the peoples and of the whole world, U.S. imperialism, is less dangerous, as the advocates of the "three worlds" theory claim. Distorting the truth and deceiving the peoples, they claim that U.S. imperialism is allegedly no longer war-mongering, that allegedly it has been weakened, is in decline, that it has become a "timid mouse", in a word, U.S. imperialism is turning peaceful. Matters have reached the point that even the U.S. military presence in various countries such as Germany, Belgium or Italy, in Japan and other countries is being justified and described as a factor for defense. Such views are extremely dangerous to the freedom of the peoples and the fate of the revolution. Such theses foster illusions about the aggressive, hegemonistic and expansionist nature of both U.S. imperialism and Soviet imperialism.

The proletariat and the proletarian revolution are faced with the task of overthrowing every imperialism, and especially, the two imperialist superpowers. Any imperialism, from its very nature, is always a savage enemy of the proletarian revolution. Therefore, to divide imperialism into more or less dangerous, from the strategic viewpoint of the world revolution, is wrong. Practice has proved that the two superpowers, to the same degree and to the same extent, represent the main enemy for socialism and the freedom and independence of the nations, the greatest force defending exploiting systems, the direct danger that mankind will be hurled into a third world war.

Of course, it happens and may happen that this or that country is oppressed or directly threatened by one of the superpowers, but this, in no way and in no case, means that the other superpower does not constitute a danger to that same country, and even less that the other superpower has become a friend of that country. The principle "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" cannot be applied when it is a matter of the two imperialist superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States of America.

THE ANTI-LENINIST THEORY OF "THREE WORLDS"

The present day anti-Leninist theories of the "three worlds", "non-aligned", etc., are also aimed at undermining the revolution, extinguishing the struggle against imperialism, especially against U.S. imperialism, splitting the Marxist-Leninist movement, the unity of the proletariat advocated by Marx and Lenin, creating all kinds of groupings of anti-Marxist elements to fight the true Marxist-Leninist parties which stand loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the revolution.

However, the so-called theory of "three worlds" does not lay down any tasks for the revolution; on the contrary it "forgets" this. In the scheme of the "three worlds", the fundamental contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie does not exist. Apart from this, another thing that strikes the eye, in this division of the world, is its non-class view of what is called the "third world"; its ignoring of classes and the class struggle; its treatment of countries which this theory includes in this world, the regimes which dominate them and various political forces which operate within it as a single entity. It ignores the contradiction between the oppressed peoples and the re-

actionary and pro-imperialist forces of their own countries.

Despite the difference in labels, the so-called "third world" and "world of the non-aligned" are as alike one another as two drops of water.

In the presentation of the so-called "second world", which includes mostly capitalist and neo-colonialist countries, which constitute the main supporters of the two superpowers, as allies of the "third world" allegedly in struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism; the anti-revolutionary and pseudo-anti-imperialist character of the theory of the "three worlds" is quite obvious.

This is an anti-revolutionary "theory" because it preaches social peace, collaboration with bourgeoisie, hence giving up the revolution, to the proletariat of Europe, Japan, Canada, etc., who have to fight the monopoly bourgeoisie and the system of exploitation in the countries of the "second world" because, the interests of the defense of national independence, and particularly the struggle against Soviet social-imperialism, allegedly require this.

This is also a pseudo-anti-imperialist theory because it justifies and supports the neo-colonialist and exploiting policy of the imperialist powers of the "second world" and calls on the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America not to oppose this policy, allegedly for the sake of the struggle against the superpowers.

In essence, according to the theory of the "three worlds", the peoples of those countries must not fight, for instance, against the bloody fascist dictatorships of Geisel in Brazil and Pinochet in Chile, Suharto in Indonesia, the Shah of Iran or the King of Jordan, etc., because they, allegedly, are part of the "revolutionary motive force" which "is driving the wheel of world history forward". On the contrary, according to this theory, the peoples and revolutionaries ought to unite with the reactionary forces and regimes of the "third world" and support them, in other words, give up the revolution.

The attempts to analyze situations allegedly in a new way, differently from Lenin and Stalin, to change the revolutionary strategy which the Marxist-Leninist Communist Movement has always upheld, lead in decisive anti-Marxist ways, to abandoning the fight against imperialism and revisionism.

ON NEO-COLONIALISM

... in many countries liberated from colonialism, the ties of the local bourgeoisie with foreign imperialist capital have not only been preserved, but are being strengthened and extended in many neo-colonialist forms, such as the multi-national companies, various economic financial mergers, and so on and so forth. This bourgeoisie, which occupies key positions in the economic and political life of these countries, and which is growing, is a pro-imperialist force and enemy of the revolutionary and liberation movement.

Lenin stressed to the communist parties "the need constantly to explain and expose among the broadest working masses of all countries, and particularly of the backward countries, the deception systematically practised by the imperialist powers, which, under the guise of politically independent states, set up states that are wholly dependent upon them economically, financially and militarily." (Lenin, Works, vol. 31, p. 150)

U.S. imperialism, the other capitalist states and Soviet social-imperialism have bound the classes which are ruling in the countries of the so-called "third world" to them with a thousand threads.

THE THEORIES OF "THREE WORLDS", "NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES", ETC., ARE IN FAVOR OF THE CONTINUING HEGEMONY OF CAPITALISM, ONLY IN FORMS A LITTLE MORE ACCEPTABLE TO THE PEOPLES

The present theories about the so-called "third world", "non-aligned countries", etc., are intended to curb the revolution and defend capitalism, which must not be hindered in the exercise of its hegemony, but should practice some forms of domination a little more acceptable to the peoples.

The authors of this theory (of the so-called "developing countries" -- ed.); too, are covering up the class contradictions, advocating the existing status quo; that nothing must be done to annul imperialism; social-imperialism and the other imperialist powers, on the condition that they provide some "hand-outs" for building up the economies of the "developing countries". According to authors of this theory, the big powers ought to make some "sacrifices", give something to the hungry, so that they will be able to pick up some sort of livelihood and not raise their heads. In this way, they say, a middle road will be found, "a new international order", will be established in which, all, rich and poor, exploiters and the exploited, will live "without wars", "without armaments", "in unity", "in class peace", a la "Khrushchevite coexistence!"

PRACTICE OF THE REVOLUTION

THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A LIBERATION STRUGGLE WITHOUT INTERNAL ENEMIES

Therefore it is absurd to pretend that one must fight only against the external imperialist enemies without, at the same time, fighting and attacking the internal enemies, the allies and collaborators of imperialism, and all those factors which hinder this struggle.

To this day there has never been any liberation struggle, no national-democratic and anti-imperialist revolution has taken place, without having internal enemies, reactionaries and traitors, sold-out anti-national elements.

This struggle is directed, and cannot fail to be directed against a number of enemies: against the imperialist oppressors, and, first and foremost, against the two superpowers, as the biggest exploiters and international gendarmes, the most dangerous enemies of all peoples of the world; against the local reactionary bourgeoisie, linked by one thousand and one threads with the foreign imperialists, with this or that superpower, with the international monopolies, which is an enemy of the national freedom and independence; against the still pronounced remnants of feudalism which rely on foreign imperialists and are united with the reactionary bourgeoisie against the people's revolution; against the reactionary and fascist regimes, representatives and defenders of the domination of these three enemies.

There cannot be identified all strata of the bourgeoisie without exception, including the comprador bourgeoisie, as anti-imperialist forces, as a basis and factors which carry forward the struggle against imperialism, as the so-called theory of the "three worlds" does.

THE PROLETARIAT MUST LEAD THE NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE

The facts prove that today, the democratic and anti-imperialist liberation revolution can also be waged consistently and carried through to the end only if it is led by the proletariat, with its party at the head and in alliance with the broad masses of the peasantry and the other anti-imperialist and patriotic forces.

J. V. Stalin stressed that following the October Revolution, "The era of liberating revolutions in the colonies and dependent countries, the era of the awakening of the proletariat in those countries, the era of its hegemony in the revolution, has begun." (Works, vol.10, p.250)

As for the other tendency, that to the strengthening of national independence against imperialism in the former colonial countries, it is linked, first of all and mainly, with the increase of the proletariat in those countries.

In the countries which have won full or partial political independence, the revolution is at various stages of development and is not faced with the same tasks everywhere. Among them, there are countries which are directly faced with the proletarian revolution, while in many other countries, the tasks of the anti-imperialist national democratic revolution are on the order of the day. But in any case, since this revolution is aimed also against the international bourgeoisie-imperialism, it is an ally and reserve of the world proletarian revolution.

All countries without exception, even including Indonesia and Chile, Brazil and Zaire, and so on must and will go through it (the socialist revolution -- ed.) regardless of what stages will have to be traversed to get there. If you lose sight of this objective, if you preach the preservation of the status quo and theorize about "avoiding missing out stages", if you forget to

fight against Suharto and Pinochet, Geisel and Mobutu, this means that you are for neither the national liberation struggle nor the national democratic revolution.

THE "MAIN FORCE"

Meanwhile the advocates of the thesis of the "third world" call liberation movement, moreover even "main force in the struggle against imperialism", even including in it the bargaining of the King of Saudi Arabia or the Shah of Iran with U.S. oil monopolies, and their arms transactions with the Pentagon, involving billions upon billions of dollars. According to this logic, the oil sheiks, who deposit their oil money in the banks of Wall Street and the City (the City is England's Wall Street -- ed.), are allegedly fighters against imperialism and supporters of the people's struggle which is directed against imperialist domination, while the U.S. imperialists, who sell weapons to the reactionary oppressive regimes of these sheiks, are allegedly supplying them to "the patriotic forces" which are fighting to oust the imperialists from the "golden sands" of Arabia and Persia.

But to speak in general terms about the so-called "third world" as the main force of the struggle against imperialism and the revolution, as the supporters of the theory of the "three worlds" are doing, without making any distinction between the genuine anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces and the pro-imperialist, reactionary and fascist forces in power in a number of the developing countries, means a flagrant departure from the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and to preach typically opportunist views, causing confusion and disorganization among the revolutionary forces.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that the national question must always be seen as subsidiary to the cause of the revolution.

ON THE "SECOND WORLD"

It can never happen that the so-called countries of the "second world", in other words the big monopoly bourgeoisie ruling there, become allies of the oppressed peoples and nations in the struggle against the two superpowers and world imperialism.

The countries of the so-called "second world" are the main economic and military support of the aggressive and expansionist alliances of the two superpowers.

They (the so-called countries of the "second world" -- ed.) are ardent defenders of neo-colonialism and of the old order of inequality in international economic relations.

THE OPPORTUNISTS ARE FORGETTING THE MAIN THING ON EXPLOITING CONTRADICTIONS

The absolutization of inter-imperialist contradictions and the underestimation of the basic contradiction, that between the revolution and the counter-revolution, the placing of the exploitation of the contradictions in the enemy camp alone in the center of the strategy and forgetting the main thing -- the increase of the revolutionary spirit and the development of the revolutionary movement of the working people and the peoples, neglecting the preparation of the revolution, are in total opposition to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. It is anti-Marxist to preach unity with the allegedly weaker imperialisms to oppose the stronger, to side with the bourgeoisie of the country to oppose that of another country, under the pretext of exploiting contradictions. Lenin stressed that the tactic of the exploitation of contradictions in the ranks of the enemies should be used "in order to raise -- not lower -- the general level of proletarian class-consciousness, revolutionary spirit, and ability to fight and win." (Lenin, Works, vol.31, p.74)

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The Theory and Practice of the Revolution

Editorial of *Zeri i Popullit*,
Organ of the Central Committee
of the Party of Labor of Albania
July 7, 1977

"The present day anti-Leninist theories of the 'three worlds', 'non-alignment', and so on, are also aimed at undermining the revolution, extinguishing the struggle against imperialism, especially against U.S. imperialism, splitting the Marxist-Leninist movement, the unity of the proletariat advocated by Marx and Lenin, creating all kinds of groupings of anti-Marxist elements to fight the true Marxist-Leninist parties which stand loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the revolution."

--from "The Theory and Practice of the Revolution"

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WELFARE

Continued from page 1

"reform" will, in fact, make its hated bureaucracy even worse. The gigantic bureaucracy will not be reduced, only further centralized against the people. As qualifications, work requirements, etc., will be more stringent, there will be more screening and surveillance of the recipients, and worse government harassment and interference in their lives.

The main measures of Carter's "Program for Better Jobs and Income" are:

First, cutting off millions of welfare recipients from benefits and reducing the benefits of millions of others. This will be accomplished through:

a) Abolishing the present Aid to Families with Dependent Children, Supplemental Security Income, food stamps and other welfare programs and replacing them with a single standardized cash benefit. This would mean an increase in benefits in 12 states. In the other states, mainly those with a particularly high cost of living, recipients would face big cuts in benefits. A family of four would receive a measly \$4,200 a year, in 1978 dollars, or 65% of the official poverty level. Thus, for the "humane" Carter administration, a "Better Income" for the destitute masses is 65% of what the government itself considers necessary to keep body and mind together.

b) Placing more rigid eligibility requirements on receiving these benefits, which would cut off millions of recipients. All those capable of working would be required to take any work at any wages above the minimum wage. Single parents with children between six and fourteen would be required to work at least part-time and full-time if the welfare bureaucrats decided that day-care facilities were available. A large number of immigrants, both "legal" and "illegal" would be excluded from benefits. (This measure is part of the government's Hitlerite campaign against immigrants.) Eligibility requirements for the aged, disabled or single parents with pre-school children would also be stiffer. Carter's claim that his welfare program "will help turn low income Americans away from welfare dependence" will at least be true for the millions of recipients who would simply have their benefits cut off outright.

Second, subsidizing the wages of the workers forced into employment at wages below subsistence levels. This subsidy would be paid with tax dollars collected from the workers earning higher wages. The basic subsidy for a worker with three dependents, i. e., what the worker would get in wages paid by the government over and above his minimum or near-minimum wage paid by the employer, would be \$2,300. For every dollar earned at work above \$3,800 in one year, the subsidy would be cut by 50%. Thus the "Better Jobs" for these workers would be actually the worst jobs. The "Better Income" would be no more than poverty level.

Third, creating at least 1.4 million, and possibly many more, public service jobs for all those welfare recipients required to work who are not forced into employment in the private sector of the economy. These jobs will be administered under the current CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act) programs. These "Better Jobs" will be nothing but slave-labor. The "Better Income" of these public service jobs will be regulated to rise no more than ten per cent above the minimum wage (presently at \$2.30 an hour, so these jobs would pay no more than \$2.53 an hour). This wage limit would be imposed to supposedly "encourage" workers to find starvation-wage jobs in the private sector.

A SINISTER PROGRAM TO USE THE UNEMPLOYED WORKERS AS A SLAVE-LABOR FORCE AGAINST THE EMPLOYED WORKERS

The essence of Carter's "welfare reform" is to use the unemployed workers and other destitute masses who have been forced onto welfare as a slave-labor force against the employed workers. For the monopoly capitalist bloodsuckers, whose goal is always and in everything the realization of the maximum rate of profit, the competition presently created among the workers by the millions of unemployed does not keep wages low enough, so this competition must be increased. To utilize the club of unemployment to the full against the workers, with Carter's "welfare reform" the monopoly capitalists are planning to use their governmental apparatus to force the unemployed into public sector and other jobs at meager wages, replacing higher-paid and organized workers. This scheme is an attempt to create even greater competition among the workers in the face of the monopoly

capitalists' offensive to saddle the workers with the burden of the economic crisis. It is aimed at driving down the wages and conditions of the employed workers and pushing the whole proletariat into worse slavery.

In Carter's August 6 "welfare reform" message to Congress, he ominously declared "those who can work will work". Does this mean that the government of the rich is now going to force the capitalist employers to hire back the millions of workers they have laid off in the last few years and thus cut into the capitalists' profits? Never! It means that the unemployed will be given one of three choices: either take whatever job can be found, even at starvation wages, for the longest hours and under the worst conditions, or be forced into a government job at the minimum wage with absolutely no right to resist the government's dictate, or lose all income altogether. (While under this program the government jobs will pay a pittance of a wage, the monopoly capitalists have plans to wipe out wages for these workers altogether. There is legislation in the House which calls for welfare recipients to be required to work up to 30 hours a week, without any wages whatsoever, in order to collect food stamps.) Carter's slogan "those who can work will work" is nothing but a fascist slogan for forcing the unemployed into conditions of outright slaves.

A big part of Carter's program is to relieve the capitalists of the burden of having to pay sufficient wages to feed and maintain their employees, and putting part of this burden onto the workers who earn higher wages. This is what is behind the schemes to provide wage subsidies for the workers who will earn less than subsistence wages under this new program. Under Carter's program, for example, an unemployed industrial worker would be forced into a sweatshop where he would earn the minimum wage, less than half of what he needs to maintain himself and his family and generally well below the wage he made at his earlier job. Thus the capitalists would be provided with adult, experienced labor-power and not have to pay bare subsistence wages to the worker. The capitalist employers would be provided with the opportunity to fire workers earning four or five dollars an hour and replace them with workers he pays \$2.30. The rest of the burden of feeding the worker would fall on the employed workers, who will pay the taxes which go into the wage subsidies which are a big part of the cost of Carter's program. Clearly this would be a source of big profits for the capitalists and further impoverishment and ruin for the workers.

It is Carter's plan to put at least 1.4 million welfare recipients to work in the public sector, at near-minimum wage, which will have the most serious consequences for the working class. Public sector workers will be particularly hard-hit. The work of unionized and higher paid government workers will be done by workers paid \$2.35 an hour with absolutely no rights to better their situation. What takes place under the present CETA program reveals what these slave-labor government jobs entail. For example, in one-city, unionized garbage collectors have been laid off and then replaced by CETA "trainees" who earn less than one-half of the union wage. Carter plans to implement such schemes on a massive scale in schools, hospitals, sanitation departments, recreation departments, etc.

The government at all levels, federal, state and local, is the biggest employer in the country, hiring 15 million government employees, one-sixth of the U.S. labor force. In the present economic crisis and severe fiscal crises of the government, the public sector workers have been made the target of particularly sharp attacks, outright wage-cuts, massive layoffs, etc. This has resulted in a powerful wave of strikes and organizing among public sector workers in recent years. Hard fought struggles of state and city employees have taken place in Pennsylvania, San Francisco, Philadelphia, etc. This fall, teachers' strikes have been fought all over the country. The monopoly capitalists' slave-labor schemes are directed against the struggles and the growing unionization of the government employees in particular.

AN ATTACK ON THE WORKING CLASS BY THE "FRIENDS OF LABOR"

Carter's "welfare reform", with its slave-labor schemes, was first introduced in 1969 almost word for word by then President Nixon with his notorious "workfare" schemes. Nixon's "workfare" also called for forcing the unemployed into starvation-wage private and government jobs and for subsidizing the wages of those forced into employment at below subsistence levels. Nixon openly declared that the pur-

pose of "workfare" was to get "productivity" out of the "un-American" "welfare chiselers" whose "poverty is a state of mind". "Workfare" collapsed in the face of massive opposition. Nixon as well as his "workfare" scheme were widely recognized as fascist.

Treacherously, the Democrats, who are now pushing an expanded version of Nixon's program, try to portray themselves as opponents of the anti-working class policies of Nixon and the Republicans. They are the monopoly capitalists' main party of deception of the workers, using in particular, promises of "reforms" on the economic front to gain support. But these so-called "reforms" of the Democrats, beneath all the "debates" in the talk-shop Congress, turn out to be even more reactionary and anti-working class measures than those of the Republicans.

It is Carter and the "liberal" Democrats, the self-styled "friends of labor", who are the biggest advocates of the very same slave-labor schemes as Nixon but hide them under deception about "compassion for the poor" and "full employment". In fact, even Nixon's "workfare" in its time had the strongest support from various "liberals" such as Senator McGovern, who himself pointed out that "it has been the liberals who have been consistently in the forefront of those supporting the 'workfare' plans".

Presently, the Democrats are pushing the anti-working class Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, the so-called "Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act", which was written into the Democratic Party platform in the 1976 elections. The promoters of this bill claim that it will "solve unemployment" and all the other ills of capitalism by forcing millions of unemployed into slave-labor government jobs and by "planning balanced growth" through the joint efforts of the monopoly capitalists, the government and the top trade union bureaucrats. This is, in fact, nothing but joint "planning" of stepped-up exploitation and suppression of the workers, modelled after Mussolini fascism and its corporate state. In the guise of an economic reform, the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill is in reality a measure for further developing fascism against the working class.

In their efforts to impose their slave-labor schemes and other "reforms" on the workers, the "Democratic" servants of monopoly capital have the full support of an army of bureaucrats of the capitalist trade unions, social reformers and other opportunists in the ranks of the people. During the present economic crisis, George Meany's AFL-CIO and Douglas Fraser's UAW have put campaigning for the Humphrey-Hawkins "full employment" slave-labor Bill at the center of their activity. The AFL-CIO Executive Council states that Carter's "welfare reforms" "move in the directions which the AFL-CIO has long advocated". While always whimpering about the high levels of unemployment, these so-called "labor leaders" are completely opposed to organizing the workers to wage mass struggles against the capitalist exploiters on this question. They try to divert the class struggle against unemployment away from its target by organizing to beg the monopoly capitalists and the capitalist government for a few crumbs. The trade union misleaders spend millions of dollars of the workers' dues money lobbying for slave-labor "jobs programs" in Washington. It is this "friendship" between the top labor hacks and the Democrats, their alliance against the workers, which gives the "liberal" Democrats the false title of "friends of labor". This is why Carter's "welfare reform" should rightly be called an attack on the working class by the "friends of labor".

THE BOURGEOISIE BLAMES THE UNEMPLOYED FOR ITS OWN CRIMES

Carter's welfare program will cost \$6 billion more than the \$25 billion cost of the present welfare program, mostly because of the cost of the public service jobs and wage subsidies. This fact exposes the vicious propaganda being carried out in support of Carter's slave-labor schemes. Carter's program will not "simplify" the government and relieve the tax burden of the employed workers, as the bourgeoisie claims. The bourgeoisie hypocritically whips up hysteria about how the unemployed are living off tax money collected from the employed workers, about how the unemployed on welfare are "lazy" and "unwilling to work" and so on and so forth. And now, to allegedly put the welfare recipients to work and relieve the tax burden, they are imposing their forced-labor schemes. But forcing the unemployed into slave-labor public service jobs (whose wages will come entirely from tax money) and into starvation wage jobs (whose wages will be subsidized by taxes) will, in fact, only increase the tax burden on the employed workers.

The capitalists' fascist demagoguery about "lazy" welfare recipients is an attempt to blame the people for the capitalists' own crimes. It is the capitalist employers who have thrown millions of workers into the ranks of the unemployed so that they no longer have to pay the workers' wages, placing the burden of maintaining them onto the employed workers. It is the man-eating capitalist system which crushes the people, leaving them unfit for capitalist exploitation, and forces them onto welfare, prevents mothers with small children from working, etc. Massive unemployment is a grave situation for the working people. It hits the Afro-American people and other oppressed nationalities and the youth especially hard, facing them with extreme levels of unemployment. The conditions of forced idleness of the unemployed workers is desperate. If they are lucky, they receive measly unemployment insurance or even more measly welfare benefits which are insufficient to make ends meet. Many unemployed workers cannot make payments on their furniture, house or car and lose them to their creditors. Some, youth in particular, are forced into a life of petty crime. The misery of unemployment which is imposed by the capitalists is deeply hated by the working people.

Over the last four years, the U.S. monopoly capitalist system has been in the grips of a severe economic crisis, the deepest and longest since the Depression of the 30's. The much advertised "recovery" has not taken place and production is stagnating. To protect their profits and to make the people pay for the consequences of their crisis, the capitalist monopolies are imposing sky-rocketing prices and massive unemployment. According to official figures, 7.1 per cent of the workforce, nearly 7 million workers, cannot find employment. This doesn't include millions of others who have given up looking.

This vast multi-million army of unemployed workers naturally exerts great competition for existing jobs. The capitalist employers use the situation of having hundreds of workers outside the gates of the factories, in desperate need of work, to create extreme job insecurity among the employed workers. Thus the monopoly capitalists have no interest whatsoever in "solving" unemployment, which is a weapon in the hands of the rich to further exploit the workers. Holding the threat of firing over the workers' heads, the capitalists enforce stepped-up exploitation in their drive to saddle the workers with the burden of the crisis.

The present economic crisis in the U.S. is part of the world crisis of the capitalist system, which is taking place under the conditions of the general crisis of capitalism. Massive unemployment exists in all the capitalist countries. Unemployment has long since become a permanent feature of life in the U.S. which no "policy" of the government can change. Talk of "full employment" under capitalism is a hoax to divert the masses. Carter's slave-labor "welfare reform" and similar "job-oriented" programs are simply sinister schemes to use the club of unemployment to the full against the workers and will not "solve unemployment" in the slightest.

CARTER'S SLAVE-LABOR SCHEMES WILL BE MET BY THE CLASS STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT

Carter's slave-labor "welfare reform" proposals are a big exposure, showing the true nature of the Carter administration. Carter is implementing the same monopoly capitalist program as the Nixon and Ford administrations: shifting the burden of the economic crisis onto the working masses, fascizing the state and preparing for imperialist war. Carter is attempting to impose the same "welfare reform" as the hated Nixonite "workfare", only with a preacher's smile and an army of labor bureaucrats behind him.

The working class and people will reject Carter's demagoguery and deception. The class struggle of the working class against the shifting of the burden of the crisis onto its back is surging forward. Mass revolutionary struggles for higher wages, and against unemployment are developing. Carter's "Program for Better Jobs and Income" will only result in an even greater wave of revolt of the proletariat. End.

PANAMA TREATY

Continued from page one

the Caribbean. Not even the 1903 treaty, which did not specifically authorize U.S. bases in Panama, went this far.

The section to regulate U.S.-Panama relations until the end of the century stipulates that Panama will assume "general territorial jurisdiction" over the Canal Zone on the effective date of the treaty. If we examine what this "general territorial jurisdiction" means, we find that Panama has been granted, by the largesse of the U.S. imperialists, permission to "use portions of the area not needed (by the U.S. -- ed.) for their operation and defense of the canal". The sum total of this "Panamanian jurisdiction" is that the U.S. will save money by laying off by attrition 700 Americans presently working as local police, fire-fighters, customs officials, and post office workers to be replaced by Panamanians, and further by turning over to Panama the maintenance of the public schools and courts in these portions. Meanwhile the 10,000 U.S. civilians in Panama, who will become employees of the Department of Defense, and the 23,600 U.S. military personnel and dependents living in Panama, all of whom will remain in the country, will hold special privileges against the Panamanian government under the military Status of Forces Agreement. This "general territorial jurisdiction" so praised in the U.S. bourgeois press has nothing whatsoever to do with the U.S. taking steps

to grant Panama sovereignty over its own territory!

The treaty further guarantees the U.S. the right to operate and reap the benefits of the Canal until the end of the century. A new agency of the U.S. government will take the place of the Panama Canal Co. and will have a policy-making board of directors consisting of five Americans and four Panamanians hand-picked by the U.S. imperialists for their slavish love of U.S. imperialism. This is what Carter would like the world to think of as the great new partnership between the U.S. and Panama. Out of a total of over \$150 million in revenues from the Canal, one partner, Panama will receive \$50-70 million (various press estimates). On this account President Carter is going about bragging of U.S. imperialism's "generosity". But how can anything short of complete sovereignty over its own territory be the due of Panama? Panama has the absolute right to exercise control over its own territory, which includes enjoying the fruits of all its natural assets, demanding just economic relations with other nations and strengthening its economic independence. President Carter is congratulating the U.S. monopoly capitalists for agreeing to return a small portion of the stolen goods.

And what U.S. imperialism gives with one hand it takes back with the other. An integral part of the U.S.-Panama agreement is an economic "aid" package of U.S. loans, totalling from \$295 million (N.Y. Times estimate) up to \$345 million (U.S. News and World Report) in loans plus \$50 million in military assistance over a 10-year period. The U.S. is claim-

ing that this is a program of great generosity and advantage to the Panamanian people. But, in fact, who will this "aid" serve? The "aid" that any imperialist nation gives is only a form of profitable export of capital. The immediate aim of granting "aid" is to ensure the imperialist nation maximum profits, while the long-term aim is to fully colonize the country receiving this so-called "aid". Panama, already in debt to U.S. imperialism and suffering from 15-20% inflation and 20% unemployment due to imperialist plunder, will just be plunged deeper and deeper into the abyss of debt and dependence on U.S. imperialism. Provisions stipulating that Panama buy certain U.S. goods at U.S. imperialist prices to be attached to the so-called "aid" package will further engulf Panama in U.S. imperialist dependence. This is the "benevolence" of the U.S.!

The Panama treaty engineered by the Carter administration is a reflection of U.S. imperialism's stepped-up demagoguery to paint itself as "fair" and "generous" in its attempt to quell the liberation struggles of the Panamanian people, destroy the fervent support given them by other peoples and put out the fire of the struggles raging throughout Latin America against U.S. imperialism.

The U.S. imperialists are deathly afraid of revolution in Panama. For years the Panamanian people have persisted in fighting for the restoration of their national rights over the Canal, waging demonstrations, strikes, and battling the armed forces. The revolutionary situation there today is so explosive that the

U.S. military fears it cannot retain control over the Canal Zone. The U.S. settlers fear for their lives and hardly ever venture out of the U.S.-occupied Canal Zone. American employees are leaving in droves, making it difficult for the U.S. to operate the Canal. The Carter administration, Ford and others are saying that "unless the treaty is approved there will be bloody warfare in Panama and other Latin American countries". The frenzied message is that unless their demagoguery can make the people think that U.S. imperialism has changed its barbarous, exploitative, war-mongering nature, the U.S. imperialists are bound to suffer terrible defeats by revolutionary upsurge not only in Panama but throughout all of Latin America. Thus the new treaty is political deception aimed at hanging onto the Canal by preventing its revolutionary seizure by the Panamanian people.

Panama has stood out as a glaring example of U.S. colonialism in Latin America. 11,000 troops have been stationed on Panamanian soil. U.S. imperialism has been draining Panama of its resources and has decimated the lives of the Panamanian people. A fence which separates the ten-mile wide Canal Zone from the rest of Panama keeps the Panamanian people off their own soil while those servants of U.S. imperialism living behind it visibly enjoy the spoils of colonial domination. The growing resistance movement of the Panamanian people against U.S. imperialism has the fervent support of the Latin American and all peoples. For this reason the U.S. imperialists, through the

Continued next page

Continued from previous page

Carter administration, are frantically trying to convince the Panamanian and Latin American peoples that the new treaty rights the wrongs of the past, restores Panamanian rights and makes revolution unnecessary.

Meanwhile, certain outright fascists in the U.S., big lackeys of U.S. imperialism, led by Strom Thurmond and Ronald Reagan, are making a fuss that Congress should refuse to ratify the new treaty because U.S. imperialism has allegedly been negotiated into giving up its imperialist domination and control of Panama. These open fascists disagree with the tactics which the Carter administration holds are the best way to preserve U.S. colonial domination in Panama under the circumstance of rising resistance. The Carter administration and others use demagoguery to make the U.S. appear "peaceful" and "concerned with the well-being of the people". They hope to prop up colonial control of Panama today and prepare conditions for neo-colonialist rule in the future -- all under a "democratic" signboard. This is the tactic of imperialist pacifism, which portrays imperialism as "peaceful" and "democratic" so as to dupe the peoples, liquidate their struggles and preserve imperialist domination. The outright fascists like Thurmond and Reagan, however, are proponents of maintaining the old form of colonialist domination of Panama. Both old-type colonialism and neo-colonialism are forms of imperialist control, exploitation and suppression of the people; neo-colonialism, based on the imperialist's economic and military ties with the reactionary bourgeoisie and feudalists of a particular country, is as savage, or even more savage, than old form of colonialism. The debate between the straight-forward fascists and the promoters of imperialist pacifism is a squabble between thieves over how best to steal from the people. The role of these fascists is to give credibility to the advocates of imperialist pacifism who, just like the outright fascists, want only to expand U.S. imperialist domination of Latin America, but who rely more on demagoguery and trickery to suppress the people's resistance.

The U.S. imperialists are also using the Panama issue to propagate great-nation chauvinism among the American people. They claim in their mock debates that the interests of the American people will be put in jeopardy if the U.S. is forced to give up its privileges in Panama. But these privileges serve only to enrich the coffers of the handful of U.S. monopoly capitalists, while these common enemies of the American and Panamanian people increasingly attack the American masses. The American people have everything to gain from the blows the Panamanian people are directing at their common enemy, the U.S. imperialists. Further, the spokesmen of the U.S. imperialists are promoting the slander that the Panamanian people are incompetents who cannot manage their own affairs but who need U.S. imperialism to run their Canal and provide for their education and for their health. They try to pass off the uprising of the Panamanian people as the action of some irresponsible school "kids". These lies which slander the Panamanian people and prettify U.S. imperialism are aimed at turning the American people against the people of other countries so as to mobilize them to be used as cannon fodder for the aggressive wars U.S. imperialism is planning to attack and enslave other peoples, including a new world war with Soviet social-imperialism to redivide slaves on a global scale.

Hand-in-hand with the Democratic and Republican lackeys of the bourgeoisie are the phoney "Marxist-Leninists" promoting social-chauvinism as "Marx-

ism-Leninism". While the Panamanian people are developing their resistance movement, these backward elements try to divert the rising revolutionary struggle to oust U.S. imperialism and its allies into a national celebration of the Panamanian people hailing the new unequal treaty as an "important victory in their struggle for full sovereignty". (1) They propagate the same lies as the bourgeois: that the U.S. imperialists will gradually hand over sovereignty to Panama and quietly withdraw its troops by the year 2,000. These "revolutionaries" want the Panamanian people to put down their struggle while U.S. imperialism consolidates its military and economic grip on Panama. They fear that the struggle of the Panamanian people will further illustrate to the American people the evil nature of U.S. imperialism. They want the American people to see U.S. imperialism not as a ruthless and aggressive superpower that it will be until its last breath, but as a "reasonable" state that can be bargained with and trusted to voluntarily cede its colonial privileges over the next 23 years. Instead of exposing the debate between the "liberal" representatives of U.S. imperialism and the "conservative" representatives of U.S. imperialism as a squabble between thieves, and instead of exposing the imperialist pacifism of the Carter administration as demagoguery to prettify U.S. imperialism and prepare for imperialist war, these social-chauvinists are telling the people to side with the Carter administration (which they say has made "a significant retreat from its past 'no budge' position" on Panama) against another clique of the U.S. bourgeoisie. They are summoning all their energy to aid the U.S. imperialists in their war preparations, trying to line up the American people behind the U.S. imperialists. But the American people are rejecting great-nation chauvinism and social-chauvinism and waging their own struggle against the U.S. ruling class, which supports the struggle of the Panamanian people.

Despite the U.S. imperialists' demagogic schemes and the threats of armed force, the Panamanian people have been escalating their anti-imperialist struggle. Throughout the year strikes of workers and demonstrations of workers and students were launched. This summer thousands of students marched along the borders of the U.S. imperialist-occupied zone to commemorate the 1958 uprisings. On May 19 students occupied the University of Panama as part of their protest struggle against U.S. imperialist domination of Panama. The armed forces laid siege to the University but the students repelled the attack and continued their occupation for 12 days. In recent weeks masses of patriotic Panamanians have risen up to protest the new unequal treaty and call for the expulsion of U.S. imperialism from Panama. The struggle of the Panamanian people is sure to develop into armed revolutionary struggle to overthrow the U.S. imperialists and their reactionary internal allies.

The history of Panama is one of U.S. imperialist plunder and aggression and of resistance on the part of the Panamanian people. In 1903, the U.S., a newly-emerged imperialist power, had aggressive military and commercial interests in building a canal across the isthmus of Panama. At first it was thwarted by Colombia which refused to give up Panama, then one of its provinces, to U.S. imperialism. The U.S. dispatched its warships and marines to seize Panama and organize the government of Panama, which declared its independence from Colombia on November 3, 1903. Within three days the U.S. had recognized Panama and by Nov. 18 it imposed on Panama a treaty whereby the U.S. would control in perpetuity a ten-mile wide strip across Panama, the

canal to be built in that area, and would have innumerable exclusive privileges in the rest of Panama. To cover up its piracy, the U.S. later gave the Colombian government a \$25 million indemnity. The canal which the U.S. imperialists say was built by the U.S. was actually built from the sweat and blood of workers, 3/4 of whom were blacks from the West Indies, 6,000 of whom died from disease and intolerable working conditions before the canal was opened.

The U.S. has used its control over the Canal and the Canal Zone to speed the passage of soldiers and troops for waging aggressive wars and to train soldiers in jungle warfare for U.S. aggression in Indochina, as well as to provide a base for U.S. domination of all of Panama and the Caribbean. U.S. imperialism has greedily taken advantage of Panama's forest resources, banana crop, manganese and gold, and now has plans to exploit Panama's huge copper deposit. The U.S. has invested \$4.5 billion in the Caribbean (not including Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands).

The Panamanian people were never passive toward U.S. aggression and exploitation. Numerous times, beginning in 1856, the U.S. militarily intervened in Panama to suppress resistance struggles. In 1958 eleven students were murdered by the U.S. imperialists and their running dogs in battle during the anti-imperialist upsurge in that year. In 1964, U.S. soldiers slaughtered 22 Panamanians and wounded hundreds of others when the people rose up to protest U.S. occupation of the Canal Zone. The anniversaries of these events have been the occasions of powerful demonstrations by the Panamanian people. History has shown that U.S. imperialism will never give up its control and domination of Panama voluntarily, and that the Panamanian people will never give up their struggle against the imperialists until victory has been won.

The U.S. imperialists have always considered Latin America as their backyard for huge investments from which to draw fat profits and for the exploitation of the countries' natural assets. The U.S. imperialists have intervened militarily in Mexico, Cuba, Panama, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Honduras and Guatemala to further their imperialist interests and to suppress revolutionary struggle. The U.S. imperialists are trying every day to expand further into Latin America. They groom as their lackeys the most bloodthirsty and barbaric reactionaries to wield the whip on the people in their behalf. These lackeys of U.S. imperialism, such as Pinochet of Chile and Geisel of Brazil, are armed to the teeth by U.S. imperialism to suppress the people's revolutionary struggles.

U.S. imperialism is the biggest exploiter and oppressor of the Latin American countries. Even in Cuba, a neo-colony of the Soviet social-imperialists, the U.S. occupies Guantanamo Naval Base. The Latin American nations cannot be liberated without attacking and defeating U.S. imperialism and its internal reactionary forces on which it bases itself. The Soviet Union, the other superpower, is contending with the U.S. for imperialist domination of Latin America and the Latin American people will not let the social-imperialists take the place of its rival the U.S., nor will they be fooled by the fairy tale that U.S. imperialism has become the "peaceful", "declining" imperialism. U.S. imperialism, threatened by Soviet social-imperialism, and weakened by the blows of the Latin American people is ever increasing its efforts to gain back its old positions and capture new ones. Latin America today is a storm center of revolution. Armed struggle is developing in various Latin

American countries and in particular in Colombia where the People's Liberation Army, the military organization of the Communist Party of Colombia (M-L), has been carrying on the revolutionary war for more than eight years. The Latin American people are valiantly rising up to aim blows against U.S. imperialism, the biggest exploiter of Latin America. A powerful strike movement has been developing in Latin America and is reaching vast proportions. Students have been waging militant demonstrations to denounce U.S. imperialist domination of their countries, the reactionary allies of the U.S. imperialists within their own countries and the decadent educational system. Many demonstrations have led to fierce battles between the youth and the reactionary police. In Brazil massive student demonstrations have been sustained since May 1st to oppose the fascist Geisel regime and students have heroically confronted the brutal repressive apparatus of the fascist state. In Honduras and Chile peasants are waging struggle to seize the land from foreign imperialists and local reactionaries. "The Joint Declaration of the Delegations of the Marxist-Leninist Parties of Latin America" stirringly points out that, "By launching various forms of struggle, ranging from simple protests and strikes to armed struggle, they (the Latin American people) are giving reaction no respite and are displaying great courage and heroism in militant actions. The working class, the peasantry and the students are the most active forces of the people's resistance. The Marxist-Leninist parties are turning into leading forces of the people's national, democratic and revolutionary movements. They are pointing to the road of revolution, of the armed struggle of the masses of the people and the broad unity of progressive forces and trends, as the only road which can lead the peoples to their true liberation. The struggle for national independence and against the two superpowers calls for the unity of all forces that can be united. But only the proletariat and the Marxist-Leninist parties are capable of leading this struggle consistently to victory. There is no doubt that, despite the great difficulties to be overcome, our peoples will triumph! The future belongs to them."

The new Panama treaty is a shameless fraud. The new unequal treaty does not undo the justification of imperialist aggression and exploitation of Panama written into the 1903 treaty, but on the contrary extends and prolongs it. The new unequal treaty and all the demagoguery surrounding it is a further attack by U.S. imperialism on the Panamanian people in their struggle for national sovereignty, on all the Latin American people who are valiantly resisting colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism and all reaction, and on the American people as well. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism The Workers' Advocate gives firm support to the revolutionary movements of the Panamanian and other Latin American peoples who have thrown to the wayside the demagoguery of the U.S. imperialists and are persisting unflinchingly in developing their struggles.

**U.S. IMPERIALISM, GET OUT OF PANAMA!
DOWN WITH THE 1903 UNEQUAL TREATY!
DOWN WITH THE NEW UNEQUAL TREATY!
VICTORY TO THE PANAMANIAN AND
LATIN AMERICAN PEOPLES!** End

(1) All quotes characterizing the social-chauvinist line on Panama were taken from The Goal, August 22, 1977.)

COAL MINERS

Continued from page 3

Aug. 2:

Miners have used a number of tactics to defend their picket lines. In the W. Va. coalfields, four cars belonging to salaried employees were doused with gasoline and burned. At the (minor) mine in Wyoming County, a boss' car was set on fire and pickets painted the boss yellow. The picketing miners have had to use baseball bats to defend themselves against attacks by the state. In Raleigh County, Sheriff Coker Mills said he had deputies act as mine guards to keep the peace. These thugs have tried to disarm the miners, confiscating their guns and throwing some miners in jail.

Aug. 3:

Miller says that the "dark understand" the six-week wildcat strike over cutbacks in miners' medical benefits and that it "simply makes no sense". Meanwhile, the BCGA president, Jos. P. Brennan, calls wildcat strikes by miners "senseless". 64,000 miners are striking in four states. Brennan issues a statement which says in part: "Once again a small group of UMWA members are defying their own union and trying to further (expand) the modest and partial benefits for which their fathers and grandfathers struggled." Miller, after hearing the statement, calls it "right on target".

Aug. 4:

Coal officials say the strike is cutting coal production by 80,000 tons a day in eastern Ky. Ky. finance officials say the cost is an estimated \$21,000 each day in coal severance revenues.

Aug. 7:

The W. Va. Coal Assn. says the state's coal production this year could be the lowest in nearly four decades if wildcat strikes continue. The state treasury has lost over \$5 million in direct coal taxes.

Aug. 11:

District 17 resisting move to end strike. While District IV remains on strike, reactionary violence against the picketing miners has accelerated. A striking coal miner is shot in the arm while picketing. Shooting incidents are reported at eastern Ky. mines. But the miners in Pike County, Ky., have armed

themselves with rifles and sidearms to resist these reactionary attacks on their strike movement.

Aug. 12:

Miners force a truck driver to dump a load of gravel beside the road because the trucking firm employs UMWA members and hauls union-mined coal out of Cabin Creek. Miners are threatened with arrest. Police in Raleigh County jailed 3 pickets from District 17 two nights previously.

Aug. 13:

Nearly 70,000 miners remain on strike. More than 50,000 miners are still on strike in W. Va., with roving pickets from the state spreading the strike to the surrounding states of Ky., Ohio and Pennsylvania. Dist. 17 is completely shut down.

Aug. 14:

Some miners vow to defy Miller's plea to end their strike. "We're going to spread the strike. That's the only statement we have to make", says one miner among about 75 members of UMWA who gathered near Chelyan, W. Va., and then dispersed in car caravans in shut down mines in neighboring states.

Aug. 15:

Miller promises to come to the coalfields to get the miners back to work. When an IEB threat to take disciplinary action against strike leaders unless it is stopped.

Aug. 17:

The miners are weakened by threats from the IEB as close to 60,000 miners strike in five states in their eight-week wildcat against cutbacks in medical benefits.

Aug. 19:

District 17: 200 local union officers vote to stay out on strike. Jack Perry, Dist. 17 Pres. says "I directed them to go back to work and was told to go to hell." Miller goes on Charleston TV and orders the miners back to work.

Aug. 20:

Application Power Co. expresses growing concern over rapidly diminishing coal supplies at generating plants in W. Va., as the wildcat strike continues in the coalfields.

Aug. 22:

The top leadership of the UMWA, the International Executive Board (IEB), convenes in Charleston in an emergency session to attempt to resolve the two-month-old wildcat strike over cutbacks in miners' medical benefits. Miller and IEB members have said in recent weeks that the solution to the cutbacks lies at the bargaining table, a view supported by U.S. Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall. The IEB passes a 60-day back-to-work resolution during a day-long closed session. More than 400 miners attend the meeting with local union officials, Miller and union leaders. Miller is escorted to and from the meeting by more than 100 bodyguards. According to the resolution, if these grievances are not settled within the 60-day period, Miller will terminate the current contract with the BCGA. The local union leaders representing the strikers promptly agree to the order to halt the wildcat strike. 65,000 miners are continuing the strike.

Aug. 24:

At the same time, Miller sends about 140 thugs to the Cabin Creek area of Mingo County, W. Va. to make sure the pickets don't stop the train from going back to work. Shots are fired as the striking miners defend their picket lines from Miller's thugs.

Aug. 28:

Leaders of Dist. 17 have taken out radio advertisements calling on miners to return to work on the midnight shift today.

Aug. 29:

Miners wait for word on return as District 17 Pres. Jack Perry and the W. Va. Coal Roberts issued a strong back-to-work statement and spent the weekend urging miners to return to work, even going to the extent of buying radio advertisements.

Aug. 30:

24,000 miners are still striking. The strike now being in its 10th week. Some miners have gone to work on the midnight and day shifts following the threats and intimidation of local union leaders from district leaders. But the reason is "there's no effect that a trend", and increased picketing is reported.

Aug. 31:

Several local union presidents (District 17) say

they had been ordered to hold local meetings and emphasize the importance of returning to work.

Sept. 1:

The FBI and Ky. State Police have been called in to help end the wildcat in the eastern Kentucky coalfields. (The bourgeois press says that they've been called in to help and "setback" in the eastern Ky. coalfields.)

Meanwhile, W. Va.'s chief supplier of electricity said yesterday it will have to report coal from the west to keep electricity flowing in the state because of the 15-week strike.

Sept. 3:

Nationally 11,000 miners continue the wildcat strike.

Sept. 8:

Cabin Creek, W. Va., miners begin petition campaign to recall Arnold Miller and demand another union presidential election be held.

Sept. 15:

Wildcat strike movement temporarily suspends its political description (30-day grace period) and has-ist attacks by the UMWA Labor bureaucracy; almost all miners are back to work.

Sept. 17:

Feeling renewed wildcat strikes, UMWA health and retirement funds' trustees take out loans to buy stock proposed Oct. 1 regional benefits subsidies; previous cutbacks (7/1) will remain in effect.

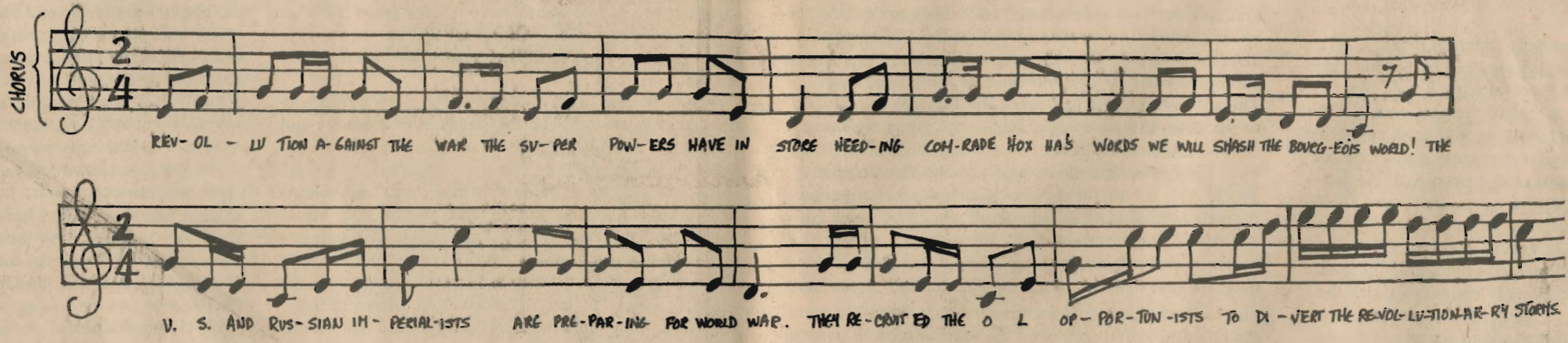
Sept. 18:

Pike County, W. Va. miners help recall Miller rally.

Oct. 6:

National UMWA contract set to expire. End

For Revolution, Against War



FOR REVOLUTION, AGAINST WAR
(Sung to the tune of "Soldier's Joy")

Chorus: Revolution against the war
The superpowers have in store --
Heeding Comrade Hoxha's words
We will smash the bourgeois world!

The U. S. and Russian imperialists
Are preparing for world war.
They recruited the OL opportunists
To divert the revolutionary storms.

These social chauvinists jumped out
To defend the bourgeoisie,
With their red, white and blue publications
From sea to shining sea!

Chorus

"Line up with the bourgeoisie!"
These opportunists roared!
"Give up the revolution
And prepare for imperialist war."

The U. S. imperialists applaud
As October League scrapes and bows
Before the fascist bourgeois state
And Titoite revisionist clowns!

Chorus

Down with the "Three Worlds" theory
And the reactionary bourgeoisie!
The proletariat must lead everything
To gain its victory.

The C. O. U. S. M. L.
Has raised its mighty fist
To strike down opportunism
And be true internationalists!

Chorus

There Will Be Such A Party
With correct political line --
To defend the purity of Marxism
Is our duty at all times!

We will build the Communist Party,
Not a comrade will hesitate,
As we lead the proletariat
To smash the bourgeois state!

Chorus (twice)

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- Fascist Attack on CPG(M-L) and Frame up of Comrade Hardial Bains
- Quotes from Comrade Enver Hoxha's Report to the 7th Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania
- Internationalist Rally of Communist Party of Italy(M-L)
- Internationalist Rally of Communist Party of Germany(M-L)
- Zeri i Popullit on Italian Rally
- Statement of Latin American Marxist-Leninist Parties
- Zeri i Popullit on Latin American Statement

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