

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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A young Palestinian fighter for national liberation trains his sights on the U.S. Imperialists and their lackey Israeli Zionists.

PALESTINE WILL BE FREE!!

Wherever there is oppression, there is resistance. The recent uprisings in the Israeli-occupied West Bank territories of Palestine are part of the decades-old just struggle of the Palestinian people for freedom, independence and their sovereign rights as a nation. They are a testament to the growing unity of Palestinian and all Arab countries and peoples against aggression and to the righteous armed struggle of the Palestinian people to regain their homeland.

The Israeli Zionists have been trying to drive the Arabs out of Palestine by suppression, expulsion, and confiscation. But the masses of Palestinians have been coming forward in an ever-broadening resistance movement. Since late January, in the longest continuous protest yet, Palestinians in Israeli-occupied territories have been demonstrating against the building of Zionist settlements on the West Bank of the Jordan River and the forced evacuation of Palestinians to refugee camps.

On March 8, shopkeepers closed down, teachers called off classes, and a militant general strike by students, teachers, peasants and industrial workers in Nablus spread all over the West Bank.

The recent demonstrations and general strike by tens of thousands of Palestinian workers and peasants in their "Day of the Land" (March 10) signified the ever-intensifying and spreading support for the right of self-determination of the Palestinian nation.

Most recently, in desperation, the Zionist police tried to suppress the uprisings and ruthlessly shot several demonstrators, but the movement to throw out the Israeli settlers and take back the land has continued to surge ahead. Under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), (a united front of national bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, Marxist-Leninists, proletariat, and peasantry), the Israeli Zionist aggressors will be defeated and Palestine will be

free! There will be a democratic secular (non-religious) state where Jews, Moslems, and Christians can live together in peace on the basis of equality.

STAGING GROUND FOR IMPERIALIST RIVALRY

The Middle East has always been a staging ground for inter-imperialist rivalries. Recently it has been a hotspot for war preparations between the US imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists, for control of Mideastern oil determines who maintains hegemony over Western Europe and Japan, both of which are heavily dependent on Arab oil. At the same time, the two superpowers collude and secretly negotiate political settlements, as when Rogers and Gromyko drew up a plan for "peaceful settlement" after the October 1973 War broke out. They tried to create an aura of "peace" despite real war; they concocted the political solution of a "ceasefire in place" when the situation was favorable to Israel. This was nothing but a sham -- it perpetuates the volatile "no war, no peace" status quo and is just another means to continue their imperialist policies. This contention between the two superpowers over the Middle East is fierce and may lead to a new world war, with the Soviet Union being the main source for war. Either way, the superpowers work only for their own self-interests and are the main oppressors of the Palestinian people.

At the end of World War I, the British and French colonialists made a deal to divide up the oil-rich and strategically-located Arab areas between themselves. Britain claimed Palestine for the purpose of establishing a base from which to dominate the world. And a British mandate gave Palestine to the Zionists as a "national home."

(cont'd on p. 8)

EXPOSE RWL'S 'LEFT' OPPORTUNISM ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT INSIDE

MOLDERS TAKE THE OFFENSIVE

The workers of the International Molders and Allied Workers Union - 2900 workers in 52 foundries - shut down shops in California, Oregon, and Washington, for over a month. The striking molders are joining with workers all over the country in a powerful offensive against capitalism. Molders work under some of the worst conditions and for the lowest pay. The foundry industry averages about 70 deaths and 70,000 injuries per year. It was under these oppressive conditions that the molders struck, for an increase of \$2.60 per hour and plant-wide seniority, unlimited Cost of Living Allowance (COLA), but also for political demands such as the elimination of the no-strike clause in the contract, among many more demands.

By now many of the locals have gone back to work, but Local 164 has set an example of the working class's determination to gain what's rightfully ours. On May 15, Local 164 voted to reject the latest contract proposals despite the company's and trade union misleaders' attempts to demoralize and confuse the issues. This contract proposal "conceded" an 11¢ increase over the original sell-out package. Brothers and sisters, the molders are not fighting for a few pennies here and there, but will take nothing less than their just demands!!

Throughout the strike, the molders have demonstrated their courage and

(Cont'd on p. 7)

INSIDE

PALESTINE WILL BE FREE!	1
MOLDERS TAKE THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST CAPITALISM	1
CENTRALIZATION OF THE CIA/FBI	2
WVO NATIONAL TOUR	3
NYC APT. WORKERS STRIKE	4
LURING TO THE EAST THE WATERS THAT BRING DISASTER (trans)	5
MASSES CRITICIZE CAPITALIST ROADER	12
KAHOOLAWA ISLAND TAKEOVER	12
UPHOLD THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION OF MAY DAY!	12
LA SITUACION ESTA EXCELENTE	24
SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT - Expose RWL's "Left" Opportunism on the Inter- national Situation	

THE CAPITALISTS ADMIT THE CENTRALIZATION OF THE C.I.A./F.B.I.

The monopoly capitalist press recently admitted this about the so-called investigation of the CIA/FBI:

An intelligence system that may be even stronger than before ... That's the surprise outcome of controversy that had threatened to wreck the CIA. (U.S. News and World Report, 3/1/76)

But it's no surprise to us! The recommendations of the Senate Subcommittee hearings on the CIA/FBI released last month, instead of hurting or strait-jacketing the repressive power of the capitalist state apparatus, are in fact centralizing and streamlining the CIA/FBI, making it more efficient, more deadly, in hitting our working class resistance at home and national liberation struggles abroad! As we stated in WV Vol. II, No. 1

This all-round imperialist crisis is thus leading from greater competition to greater centralization, and again to even fiercer competition. The CIA "scandal" is part of this streamlining of the state machine... rather than democratic rights, we get the heightening danger of fascism. (WVO Journal, No. 2, vol.2, p.80, May, 1975)

As the worldwide crisis within monopoly capitalism catches the capitalists within a vise-like grip, the dog-eat-dog infights between the monopoly capitalist groups are intensifying. And as in Watergate, different monopoly capitalist groups are exposing each other to the working class.

According to the capitalists themselves; the repressive acts of the CIA/FBI have included

Sending an agent to penetrate the security at Black Panther headquarters in Chicago to assassinate Fred Hampton and other leaders of the Afro-American movement;

Setting up the CIA's Project CHAOS (1967-73) and the FBI's Cointelpro, both designed to disrupt the Communist and anti-imperialist movement and the resistance movements of workers and oppressed nationalities;

Drug experiments on people to control workers opposed to capitalism;

Systematic assassination plots against foreign leaders opposed to U.S. imperialism;

Photographing one quarter of a million of our letters to spy on our activities; and

Sending agents, spies, and agent provocateurs into the press corps, universities, student groups, trade unions, etc.

And if the monopoly capitalists publicly admit to this much, we can imagine how much they have actually been scheming and plotting to disrupt the working class and communist movements!!

Ford strengthened and reorganized the bourgeois intelligence and security agencies (about seven different operations, including the FBI and the military) in the White House under CIA director, George Bush, both to fight Soviet Social-Imperialism better and to better disintegrate and harass our resistance against monopoly capitalism.

In the same month, the monopoly capitalists gave a big boost to the FBI along the road to centralization. In effect, the Congress and Attorney General Levi are getting the FBI ready to carry out all the repression that the CIA is now supposedly barred by law from carrying out at home, in a much more efficient way than before. Congress will recommend that Levi's program of "preventive action" -- infiltration and wrecking of communist and working class organizations -- be combined with more FBI effectiveness overall against the revolutionary movement.

And now, there is even a recommendation to combine all intelligence agencies under one committee to supervise all attacks on the working class at home and liberation movements abroad, which can only prepare the way for fascism!

We fight all these ruling class attacks, And we're not afraid of them! The ruling class always tries to jail, exile and murder working class fighters, especially our communist leaders. But for every one of our leaders that the CIA/FBI murders, hundreds more will rise to take their place!

PROCESS OF FASCIZATION

As the international crisis in capitalism and the danger of World War sharpens, the monopoly capitalists prepare the way from bourgeois democracy to fascism, to try to prolong their rule in the face of mounting working class resistance. To beat back our wave upon wave of strikes, demonstrations, and other forms of struggle the monopoly capitalists will streamline the state apparatus, consolidating power in fewer and fewer hands.

TO BEAT BACK OUR WAVE UPON WAVE OF STRIKES, DEMONSTRATIONS, AND OTHER FORMS OF STRUGGLE, THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS WILL STREAMLINE THE STATE APPARATUS, CONSOLIDATING POWER IN FEWER AND FEWER HANDS.

The Senate subcommittee report plans to concentrate all espionage and intelligence activity under one man, the Director of Central Intelligence. As the monopoly capitalists themselves admit:

The committee recommendations regarding the Director of Central Intelligence would, if implemented, increase his authority over the entire intelligence community ... In order to carry out his national intelligence responsibilities, the D.C.I. should have the authority to review all foreign and military intelligence activities and intelligence resource allocations, including tactical military intelligence which is the responsibility of the armed forces ... while the D.C.I. was given responsibility under the 1947 act for intelligence community activities, he was not authorized to centrally coordinate or manage the over-all operations of the community... (Senate Subcommittee Report on the CIA/FBI)

We've seen the forced busing plan in Boston, where this liberal capitalist trick helps split the working class, pitting working class whites and Afro-Americans against each other, spreading chauvinism and racism, and building up fascist organizations. This is one side

of the monopoly capitalists' preparations for fascism, the method of whipping up fascist ideology and fascist movements "down below", among the masses.

The recent centralization of the CIA and FBI is an example of the other side of their preparations, the method of streamlining and tightening up their state machine, "up above".

RISING DANGER OF WORLD WAR

Contention between the U.S. Imperialists and the Soviet Social-Imperialists is absolute! Any cooperation is only short-lived and serves to gear up for heightened contention. All the phony cries of "detente" cannot mask the truth that the CIA/FBI and the Soviet KGB are mounting a massive campaign of espionage and subversion to prepare for imperialist war.

It was revealed in 1973, that the bourgeoisie, while selling the "virtues" of detente, simultaneously purged virtually hundreds of CIA agents in the bureau who were monitoring Soviet activities. This massive purge of agents in the CIA's Soviet bureau was to toughen up the CIA in the face of mounting attacks by the KGB, to prepare for fiercer all-round contention and eventually for world war with the Soviet social-imperialists.

Neither the U.S. nor Soviet imperialists, neither the CIA nor the KGB harbor any illusions about "detente":

The committee finds that the threat from hostile intelligence services is real. In the United States alone, well over a thousand Soviet officials are on permanent assignment. Among these, over 40% have been identified as members of the KGB or GRU, the Soviet civilian and military intelligence units, respectively. Estimates for the number of unidentified Soviet intelligence officers raise this figure to over 60% and some defector sources have estimated that 70% to 80% of Soviet officials in the United States have some intelligence connection ... In 1972-3, for example, approximately one-third of Soviet exchange students here for the academic year under the East-West Student Exchange Program were cooperating with the KGB, according to the CIA. (Senate Subcommittee Hearings)

A few months ago, the CIA and National Security Agency were monitoring the largest nuclear-armed military maneuvers ever staged by the Warsaw Pact countries, totally dominated by the Soviet social-imperialists. Only last month, KGB agents in Japan and elsewhere were being exposed by the CIA, to step up the superpower contention. And in retaliation, this month the KGB has exposed three CIA agents working in the U.S. press corps concerning Soviet affairs, a sign of the escalation of contention.

All the superpowers' phoney talk about "detente" is nothing but a cover for preparations for world war!

CIA/FBI AND THE MISLEADERS

Liberal monopoly capitalist politicians and trade union misleaders first pretended to be shocked by the CIA/FBI issue. But this was just a smokescreen. The liberal and all other capitalist poli-

(cont'd on p. 3)

(CIA/FBI cont'd from p. 2)

ticians are working hand-in-hand, night and day with the CIA to help with its centralization. The CIA/FBI investigation has nothing to do with "making democracy work," or proving that the "system can change, after all." It has everything to do with preparing for war and fascism!

The trade union bureaucrats, when they are not selling out the working class movement at home, are busy doing the dirty work for the CIA/FBI abroad! As recent revelations show, George Meany, top apologist for U.S. imperialism, has for years been on the CIA/FBI payroll. He and other errand boys for the monopoly capitalists have systematically spied on the European trade union movement, feeding names and disrupting the European working class resistance for years! These lackeys of U.S. imperialism have only been too ready to sell-out the rank and file at home and disrupt the proletarian movement abroad!

The revisionist "C" PUSA likewise serves the monopoly capitalists' preparations for fascism with all their lies about "detente means jobs," and with their support of bourgeois liberal movements, like the forced busing plan, and the CIA/FBI centralization. They pretend that struggles within the monopoly capitalists, such as Watergate, are really struggles over the "civil rights and freedoms of the American people," instead of cut-throat competition and disagreements between the monopoly capitalist groups and with the Soviet social-imperialists.

Other misleaders portray the CIA/FBI issue as a genuine split between the "fascists" and "anti-fascists" among the monopoly capitalists. This speculating on the differences within the monopoly capitalists and backing one side is dangerous! It spreads illusions about bourgeois democracy and the nature of the capitalist state apparatus.

OTHER MISLEADERS PORTRAY THE CIA/FBI ISSUE AS A GENUINE SPLIT BETWEEN THE "FASCISTS" AND "ANTI-FASCISTS" AMONG THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS. THIS SPECULATING ON THE DIFFERENCES WITHIN THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS AND BACKING ONE SIDE IS DANGEROUS! IT SPREADS ILLUSIONS ABOUT BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AND THE NATURE OF THE CAPITALIST STATE APPARATUS!

The split within the monopoly capitalists is not between the "fascists" and "anti-fascists," because most all of them will unite to impose fascism to preserve their control of the state apparatus as working class resistance rises. All groups within the monopoly capitalist class constantly use the reactionary dual tactics of reform and repression, and will certainly resort to outright repression and fascism when the time comes.

The cut-throat fighting between these groups is fundamental, and sharpens as the capitalist crisis deepens. Watergate showed that they will even expose each others' filth publicly, if that's what it takes to get to the top.

Communists must not speculate and back one side against another! As the monopoly capitalists bring each others' garbage out in public, we will use these contradictions among the enemy to further expose all of them, and further raise the consciousness of the advanced and the masses.

REVOLUTION PREVENTS WORLD WAR - WORLD WAR LEADS TO REVOLUTION

The current disorder is good for us. The working class will either lead the revolution to overthrow the monopoly capitalists, which will prevent world war, or else world war will lead to revolution! We as communists and working class fighters must work to make proletarian revolution to prevent world war!! But in case world war starts before proletarian revolution, then we will turn the world war

WORKERS VIEWPOINT ORGANIZATION FORUMS

BUILD THE PARTY ON THE PROLETARIAN IDEOLOGICAL PLANE,
AND GRASP THE KEY LINK OF POLITICAL LINE!

OPPOSE RIGHT OPPORTUNISM OF O.L. AND "LEFT" OPPORTUNISM OF RWL AND PRRWO!

"The principal tactical differences in the present-day labour movement of Europe and America reduce themselves to a struggle against two big trends that are departing from Marxism, which has in fact become the dominant theory in this movement. These two trends are revisionism (opportunism, reformism) and anarchism (anarcho-syndicalism, anarcho-socialism). Both these departures from the Marxist theory and Marxist tactics that are dominant in the labour movement were to be observed in various shades in all civilized countries during the more than half-century of history of the mass labour movement."

(Lenin, "Differences in the European Labour Movement," Against Revisionism.)

Comrades, this aptly describes the situation in the U.S. communist movement today.

ALSO --

FEBRUARY FIRST MOVEMENT (Boston Chapter)

AGAINST "LEFT"-OPPORTUNISM IN THE STUDENT MOVEMENT.

FRIDAY, MAY 28 -- WASHINGTON, D.C.

FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH
10th and G Sts. NW 7-11 PM

SUNDAY, MAY 30 -- DURHAM-GREENSBORO, N.C.

DUKE UNIVERSITY, Social Science
Room 136 (L), DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA.

FRIDAY, JUNE 4 -- ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

671 BECKWITH, SW. (Interdenom.
Theol. Chapel, btwn. Chestnut &
Walnut.) 7-11 PM.

CHECK LOCAL BOOKSTORES FOR DETAILED
INFORMATION ON THE FOLLOWING:

FRIDAY, JUNE 11 -- LOS ANGELES, CA.

SATURDAY, JUNE 12 -- SAN FRANCISCO, CA.

SUNDAY, JUNE 13 -- HONOLULU, HAWAII.

FRIDAY/SATURDAY, JUNE 18-19 --

CHICAGO, ILL. AND DETROIT, MI.

into a civil war to overthrow the monopoly capitalists!

The streamlining and centralization of the CIA/FBI shows how the monopoly capitalists and their agents work to try to repress our heroic resistance and prepare for fascism feverishly.

We in the communist and workers movement must get prepared for the historic battles ahead! We must constantly agitate against these dangers, expose the true nature of the capitalist state, unmask the treachery of the misleaders like the "C" PUSA and the trade union bureaucrats, and all the liberal social props.

Prepared for these struggles, we will be able to resist the onslaught of the monopoly capitalists. We will defeat their plans and forge the way toward the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and communism!

Apt. Workers Strike

(continued from p.4)

oppressed masses are rising up to smash the rule of imperialism! Here at home, strikes such as this one are being waged by the multi-national working class for the improvement of our standard of living. Such struggles are part of our preparations for the overthrow of capitalism once and for all! We need to merge the great political struggles of the day with these economic struggles in order to build the party of the proletariat which alone can lead us to victory.

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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

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

WORKERS VIEWPOINT ORGANIZATION

c/o 43 West 28th Street
New York, N.Y. 10001

CLASS SOLIDARITY IN N.Y.C. APARTMENT WORKERS STRIKE!

The recent strike in New York City of Local 32B - apartment house service workers - is an indication of the growing resistance of the working class throughout the country. Along with the workers in the rubber plants, the public employees in San Francisco, plus the many other battles brewing in all sectors of the working class, the strength of our unity and militancy is being felt.

In light of this current economic crisis of the capitalist system - where the bourgeoisie has become more and more desperate because they know they've dragged themselves into a hole - the strike of the 32B workers holds a special significance for us. Local 32B of the Service Employees International Union represents 20,000 workers - handymen, elevator operators, porters, guards, doormen, and superintendents in the Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, and Staten Island areas of New York City. They are the ones who keep the buildings clean, run the elevators, do the general maintenance work in apartment buildings. Because of this type of labor and the conditions under which 32B workers work, their labor is less socialized - that is, they work scattered and isolated from one another. But their strength and class solidarity shone through the many obstacles the bourgeoisie and its agents flung before them in the strike.

WORKERS AND TENANTS UNITE

With determination, the 32B workers stood their ground when the bourgeoisie through its newspapers, tv, and radio tried to pit the tenants against the workers. They claimed that the increases in the service workers' salaries would mean increases in rents. The news media tried to build up how annoyed and disgusted the tenants were - garbage was piled up, people feared for their lives because of no doorman in their buildings, people afraid to run their own elevators, etc. They built up the "Citizens for a Better New York" as the mouthpiece for tenants affected by the strike. But what the news media refused to show were the examples of solidarity between the tenants and the 32B workers. In many cases, tenants walked the stairs instead of running elevators, or refused to pay their rent to the landlords during the strike. In other cases, the workers of 32B helped the elderly who lived in the struck buildings.

The strike took place, not only in the luxury buildings, but also affected buildings where working class people live.



4 32B workers weren't fooled by union misleaders' tricks!

These tenants are faced with the same problems that face the 32B workers. They understood and sympathized with the strike demands because they too are hit hard by the skyrocketing cost of living.

THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS GROWS STRONGER EACH DAY

Not only the tenants, but other workers - sanitation workers, movers, delivery men, electricians and plumbers - all refused to cross the picket lines in support of the strike. Sanitation workers let the garbage pile up. In order to break the solidarity between the 32B workers and the sanitation workers, Mayor Beame declared an emergency health problem and forced the sanitation workers to pick up the piled up garbage. The Teamster movers refused to move tenants in and out of the struck buildings as long as the workers were out. United Parcel Service drivers regularly checked up to make sure that no scabs crossed the lines to deliver packages. The strike of the 32B workers shows the growing unity of the working class has spread across union lines, across industries. The entire working class is preparing for the offensive against the capitalist system!

JOHN J. SWEENEY - WHOSE INTEREST DOES HE REALLY REPRESENT?

John J. Sweeney, newly-elected president of Local 32B, is a typical representative of the bourgeoisie smashing the labor movement from within. Not arising out of the ranks of the working class and their struggles, Sweeney is a bureaucrat trained in the bourgeois schools of industrial relations. His job as head of Local 32B is to cover up the class contradictions between the workers and the capitalists in order to maintain peace and preserve the profits of the capitalists.

In the recent strike of Local 32B, Sweeney's class collaborationist character, covered up by his militant words, came out clearly. The confusion over what were the demands of the strike - in the beginning of the strike many workers in 32B were not even informed what demands their union was putting forth - shows that Sweeney, along with the other trade union misleaders at the head of Local 32B, did not want the workers to participate in and lead the strike. The less workers knew, the better off the trade union misleaders were.

Sweeney's plan in not stating the demands clearly to the rank and file was to cover up his future sell-out during the negotiations. Was the original demand \$50 a week increase over a 1-year contract or a 3-year contract? Sweeney and the other trade union misleaders claim it was \$50 for a 3-year period, while all along the papers were claiming that it was \$50 for 1 year. Why didn't the union deny the newspaper reports if they weren't true? The Realty Advisory Board (RAB) -- representative of the big New York City landlords in the strike -- was threatening wage and benefit cuts and layoffs. Clearly, the reported demand of \$50 over 1 year helped Sweeney look like a hero, going up against the RAB like that. It is clear that by not allowing the rank and file to know the demands from the very start of the strike that Sweeney wanted to cover up his true nature.

But in spite of these schemes by Sweeney, the rank and file see through this settlement - \$39 a week increase over a 3-year period - as a sell-out. The rank and file know that with the inflation rate constantly rising, this new settlement offers them nothing! Higher food prices, rent, transportation, etc. have long ago swallowed up any increases they just won.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING - TRADE UNION MISLEADERS' TOOL FOR CLASS COLLABORATION

Sweeney and the other trade union misleaders of Local 32B said in their recent editorial in the 32B magazine (April-May 1976, Vol.43, No.2), "Local 32B does not want a strike in apartment buildings. We definitely prefer the pen to the picket."

Like all trade union misleaders, Sweeney believes in "industrial democracy" - "peace" between the capitalists and the workers. But, as workers, we know that there can be no peace between those who control and own everything from our jobs, our homes, to the government, police, courts, etc. and we who have only our labor to sell. Collective bargaining has been their tool to make us think that we can sit down together as "equals" and negotiate for a "fair" settlement for all sides. The trade union misleaders fear the strength of the rank and file, and dare not rely on our unity and militancy to force the employers to grant our demands. Instead they confuse us with more illusions of the "democratic" nature of capitalism, to make us think that the capitalists really want to give us what we need.

When Mayor Beame tried to force binding arbitration - having a "neutral" third party come in and "objectively" decide the settlement for both sides - both Sweeney and the RAB opposed this. This seemed to make it appear as if collective bargaining is much better, because both sides could "voluntarily" agree to the terms of the settlement. But neither collective bargaining nor binding arbitration can substitute for the class solidarity, militancy, and determination that comes through in a strike. With collective bargaining, as well as with binding arbitration, the power lies with the bourgeoisie because the only people sitting at the negotiating table are the bourgeoisie and their representatives in the form of trade union misleaders, or so-called "neutral" third parties as in the panel appointed by Mayor Beame. With such representatives as Vincent D. McDonnell, the bourgeoisie's main mediator; Harry van Arsdale, chauvinist leader of the Central Labor Council, and Rexford E. Tompkins, former member of the Realty Advisory Board and now president of Dry Dock Savings Bank, we know whose interest these so-called "neutral" parties represent!

When this panel set up by Mayor Beame arrived at a proposed settlement - \$39 a week over a 3-year contract - Sweeney went around peddling this as if it were a victory for the workers. It's clear whose side Sweeney's on!

WORKERS OF 32B TAKE THE LEAD

The trade union misleaders of 32B opposed a strike "in principle", and pulled a "surprise" strike, 2 days earlier, to catch not only the RAB off guard as they said, but also their own members. But the rank and file showed that even if their "leaders" did not tell them what was going on, did not prepare and organize them, they took the lead anyway. Their strength and determination showed in the 3-week long strike, with the support they received from their fellow workers and tenants. They even forced one of our biggest traitors, AFL-CIO president, George Meany, to take a position in support of the strike a couple of days before it ended. He had to do this in order to preserve his image as "leader" of the working class.

This struggle of the workers of 32B is yet another shining example of the class solidarity and determination our class is showing in the face of the bourgeoisie's latest economic crisis. All over the world, the working class and all

(cont'd on p. 3)

Translated from the Chinese

"Luring to the East The Waters That Bring Disaster"

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

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

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

UNDER THE SHAM COVER OF DETENTE, BOTH SUPERPOWERS AIM TO HIDE THEIR FIERCE CONTENTION BY APPEARING TO "NORMALIZE" THEIR RELATIONSHIP. IN ACTUALITY, THE SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS ARE RECEIVING TRANSFUSIONS OF NEEDED MONEY AND TECHNOLOGY

FROM THE U.S. AND EUROPEAN CAPITAL FOR THEIR INTENSIFIED MILITARY ECONOMY. THE U.S. AND THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION (NATO) COUNTRIES ARE STREAMLINING THEIR FORCES TO MAKE THEM MORE EFFICIENT. BUT INTERIMPERIALIST CONTRADICTION IS ABSOLUTE AND THIS SHOWS THROUGH IN THE RECENT KISSINGER WARNINGS ABOUT "COMMUNISM" TAKING OVER IN WESTERN EUROPE AND THE NEGATIVE RESPONSES FROM THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES CONCERNED.

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

PREFACE

In the world today, Soviet social-imperialism is a torrent of waters that bring disaster.

Due to the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's usurping the party and state leadership, socialist Russia has transformed into a social-imperialist country. With its rapidly expanding military power, it has joined the ranks of imperialism in redividing the world, contending with U.S. imperialism for world hegemony. The two superpowers, the U.S. and U.S.S.R., are seeking gains everywhere. China is a juicy piece of meat which is coveted by both.

However, this piece of meat is very tough. Over the years, no one has been able to bite into it. Now, the Soviet revisionists are making a feint to the east to attack the west in intensified rivalry for Europe. They have stepped up their expansion in the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, and wherever they can stretch their tentacles. They are pursuing the policy of "the law of the jungle" everywhere. However, the western countries are trying to push the Soviet revisionists eastward, toward China, to lure this torrent of water that brings disaster with the illusion of "all is quiet on the western front" and seeking "tranquility" for themselves.

History is a mirror. A review of history before and during World War II will show us that "luring to the East waters that bring disaster", the policy pursued by the western countries, was an attempt to push Fascist Germany eastward against the Soviet Union, which was then under the leadership of Stalin; a feint to the east to attack the west was the insidious tactic of Hitler in a vain attempt to enslave Europe and dominate the world. Reviewing this period in history will help us grasp the analysis of the present international situation contained in the documents adopted at the 10th Party Congress of the Communist Party of China. It will help us understand better the true nature of the west's attempt to lure troubled waters to the east and of the Soviet revisionists' feint to the east but attacking the west. And because of this we must heighten our vigilance and strengthen our defense.

I. THE RESTORATION OF THE MIGHT OF GERMAN MILITARISM

THE VERSAILLES TREATY

Shortly after the First World War, the imperialist powers convened the Paris Peace Conference in January, 1919. This peace conference was a conference for the victors to divide the spoils. Through this peace conference, England, France, the U.S., Japan and other imperialist powers sought to redivide the world, to carve up the territories and colonies of the defeated countries, to extract compensation, and to oppress, exploit, and enslave the people of the defeated countries. Another aim of this peace conference was the attempt by the victors to establish a new post-war order, to change Germany into an outpost against the newly-born socialist Soviet Union. Right after meeting in Paris, the American President Wilson, British Prime Minister Lloyd George and French Premier Clemenceau decided that "we must invite Germany to help us liberate Russia and rebuild Eastern Europe."

The result of the Paris Peace Conference was the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. It stipulated that Alsace-Lorraine be returned to France, the Saar Valley be administered by the League of Nations for 15 years, its coal mines going to France; German colonies to be divided among England, France, Japan, Belgium and others, and Germany to pay huge amounts of compensation to the U.S., England, France and other victors. The Peace Treaty also placed limits on the armed and defense forces of Germany.

With the common objective of oppressing and exploiting the German people and actively scheming against the Soviet Union, the Allied countries and the German ruling class did not allow the Treaty to touch the ruling position of German monopoly capital. In those chaotic days, the German monopoly capitalists used their massive capital to eat up small and medium sized enterprises at will. They even received large amounts of subsidy from the government. Consequently, although Germany's economic strength was greatly undermined and weakened after

World War I, German monopoly capital still possessed powerful economic strength, and continued to maintain various links with foreign capital.

At that time, the western imperialist countries found themselves facing a contradiction with regard to the question of the armed forces of defeated Germany. On the one hand, they feared that if they allowed Germany to retain powerful armed forces, it would surely become their opponent in the contention for hegemony in the future, posing a threat to the interests of the western countries. Therefore they wanted to weaken Germany as much as possible, so that it would never be able to rise again. On the other hand, out of their opposition to socialist Soviet Union and fear of the development of revolutionary forces inside Germany, they desperately attempted to push Germany eastward. This, however, required that Germany possess the necessary armed strength. After evaluating the pros and cons, in the end they adopted a compromise and stipulated in the Versailles Treaty that Germany was allowed to maintain an army of 100,000 (including 4000 officers), that its General Staff was to be dissolved, that the system of general conscription was to be abolished and replaced by the volunteer system and that German citizens were not allowed to undergo military training. The German navy was allowed to maintain a total of 15,000 men (including 1500 officers). The maximum number of war ships allowed was: 6 light cruisers, 12 destroyers, 12 torpedo ships and no submarines. Germany was prohibited from having an airforce, from producing or importing armoured vehicles, tanks or other heavy weapons and poisonous gas weapons. All military installations within 50km. east of the Rhine River in western Germany were to be dismantled and the building of new ones and the stationing of troops in this region were prohibited. German territory west of the Rhine River was to be occupied by allied forces for 15 years as the guarantee for supervising Germany's implementation of the requirements of the Versailles Treaty. But the military installations in eastern Germany were retained and German troops could remain stationed on the coast of the Baltic

(Translation cont'd from p. 5)

Sea. It can be seen from these stipulations that the smug calculations of the western countries were to allow Germany to retain a certain level of military strength which did not constitute a serious threat to England and France, but could be used internally to suppress the revolutionary movement of the people of Germany and externally the newly-born Soviet Russia.

BLOOD TRANSFUSIONS FOR GERMAN MONOPOLY CAPITAL

Agreement on the question of Germany's compensation was not reached yet when the Versailles Peace Treaty was signed. In April of 1921, the London Conference determined the total amount of Germany's compensation to be 132 billion Gold Marks, to be paid in full in 30 years. But at that time Germany was totally incapable of paying such a vast sum.

In 1923, Germany's economic and political crisis sharpened to an unprecedented degree: industrial production dropped sharply, unemployment increased drastically, liquid assets were scarce, gold reserves were dried up, the budget deficit was extremely large, and inflation reached a galloping rate. In 1918, 8½ Marks could be exchanged for 1 U.S. dollar. However, by December of 1923 it took 4200 billion Marks for 1 U.S. dollar. Malignant inflation greatly enriched monopoly capital but greatly increased the exploitation of the broad masses of working people. The cruel oppression and plunder aroused the powerful resistance of the German working class. National strike struggle raged like a storm that year, which exploded into an armed insurgency in Hamburg. In order to save the German capitalist rule from collapsing and preventing the westward surge of socialist revolution, the allied countries, under the planning of the U.S., hurriedly established an "Inter-Allied Reparations Commission" to investigate means of "stabilizing" the German economy, to formulate new programs of compensation in an attempt to give a blood transfusion to German monopoly capital. The Chairman of this commission was Charles G. Dawes of the U.S.; consequently, this program was called the Dawes Plan. It was adopted at the London Conference in August of 1924. The German government immediately signed in agreement to this plan, which took effect on August 30.

After the Versailles Peace Treaty, the Dawes Plan was the plan to continue stepping up assistance to German monopoly capital to strengthen its enslavement of the German people and the restoration of its potential for a military economy. It was one of the evil conspiracies in the attempt to build up German militarism, pushing it eastward against socialist Soviet Union.

This plan provided for a great reduction in the amount of compensation to be paid by Germany every year. It did not immediately establish the total amount to be paid, but only set down the specific amount to be paid in compensation for a five-year duration. For the year 1924-25, it was 1 billion Marks (in new Marks, same below), which was to be increased gradually every year up to 2.5 billion for the year 1928-29. Germany was further allowed to take loans from the U.S. and England to pay for the compensation, the first of which amounted to 800 million Marks, with 55% coming from the U.S. and 45% from England. Providing loans to help Germany pay for the compensation was just an excuse; in fact, the loans greatly exceeded the amount of compensation required. According to statistics published in Germany, from 1925-28, the total amount of compensation paid to the allied countries only amounted to 1/4 of the total amount of loans granted by these countries to Germany. That is to say, 3/4 of these loans were used to help German monopoly capital.

Through the Dawes Plan, the western countries also tried to solve the question of markets for German products. They did their utmost to push German products into the "Russian Market", luring Germany to expand eastward.

Vast sums of foreign capital, with U.S. capital the largest, flowed continuously into Germany after the implementation of the Dawes Plan. In the 6 years between 1924-29, foreign capital that flowed into Germany mounted to at least 10 to 15 billion Marks of long-term investment and 6 billion Marks of short-term investment.

Assisted by foreign capital, German monopolies were greatly strengthened. In 1925, the Farben Company expanded and reorganized into the "Farben Chemical Industry Trust", and became the largest chemical monopoly of the capitalist world at that time. In 1926, six large German coal-steel monopolies combined to form the "Steel Trust", and became the largest European ferrous metals monopoly at that time. These two trusts were the two mainstays for the revival of the potential for a military economy in Germany. Moreover, " " and " " of the electrical industry and " " [names of German companies] unable to establish their identification of the armament industry were also further expanded.

At the same time, foreign capital also strengthened its relation with German capital. For example, after the establishment of the Farben Chemical Industry Trust, Mobil Oil of the U.S. concluded two cartel contracts with it in 1926 and 1927, providing for cooperation in the production of various kinds of the most important synthetic materials for military purposes (oil, rubber) so as to jointly monopolize the world market. The DuPont Company also established cartel relations with it in 1926, reaching an agreement for carving up the explosives market of the world.

The implementation of the Dawes Plan enabled the German economy to recover and develop quickly, especially the armament industries. By 1927, German industrial production had already returned to the level of 1913; in 1929, as compared with 1923, Germany's hard-coal production had increased 1.6 times, its pig-iron production had increased 1.7 times, and its steel production 1.6 times. Other industries related to the military such as oil refining, automobile and aluminum production were also greatly expanded.

The abnormal development of German industry could not help it avoid economic crises. Starting in the fall of 1927, production of consumer goods declined significantly, signalling the coming of an economic crisis. Due to the deterioration of its economy, Germany took the opportunity to put forward the demand of reducing compensation payments. From the point of view of its own interests, the U.S. supported Germany's demand. The U.S. injected large amounts of capital into Germany during the implementation period of the Dawes Plan. The U.S. was concerned that if the German economy once again fell into disarray, U.S. capital in Germany would suffer serious damage. Therefore, an agreement was reached between Germany and the U.S. to prevent the outbreak of an economic crisis, and to accelerate the recovery of Germany's military potential and preparations against the Soviet Union. In accordance with the U.S. proposal, the allied countries established a new Reparations Commission in June of 1929, formulating a new plan for the compensation payments. The chairman of this commission was Owen Young of the U.S.; consequently, this plan was called the "Young Plan", which was formally adopted at the Hague Conference in 1930.

The Young Plan clearly set the reduction of compensation to 113.9 billion Marks, and reestablished the deadline for payment at 59 years. Furthermore, it dissolved all supervisory organs of the allied countries in Germany, and eliminated all their direct economic and financial control of Germany, thus facilitating the revival of the German military economy. The allied countries continued to provide loans to Germany, amounting to 1.3 billion Marks (in actuality, loans far exceeded this amount -- between 1930 & 1932, they totalled 7.2 billion Marks), so as to further build up German monopoly capital.

The Young Plan opened the way for the ultimate cancellation of all compensation

payments from Germany. In 1929, after the German government urged U.S. President Hoover to allow for delayed payments of compensation, it in fact stopped all payments. In 1932, the Luzon Conference adopted a resolution halting the demand for compensations, thus formally cancelling Germany's compensation payments. Thereafter, German fascism greatly accelerated its steps toward arms expansion and war preparations.

BUILDING UP GERMANY POLITICALLY AGAINST SOVIET UNION

In order to lure German militarism eastward, the western imperialist countries not only provided it with economic assistance but also political support. Churchill, who was for a long time a British cabinet minister, declared repeatedly that forming an alliance with Germany was the only correct policy for England. He openly stated: "I have never given up the thought of giving Germany greater satisfaction to its East." Commander Allen of the U.S. occupation forces in Germany after World War I also stated that U.S. policy was to foster Germany, allowing it to expand eastward. "We expect this will necessarily bring about conflicts between Germany and Russia, with the result of greatly weakening Germany's influence in the west." And the German government also used the excuse of "opposing the threat of the Bolsheviks" to request support from the West in an attempt to quickly restore the power of its militarism.

In February, 1925, the German government sent a memorandum to the western countries. It claimed that Germany was willing to accept a pact signed by England, France, Italy and Germany, stipulating that the signatory states would not wage wars against each other and guaranteeing the current state of the Rhine border region. It also requested that this pact have the guarantee of the U.S. In July, the President of the U.S. Federal Reserve Bank and the President of the Bank of England Montagu Norman went to Berlin for discussions with the President of the Deutsche Reichsbank, Schacht, thus setting the tone for concluding such a pact.

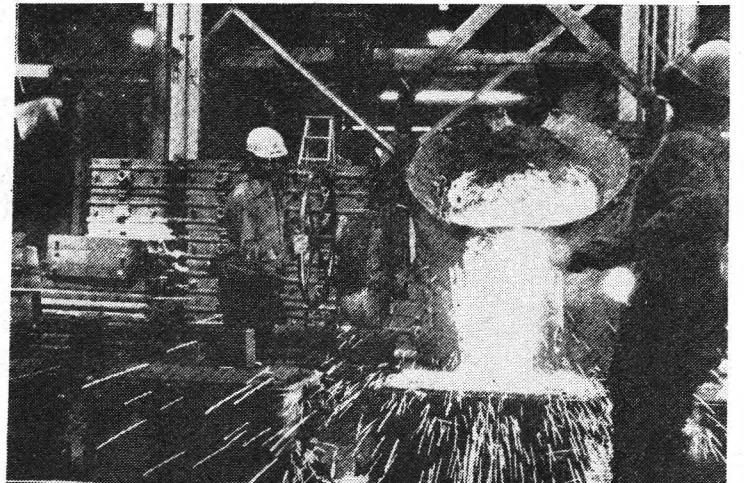
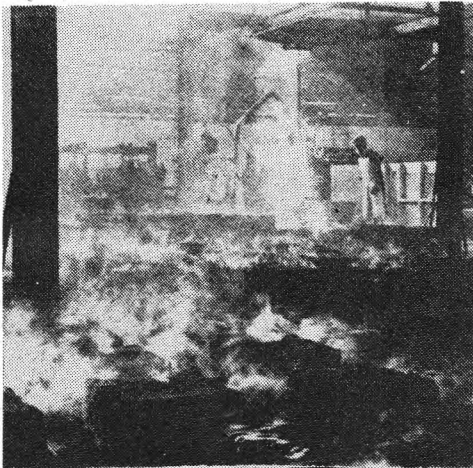
At the beginning of October 1925, the representatives of England, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Poland and Czechoslovakia held a meeting in Locarno, Switzerland. The U.S. did not send an official representative, rather it stepped back for behind-the-scene manipulations.

The German Foreign Minister Stresemann attended the Conference. He took out the "magic weapon" -- the fight against the Bolsheviks -- to force the western countries to give Germany equal treatment politically. He threatened that if the West still refused Germany equal treatment in Europe, then Germany would be forced to "fall into the embrace of Soviet Russia." British foreign minister Austin Chamberlain immediately expressed that "Britain will sincerely let bygones be bygones", and would allow defeated Germany to have the same political rights and status as the victorious allied countries. It was said that when the representatives of the various countries arrived at the meeting place ready for the meeting, Chamberlain discovered that there were no round tables there. If the representative of Germany was left sitting alone at one of the tables, they might be suspected of insulting Germany. It could easily lead people to think that it was still a defeated country. After lengthy considerations, he went to great pains to get a very long table, sawed it in half and combined the two parts into a square table so everyone could sit around it. Only then was the meeting convened.

It was decided at the Locarno Conference to allow Germany's entry into the League of Nations. The League of Nations was established at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919. It was an alliance of imperialist bandits with the aim of preserving and consolidating the Versailles system. Consequently, no defeated country was allowed to join. According to Article 16 of the Charter of the League of Nations, every member state was obliged to implement sanctions against

Molders Take The Offensive Against Capitalism

strength to win. With the leadership of their own rank and file strike committee, they prepared for and organized the strike. 24-hour picket lines were set-up, workers fought off cops and scabs who were sent into break the strike. An example of this resistance despite all obstacles is printed in the rank and file's strike newsletter: "The most heroic resistance to come to our attention so far took place at Macaulay Foundry on April 7th. Fourteen workers, a few from Pacific Steel, stood off the Berkeley police. One of the picketers got hit by a station wagon attempting to bring out castings and fell in front of it. They stood their ground for an hour and Macaulay backed down and the police left."



The majority of the foundry workers are oppressed national minorities, Afro-Americans, Chicanos and Portugese. In addition to class oppression, they face national oppression everyday on the job. In this strike, all the workers united to fight for decent wages and benefits and fought together against national oppression. As we pointed out in the last issue of our paper in the article, "The Situation is Excellent", one of the most important growing trends in the working class resistance is the fusion between the national movements and the working class movement. This strike is a shining example of this growing trend.

This is not the first time workers have been threatened with "trusteeship." Trusteeship" was commonly used by the bourgeoisie, through their labor lieutenants, to suppress the powerful workers' movement during the 30's. Whenever there is growing rank and file militancy led by advanced workers and communists, the trade union misleaders with the aid of the state come onto the scene to sabotage the struggle.

political agitation and struggles, the workers will come forward and unite around our views, and in particular the advanced and intermediate workers. With these workers begins the emphasis on the illegal aspect of political work, i.e. propaganda and training." (Revolutionary Cause, Vol.1, No. 3, Feb. 1976). ATM looks at political agitation and propaganda as separate from each other. After an advanced element comes forward in struggle and responds to their political agitation, then he will be "treated" to communist propaganda!

NOTHING CAN STOP OUR RISING RESISTANCE!

The resistance and determination of the workers of the International Molders and Allied Workers Union are now forcing the capitalists and trade union misleaders to stand face to face with us. They are scared to death by what they see! But they haven't stopped or even eased up in their efforts to crush the molder's struggle. Their latest threat of "trusteeship" is their last ditch effort to break up the powerful force that the molders struggle has become.

A few days before the latest contract vote, members of the International received a letter informing them that the top bureaucrats of the International had decided that the local leadership is incompetent and a bunch of communists trying to take over for their own "personal powerplays," and that the International is considering moving in on the union and replacing the local leadership with sell-outs from the International. And to top this off is their threat that the workers have no say over whether they choose "trusteeship," "for if the workers are incompetent to run the local, then they are incapable of deciding if trusteeship is in their best interests." Specifically, this is aimed at the workers who have taken positions of leadership through their ability to consistently act in the interests of the majority of molders. These leaders have played an active role in building the strike, exposing the bought-off leadership, the vicious nature of the state and the class nature of the struggle, and forging the spirit and unity which has kept the struggle going for over a month.

The top bureaucrats in the International are now so scared of the growing militancy of the workers that they are willing to expel the entire local leadership which includes even their own sell-outs. The trade union misleaders think that these kinds of tactics will put an end to the workers' movement. We all know these guys are dead wrong and that nothing can stop the powerful working class resistance movement that is gaining momentum day by day.

ATM AND RWL CAPITULATE TO THE BOURGEOISIE'S RED-BAITING SCHEMES

What are the tasks of communists and advanced workers in the face of the trade union misleaders' repressive action? We must not give into the misleaders' tactics but must step up our efforts to expose them for what they are, loud and clear. The forces representing the line of two communist organizations, the August Twenty-Ninth Movement and the Revolutionary Workers League, have erred on this question, telling us not to distribute the Workers Viewpoint newspaper and propaganda leaflet on the molders struggle on the grounds that they feed the misleaders' "red-baiting" and weakens the struggle.

The "left" opportunist PRRWO (Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization) has an infamous line which says that the "majority of workers are backward." ATM and RWL's capitulation to this red-baiting shows how they tail behind this anti-working class line. Their error is also based on their incorrect line on communist propaganda and agitation.

RWL is quickly slipping and sliding into the "left" opportunist positions of PRRWO, and we've done considerable exposure of PRRWO's bankrupt line on propaganda/agitation (see WV Journal, Vol. II, No. 2, pages 7-12). As for ATM, historically, they have separated the tasks of propaganda from agitation.

As we stated in WV, Vol. II, No. 2:

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

But how does ATM look at this question? They equate political agitation as a form of legal work, and propaganda as illegal work, stating that "...political exposures (is the main form of political agitation)..." and "as a result of this

There are several basic errors in this position. Firstly, both propaganda and agitation are types of political exposure. We uphold that in this period, propaganda is our chief form of activity with which we should conduct open and comprehensive exposure to win the advanced workers to communism. Lenin has vividly shown the relationship between propaganda and agitation in his article on "The Tasks of Russian Social-Democrats":

The socialist activities of Russian Social-Democrats consist in spreading by propaganda the teachings of scientific socialism, in spreading among the workers a proper understanding of the various classes in Russian society, of their interrelations, of the struggle between these classes, of the role of the working class in this struggle, of its attitude towards the declining and the developing classes, towards the past and future of capitalism, an understanding of the historical task of international Social-Democracy and of the Russian working class. Inseparably connected with propaganda is AGITATION among the workers, which naturally comes to the forefront in the present political conditions of Russia and at the present level of development of the masses of workers. Agitation among the workers means that the Social-Democrats take part in all the spontaneous manifestations of the working class struggle, in all the conflicts between the workers and the capitalists over the working day, wages, working conditions, etc. etc. Our task is to merge our activities with the practical, every-day questions of working class life, to help the workers understand these questions, to draw the workers' attention to the most important abuses, to help them formulate their demands to the employers more precisely and practically, to develop among the workers consciousness of their solidarity, consciousness of the common interests and common cause of all the Russian workers as a united working class that is part of the international army of the

(cont'd on p. 18)

REVOLUTION

WEST BANK UPRISINGS PROVE

(Palestine cont'd from p. 1)

But in fact, the Palestinian homeland has been the target of one imperialist power after another. It has been chewed at and whittled away by one political solution or another and then pieced together again in different ways. And the Palestinian people, many of them peasants, have time and time again been driven off their land and forced to drift on the deserts.

SMASH ISRAELI ZIONISM!

Zionism is a form of imperialism and racism. It originated in the late 19th century during the anti-semitic pogroms in Russia in 1882, and was spurred on by the holocaust in Nazi-occupied Europe in the 1930's and 1940's. But the Jewish big and petty bourgeoisie, headed by the Baron de Rothschild family in collaboration with the Tsarist autocracy, exploited the Jewish people's just aspirations for an end to persecution and turned them around to meet their own imperialist aims.

These schemes were given theoretical justification in 1896 when T. Herzl wrote "A Jewish State" and claimed that Jews constitute a nation and that anti-semitism is ineradicable. He wanted to "make Israel as Jewish as England is English."

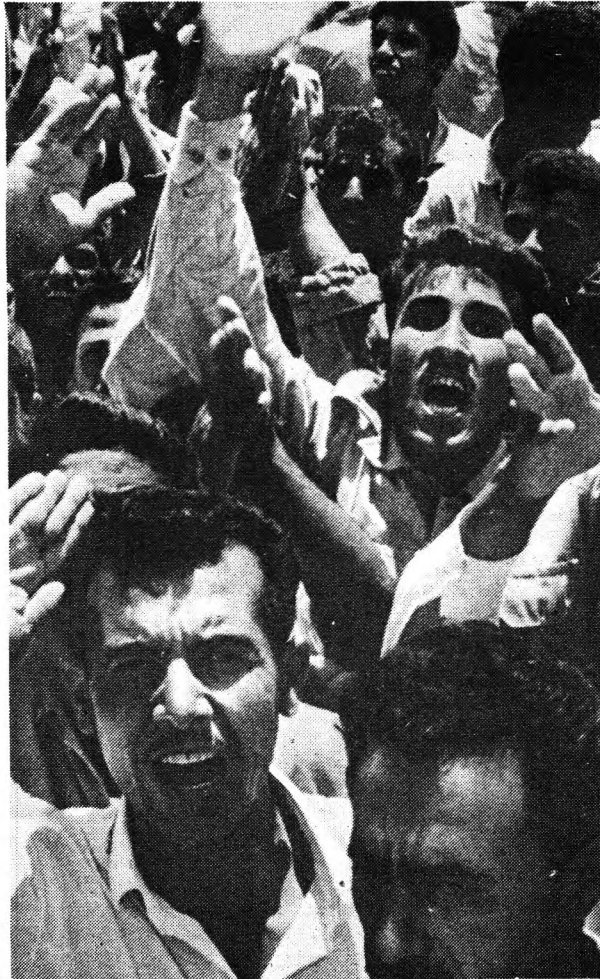
The policies of the Israeli Zionists have been consistently imperialist: they joined the U.S. aggression against Korea in the 1950's; actively supported U.S. aggression in Indochina and even sent Dayan to learn U.S. military techniques; trained and gave money to back white rule in Mozambique, South Africa and Rhodesia, and have carried out joint military programs with South Africa.

For thousands of years, Jews, Christians, and Moslems lived together with no antagonistic contradictions in Palestine.

The resistance movement arose only when the Zionists moved to set up their settler state and instigated vicious national oppression against the Palestinian and other Arab people.

There is an entire history of attempts to drive the Palestinian people out of their own homeland. In 1936, the Palestinians revolted against British colonial rule and fought for independence. But the Zionists and British imperialists collaborated to turn the revolutionary struggle into a conflict between the Jewish and Arab peoples. The British Peel Commission in 1937 imposed the partitioning of Palestine into Jewish and Arab states, which the Zionists who wanted an "all-Jewish Palestine" rejected. Palestinian peasants and workers went out on a six-month general strike and rebellion, which was suppressed only when Great Britain mobilized its armed forces.

In 1939, the British imperialists tried again to partition Palestine and impose the existence of Zion. They opened Palestine to Jewish emigration, while together with the U.S. imperialists, they continued to close their own doors to the immigration of the persecuted European Jews. This left the Jews escaping from the fascists little choice but to emigrate to Palestine in huge numbers.



The Palestinian people angrily denounce the crimes of aggression by U.S. imperialism and its lackey Israel.

HEROIC PALESTINIANS RESIST U.S.-BACKED AGGRESSORS

Greatly weakened by World War II, Britain declared its intention to withdraw from Palestine by May 1948, whereupon the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a partition plan personally sponsored by President Truman to divide Palestine into Zionist and Arab states, with Jerusalem an international city administered by the U.N.

The U.S. blackmailed the vote by pressuring countries opposed to or vacillating on partition, especially those countries that were economically dependent on the U.S. By now, the U.S. had taken over as the main imperialist backer of the state of Israel.

As the main backers of the creation of the puppet state of Israel, the U.S. imperialists replaced Great Britain in 1948 as the principal imperialist force to dominate, plunder and enslave the Arab countries politically, economically and militarily. Supported by U.S. imperialism, Israel time and again launched wars of aggression against neighboring Arab countries.

In 1948, 90 % of the Arab population of Palestine was expelled, and forced to live as refugees on their own land when the Zionists seized 56% of the land and stole the most fertile areas like the citrus-growing regions. This was an outright violation of the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people. When the Zionist gangs tried to terrorize the Arabs into leaving Palestine, as when an Irgun detachment massacred all 254 unarmed Palestinians in Deir Yassin, the heroic Palestinians took up arms in self-defense and attacked Zionist settlements.

Since 1948, the Israeli Zionists with their imperialist backers have launched four wars of aggression against the Palestinian people -- first in 1948, then in 1956 when Egypt nationalized the Suez Canal and the British and French, using Israel as a base, invaded Egypt to seize control of the Canal. Led by their national bourgeoisie, like Nasser, and the petty bourgeois patriots, the Egyptians drove Israel back to the 1949 truce lines.

In the June War of 1967, Israeli Zionists, backed up by the US and USSR, invaded Syria, Egypt and Jordan. They expanded more than 5 times to occupy all of Palestine, the Sinai Peninsula, West Bank of the Jordan, the Gaza Strip and Syria's Golan Heights, and the part of Jerusalem under Jordanian administration. Another half million Arabs were thrown to the deserts to live in concentration camps, many for a second or third time, making a total of almost two million "refugees." Mass strikes in the refugee camps directed against the U.S. imperialists were common.

After the June War, the United Nations, pushed by the US and USSR, tried to smother the armed resistance of the Palestinians by passing resolution 242 which merely called for the "just settlement of the refugee problem." It was thoroughly denounced by the Arabs because it contained open recognition of the settler state of Israel and said nothing about the Palestinian's just claim to Palestine or the fact that Israeli Arabs were segregated in ghettos and persecuted under martial law.

UNITY AND STRUGGLE WITH THE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE

During the June War, due to their class interests, the Arab nationalist regimes, fearful of the revolutionary movement of the masses, failed to mobilize the masses to wage a protracted people's war. Instead, they totally relied on military build-up and on conventional warfare programs for their anti-imperialist struggle.

From the experience of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao said:

...certain elements among the national bourgeoisie are often past masters at deceiving the people. Why? Because apart from genuine supporters of the people's revolutionary cause, this class includes many who temporarily appear as revolutionaries or semi-revolutionaries, and who thus acquire a deceptive status which makes it difficult for the people to see through their lack of revolutionary thoroughness and their false trappings. This increases the responsibility devolving on the Communist Party to criticize its allies, unmask the fake revolutionaries, and gain the leadership. To deny the possibility that the national bourgeoisie may vacillate and join the revolution during great upheavals amounts to abandoning, or at any rate, minimizing, our Party's task of contending for leadership. For if the national bourgeoisie were exactly the same as the landlords and compradors and had the same veil and traitorous visage, there would be little or no problem of contending with it for leadership. ("Introducing the Communist," Selected Works of Mao, Vol.3)

UNTIL VICTORY

PALESTINE WILL BE FREE !!

The correct policy toward the Arab nationalist regimes should be one of unity and struggle: unite with the consistent nationalist, anti-imperialist regimes such as Syria, Iraq, and Algeria; win over the vacillating nationalist regimes such as Egypt; and isolate the reactionaries such as King Hussein of Jordan, Faisal of Saudi Arabia, and the Shah of Iran.

The Arab defeat in the June War and the capitulationist stand taken by the national bourgeoisie of some Arab countries following this defeat exposed the bankruptcy of the nationalist regimes' program for Arab liberation and the vacillating nature of the national bourgeoisie. Motivated by their own naked self-interest and fearful of a tightly organized, broad-based Palestinian resistance movement, especially one correctly led by the proletariat and genuine communists, the national bourgeoisie and especially the Arab reactionaries Faisal, Sadat and the Shah of Iran accepted the superpowers' "ministate" scheme, which proposes a Palestinian "mini state" on the West Bank and Gaza while openly guaranteeing Israel's continued existence. This "mini-state" plot is an outrage and denies the valiant struggle waged by the Palestinians to win back their entire homeland! It was the brainchild of the U.S. and the Soviet Social-imperialists because, unable to wipe out the growing resistance movement through extermination and violent repression, they had to mutate to the soft-sell approach. So they cooked up the Palestinian mini-state plan as part of the overall settlement in the Middle East to try to satisfy the petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie with a piece of land and to cool off the situation. The mini-state maneuver is nothing but an attempt to disintegrate the revolutionary movement of the Palestinian masses and liquidate the revolutionary potential of the Palestinian liberation movement once and for all!

EXPOSE REVISIONIST STAND OF THE OCTOBER LEAGUE AND GUARDIAN

At least one organization in the U.S. Communist movement, the October League, could not see through even this most transparent of tricks. (See Workers Viewpoint Journal, Vol. II, No. 1, "The Palestinian People will Smash 'Mini-State' Plot"). Although they are making a feint to the "left" in order to distinguish themselves from the rightist Guardian, they support the Shah of Iran, and refuse to expose both the "mini-plot" scheme of the two superpowers as well as the vacillating role of Yasir Arafat of the PLO. No, the OL thought it more "revolutionary" to be critical of, rather than promote, the correct Marxist-Leninist and proletarian elements in the united front who opposed the "mini-state" plan. All this represents a clear stand with the imperialists. On the question of Palestinian liberation, the OL and the Guardian for a long time had unity over the rightist line. When he was still writing for the Guardian, Martin Nicolaus had nothing but praise for Arafat:

Arafat's speech in the UN, the fruit of years of bitter armed struggle against seemingly impossible odds, gave the PLO chairman an unassailable position as leader and spokesman of the Palestinian people. (Guardian, Nov. 27, 1974)

Arafat has been promoted by many Arab nationalist leaders, the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, as the "moderate" leader of the PLO, as an alternative for genuine ML forces in the PLO, in order to implement the bankrupt "mini-state" plan. So Nicolaus ended up

tailing after not only Arafat, but the national bourgeoisie, the imperialists, and the reactionaries in the Middle East as well. And the fact that the OL tried so hard to distinguish themselves from the Guardian, while in essence holding the same position on the Middle East, only exposes their hypocrisy. The bankrupt and identical stands of the OL and the Guardian are leading them right into the bog of revisionism.

EGYPTIANS REJECT SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST "AID"

The "no war, no peace" line of the U.S. imperialists is being isolated and the phoney friendship of the Soviet social-imperialists blatantly exposed. For example, during the Oct. War, the Soviet Union withheld arms shipments and supplied Egypt with only a token amount of arms and furthermore stipulated that they be used only with the Soviet Union's "permission." At the same time, they demanded immediate repayment of debts and interests. Fed up by this arm-twisting "aid," Egypt kicked out the Soviet "advisors" so they could control their own struggle.

The Soviet Union also shipped large numbers (40,000 in the first 3 months of 1973 alone) of Soviet Zionists to Israel to bolster Israeli forces and to settle stolen land. These Zionists were the only people permitted to emigrate from the Soviet Union and their exit visas were good only for Israel. The Soviet Union also fomented conflicts to justify armed intervention and to suppress the Arab liberation movements. Egypt's cutting off of the Egyptian-Soviet "treaty of friendship and cooperation" this past March 15 and their closing of Egyptian ports to the Soviet navy mark a further victory in their struggle against hegemonism and to safeguard national independence.

ARMED STRUGGLE IS THE ONLY PATH TO PALESTINIAN LIBERATION

These contradictions between the national bourgeoisie and the Palestinian proletariat and peasantry are sharpening everyday and are irreconcilable. Their anti-imperialist stands have created favorable objective conditions to accelerate the growth of the Palestinian armed resistance. The Palestinian people saw they could no longer rely on the Arab bourgeois nationalist regimes to fight for their liberation. The growth of armed resistance accelerated the process of terminating the stage represented by the nationalist regimes and thus prepared the way for the consolidation of a new revolutionary stage led by Marxist-Leninists representing a new class, the proletariat, capable, this time, of putting an end totally and radically to the contradiction between the Arab people and the imperialists, of winning liberation and independence, and of carrying the revolution through to the end and onto socialism.

It was against this mounting anger of the Arab peoples towards the aggressive policies of Israel and the growing desire to liberate occupied territories and Palestine that Egypt, Syria and the Palestinians beat back an armed attack on Arab territories by Israeli troops, heavily backed by the U.S., in the October War of 10-6-73. In a clear victory, the Arab peoples regained a foothold on the east bank of the Suez and forced the Israelis to retreat on the Golan Heights.

Since the victory of the October War, the conditions have grown steadily more favorable for the liberation struggle of the Arab and Palestinian people. The unity of the Arab countries, and between Arab countries and other Third World countries, has been bound more tightly.

THE MASSES MAKE HISTORY!

The last two wars confirmed to the Palestinians that they had to arouse the masses and be self-reliant in their protracted people's war to regain their national rights and independence. The Palestinian people have been organized for half a century and have been fighting a protracted people's war. The armed resistance movement is gaining broad support among the masses who see through the sham of negotiated political solutions promoted by the superpowers. The PLO, formed in 1964, has grown both in size and effectiveness and won strong support among the Arab peoples, and has greatly moved forward the Arab mass movement for national independence and liberation. The Zionists and capitalists of the US and USSR try to discredit the PLO, particularly the Marxist-Leninists in it, as a bunch of bomb-throwing terrorists. But the PLO is wholeheartedly supported as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people by the Palestinians themselves and by China, Albania, and countries of the Third World.

The masses are the makers of history.

Chairman Mao, the great leader of the Chinese people, says "The revolutionary war is a war of the masses; it can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them." The Palestinian resistance is a struggle between imperialists and the Arab masses, between the Zionist state of Israel and the dispossessed Palestinian people. It is a people's mass movement and people's war aimed against Zionism and both superpowers. There is a growing proletarian Marxist-Leninist movement within the anti-imperialist movement that sees the necessity of organized armed struggle on a mass level and carrying the national liberation struggle through to the end and on to socialism. It is our proletarian internationalist duty to support the armed struggle of the Palestinian people for liberation!

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE PALESTINIAN NATION

NO SUPERPOWER AID TO ISRAEL!

PALESTINIAN PEOPLE ARE DETERMINED TO CARRY THROUGH TO THE END THEIR ARMED STRUGGLE AGAINST SUPERPOWER AGGRESSION!

OPOSE SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST AND U.S. IMPERIALIST HEGEMONISTIC DESIGNS IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND THEIR PREPARATIONS FOR WAR!

US & PALESTINIAN PEOPLES UNITE TO DEFEAT OUR COMMON ENEMY AND WIN STILL GREATER VICTORIES!

LONG LIVE PALESTINE!

agitation, whether through speeches, leaflets, slogans, banners, songs, skits, or chants. Stalin said:

"Street demonstrations are interesting in that they quickly draw large masses of the people into the movement, acquainting them with our demands at once and create extensive favourable soil in which we can boldly sow the seeds of socialist ideas and of political freedom...."

"Even if street demonstrations do not produce direct results for us, even if the demonstrators are still too weak today to compel the government immediately to yield to the popular demands -- the sacrifices we make in the street demonstration today will be compensated a hundredfold. Every militant who falls in the struggle, or is torn out of our ranks, rouses hundreds of new fighters."

(Stalin, "The Immediate Tasks of the RSDLP," Collected Works, Vol.1.)

This is the true nature of this May Day demonstration.

To signify the call to workers throughout the New York City area to "Take up the Offensive Against Capitalism," our march circled the Herald Square intersection, blocking traffic at the busiest shopping area in the city. The effectiveness of the action and propaganda further sharpened the contradictions with the state. Fearing the rising proletarian forces and heightening consciousness, the state mobilized squads of police to disrupt and scatter the demonstration. The protestors fought back when the police launched their club-swinging assault. Shoppers, too, agitated against the police, further strengthened the ranks of the communist-and worker-led rally. The beatings, arrests and confiscation of equipment further heightened the class consciousness and militant spirit of the day's event. The march regrouped and continued, in the true revolutionary tradition of May Day, going back to the heroism of our class brothers and sisters in the 1886 Haymarket Massacre.

That we "dare to despise the enemy," that we grasp the laws of social development, that we grasp the strength of the proletarian forces which are ever-rising and developing, is our outlook which comes out in sharp contrast with the October League's pessimistic view around May Day (see below).

On the other hand, WVO recognizes that amidst the immense scope and complexity of class struggles both small and large, we as communists have much to learn. The Chinese comrades teach us: "Despise the enemy strategically, take him seriously tactically."

We did make a "left" tactical error in our leadership of the Coalition. We did inadequate preparation and underestimated the potential for a massive police attack that day. We understand that the art of struggle must be studied to best unite the masses so that we can win each battle.

In their heroism that day, and despite our shortcomings, the masses provided us with further inspiration. We raised our banner even higher, and shouted our slogans even more loudly!

REVISIONISTS, TROTSKYITES BETRAY REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION OF MAY DAY

And what were the revisionists and Trots doing on May Day? While we were following the militant tradition of May Day, the "C" PUSA was busy singing "We Shall Overcome." And when the police were attacking our march, some Trotskyites (Youth Against War and Fascism), shamelessly yielded to such attacks, crying, "We are not their group but we don't condone the police brutality." By reducing everything to racism -- "May Day is Anti-Apartheid Day" -- and consciously covering up the root of the problem -- monopoly capitalism and the bourgeoisie -- these Trotskyites could only represent the interests of the ruling class.

THE RIGHT OPPORTUNISTS TAIL AFTER THE WORKING CLASS ON MAY DAY

Today, within our communist movement, we have the right opportunists, OL and RCP on the one hand, and their loving darlings, PRRWO and RWL on the other, representing the "left" opportunist trend.

RCP's May Day parade and OL's May Day disco party reflected their tailing after the most backward sector of the working class. Their slogans, "Jobs or income now" and "Fight, Don't Starve" represented their catchwords for the communist and working-class movements. They raised only the fight for better economic conditions which can be raised by trade union misleaders, the "C" PUSA and other reactionaries. Objectively, they all serve the interests of the bourgeoisie rather than lead at the head of the working-class movement.

As communists, we must fight for genuine economic reforms and improved standards of living of the working-class but we do it in a revolutionary way. Our duty as communists is to raise the consciousness of the working-class, not to lay out what the class already knows.

But what does RCP say? "The capitalists tell us to sit back, tighten our belts. But our class's answer is to fight back!" In the "weeks of organizing" that they did, what did they bring to the working-class? They talked about "our common situation."

And as for OL, they stooped so low as to hold a disco party to celebrate May Day, which symbolizes the heroic, militant, revolutionary tradition of the proletariat. This bunch of petty bourgeois hippie radicals are so filled with bourgeois illusions and habits that they dare to try to "boogie" their way to a sham party. Sham on them! But how did they sum it up? "...we had a situation where several activities took place simultaneously in many cities. This spread some confusion and demoralization among many of the most advanced and revolutionary-minded workers...errors were made in some cities where a separation was made between communist education and our mobilization of the workers."

All these belittlers are trying desperately to hold back the working-class movement, to tail after the workers and objectively keep the class under the control of the ruling class. This revisionist trend in the U.S. is still the main danger in the communist movement. Such a right opportunist trend can only be defeated through tit for tat struggle, and we must be vigilant on their ideological and political indefiniteness and their so-called mass appeal.

And in the Bay Area, the right opportunist IWK, in the Chinatown Committee to Celebrate May Day (which also included other right opportunist forces like the OL, MLOC and San Francisco Fight Back) was the main organization pushing a narrow nationalist line. IWK raised the banner of the fight against national oppression above the unity and struggles of the multinational working class, they separated the struggles of the Chinese workers from the multinational working class and tried to straitjacket the consciousness of Chinese workers. Tailing after the spontaneity of the masses, IWK opposed raising the general struggle and offensive of the working class against capitalism and instead focused primarily on the unionization campaign of the Mandarin Restaurant. This is out and out economism!

But to cover their raggedy right lines, IWK has been making a "left" feint, talking (and merely talking of course!) about "putting Marxism-Leninism in command," building the party on the "conscious realm" and opposing the correct line of two contending trends -- that the factors for revolution and war are both rising. The opportunist MLOC supported IWK's raggedy lines while the OL silently tailed along. This is a clear example of how right opportunists unite!! We must smash and expose these right lines of narrow nationalism, economism and belittling and straitjacketing the consciousness of the working class, in the communist and the working class movements!

"LEFT" OPPORTUNISTS COMPLETELY ISOLATED FROM THE WORKING CLASS.

When we combat the right opportunists, we also have to watch out for the "left" opportunists who sneak right in behind us. We have to grasp firmly how one tendency covers and feeds the other.

Under their anti-working class line that the majority of workers are backward, PRRWO and RWL failed to even build up for their own May Day demonstration. By reducing the principal task of party building to the only task, by reducing the chief form of activity to the only form, they evidently failed to link up propaganda to the party building task in the thick of class struggle. The only people they drew were themselves and several of their friends -- 70 people in all. Since to them, the majority of workers are backward, they didn't even bother to print up enough leaflets to distribute to the Harlem community, where they held their rally, much less to their own contacts at their rally. Is this what they call bringing communism to the advanced? Is this carrying out propaganda as the chief form of activity? The content of their speeches clearly shows that without grasping the necessity to have a firm theoretical orientation and develop political lines in the complex class struggles, all they can come up with is generalities and empty phrasemongering.

SUM-UP OF LESSONS LEARNED

Through our work in the May Day Organizing Committee, we developed a much deeper grasp of our line and our deviations in applying it. We had much to learn from our class brothers and sisters working in the committee who displayed revolutionary drive, spirit and firm dedication. The main lines we deepened and grasped, though some errors were made, were the correct relationship between our everyday struggles and work around the campaign, and how we raise communist politics in our areas of work.

We must participate in class struggles and develop communist leadership within the unions, our communities and on the campuses. It is especially important in this party building period to identify and win over the advanced to communism, to win communist leadership of the workers' movement and begin to fuse the communist and workers movement. We must raise the political level of our local struggles and, through our propaganda and agitation, bring the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought to the working class.

In the course of the May Day work, we struggled against some incorrect views. We combated tendencies to separate the work for May Day from the local, everyday struggles. To raise that local areas of work are principal and May Day work is secondary reflects a lack of grasp of the dialectics between the two tasks. Another tendency was to just see one-sidedly how May Day work develops one area of work instead of seeing the more important task of how that work contributes to the larger task of working with and winning over the advanced and raising the political level of the whole working class movement.

For some new advanced workers it was the first time they had heard communist speeches, and the solidarity statements given and the propaganda put out clearly showed that through bold criticism and self-criticism, the incorrect tendencies and errors were rectified. This accumulation of new forces, through struggle against incorrect lines, represents concretely a beginning of fusion with the working class. New class leaders were developed through the campaign, showing how the political demonstration on May Day is a significant step forward for the correct trend of the WVO.

ISLAND TAKEOVER...

families who "qualified" in 1921, only 2,100 had been "restored" to the land by 1970.

CAPITALISM IS THE ROOT OF ALL OPPRESSION

The struggle of native Hawaiians for land today is rooted in the rip-off and exploitation of yesterday. The U.S. monopoly capitalist "big five" (Castle & Cooke, Amfac, C. Brewer, Alexander & Baldwin, and Theo H. Davies) was built on the land taken from the Hawaiians and off the backs of both native Hawaiian and other Asian immigrant workers. In 1848 the U.S. capitalist class, needing an outlet for the money they made from unequal trade (selling goods at 10-20 times the price they had paid for them), began the development of sugar cane. But in order to grow, they had to own the land and a source of labor power -- workers. Their solution was the "Great Mahele," a redivision of the land -- mainly from the makainana (the commoners) to the sugar owners. After this so-called "division," the commoners owned less than 30,000 acres which was divided among 3,000 families (some 22,000 Hawaiian families who had rights to the land received nothing). On the other hand, 33 missionary families got 41,000 acres of land. And by the 1860's the sugar owners had managed to gobble up a majority of the land in the islands. After being thrown off the land, the commoners had no choice but to sell their labor power, to work and create profits for the capitalists. By 1900 these industrial capitalists entered the finance-capital stage, the stage of imperialism. By merging sugar with the banks, they created a monopoly which had virtual control of Hawaii's economy.

During this time the native Hawaiians death rate exceeded that of any other group in the islands. By 1853 almost 50% had been killed. Is this any different, any exception, to the general pattern of capitalist development? For example, in the Spanish colonialization of South America, over 15 million Indians died. As Karl Marx said, "In actual history it is notorious that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, briefly force, play the great part." In Hawaii in the early 1880's, it was the sandalwood trade that forced the people off the land, creating the inhuman conditions under which hundreds died. In the 1860's it was the rapid growth of the sugar industry which sharpened exploitation, creating conditions where Hawaiian workers died like flies. Is it any wonder that the capitalists, who viciously slandered the Hawaiians as lazy, forced workers to be imported from Asia.

THE FIGHT AGAINST MILITARY CONTROL - HAWAII'S FORCED DEPENDENCY ON U.S. IMPERIALISM

The Hawaiian people's struggle for land has brought them face to face with the U.S. armed forces, one of the biggest landowners in the state. This U.S. military, who bombs the island of Kahoolawe daily, is the same force whose "duty" it was to destroy the peoples and lands of Indochina. They say that bombing Kahoolawe is in the interests of "national security." But national security for whom? Surely not for us, the workers and the masses of people in Hawaii and the U.S. Rather, it is to insure imperialist exploitation abroad, to protect the interests of U.S. imperialists who daily exploit the workers and wealth of other countries -- like tin and rubber from Malaysia, like nickel and oil from Indonesia to name just a few. And what they fail to point out is that Kahoolawe, its 46 square miles, is but one tiny part of the lands they own in Hawaii. Pearl Harbor, headquarters and resupply base for the U.S. Navy's Seventh Fleet, Hickam Air Force Base, Kaneohe Marine Corps Station, the Army's Schofield Barracks, and Camp Smith, the Command Center for all of the Pacific Forces are all strategically located on these islands. Who does this military really serve?

Lenin pointed out,

"Everywhere the standing army has become a weapon of reaction, the servant of capital in its struggle against labour, the executioner of the peoples' liberty.... Let us do away with the standing army altogether.... So long

as there are oppressed and exploited people in the world we must strive, not for disarmament, but for the arming of the whole people. It alone will fully safeguard liberty. It alone will completely overthrow reaction. Only when this change has been effected will the millions of toilers and not a mere handful of exploiters enjoy real liberty." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 10, pp. 56-57)

In fact, it is upon this capitalist army that Hawaii has been made dependent. Replacing sugar and pineapple, the military, along with tourism, have become the two major "industries" in Hawaii. Because of this, General McLaughlin, chief of the Marine Corps in the Pacific, threatened "blackmail," threatened to pull the marines out of Hawaii if they lost the use of Kahoolawe. But Hawaii's economic dependence on the military and tourism is a result of imperialist development. Its lack of self-sufficiency, and dependency on the U.S. for over 80% of its goods, are proof of one-sided economic development.

The sugar industry destroyed self-sufficient food production by taking the farmers off the land and forcing them to work as laborers. Why? Because it was to the advantage of the capitalists that no industry develop in Hawaii that would compete with the products from the mainland. By restricting production they created a captured market for U.S. products and at the same time produced certain products which could be sold on the mainland at high profits. This "complementary" (burning the candle at both ends) super ripoff insured the total dependency of Hawaii on the U.S. capitalists.

EXPOSE THE MISLEADERS! UNITE THE WORKING CLASS AND ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLES!

Our stand, the stand of the working class, must always be on the side of oppressed peoples, whether Afro-American, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American, Asian-American, or Hawaiian, because capitalism is our common enemy. Yet from inside and outside these national movements, the petty bourgeoisie often try to play the leading role. Many of them fight against oppression -- not just against national oppression but also because they are prevented from becoming capitalists. They fight for their right to exploit workers and for their markets. Hence, they can be easily bought off by being given a bigger slice of the pie. The working class must seize and build leadership in these national movements. We must try to win over these petty bourgeois nationalists through unity and struggle. But if they don't change and insist on selling out the national movement, they must be exposed for what they are.

We must unite our struggles with the struggles of all oppressed people by supporting their just demands and showing that socialism, the rule of the working class, is the only solution.

Lenin explained (talking about the peasants' struggle for land):

"Petty-bourgeois socialism expresses the dream of the small proprietor (small owner) of how to abolish the distinction between rich and poor. Petty-bourgeois socialism assumes that it is possible for all to become 'equalised' proprietors, neither poor nor rich; and so the petty-bourgeois socialists draft Bills providing for universal and equalised land tenure. But in reality, poverty and want cannot be abolished in the way the small proprietor wants to do it... No laws on earth can abolish inequality and exploitation so long as production for the market continues and so long as there is the rule of money and the power of capital. Exploitation can be completely abolished only when all the land, factories and tools are transferred to the working class...." ("The Land Question and the Fight for Freedom," p. 9) (emphasis ours)

These petty bourgeois misleaders push "legal solutions." People like Maui Mayor Elmer Cravalho, Sammy Amalu (newspaper writer), and others called for "reason" -- for solutions through "legal and proper means" to settle this matter of Kahoolawe. They tried to sidetrack our struggle just when we began to see through their lies.

While saying they support our demands, they opposed the occupation of Kahoolawe because it is in violation of the law. Their actions are clear. As one of the Hawaiians said, "Politicians have been trying for more than 6 years, but the island is still being bombed." But these social props (whose role it is to cover up and prop up the rule of the bourgeoisie) fear the growing mass resistance, fear the growing understanding that it is only the organized might of the working people, breaking through the rules of bourgeois legality that will lead us to victory.

TRUST TERRITORIES IN THE PACIFIC - THE SOCIAL PROPS SELL OUT - FIGHT BOTH U.S. AND SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM

The recent annexation of the Marianas has concretely shown the results of the sell-out of these social props. Bowing to the U.S. carrot and stick tactics, they have sold out the Micronesian peoples. They have allowed the Congress of Micronesia to be divided by negotiating separately with the U.S. government. Because the U.S. imperialists have been forced out from much of Asia by the decisive victories of the Indochinese peoples, they are on the retreat. So now they turn to the Trust Territories.

Their desires for naval and marine bases in Palau (in the Caroline Islands), an air force base in Tinian (in the Marianas), and continued use of the army's missile range on Kwajalein (in the Marshalls) have resulted in this recent push to annex these islands.

With the rising struggle between the Soviet Social-Imperialists and U.S. Imperialists for control of the sea and air lanes in this region, these islands provide vital and strategic shipping ports and military bases.

Peking Review reports,

"The Soviet Union has refused to return to Japan the four northern islands under its forcible occupation, and the northern waters have become one of the vital strategic points for the Soviet navy, posing an increasingly military threat to Japan. To facilitate its Pacific Fleets unhampered entry into the Indian Ocean, the Soviet Union has been energetically advocating the 'internationalisation'

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Build the Party on the Proletarian Ideological Plane, and Grasp the Key Link of Political Line!

- O.L.'s Opportunist Call for the Party

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CONTENTS OF VOL.II, NO.1, MAY, 1975:

O.L.: A MOST DANGEROUS REVISIONIST TREND.

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MASSES CRITICIZE CAPITALIST ROADER

What's the importance of the desperate, counter-revolutionary riot that happened in Peking's Tien An Men Square early last April? The great significance of this incident for the Chinese working class' long battle to strengthen socialism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat is clear today.

A small bunch of counter-revolutionaries exploited the Chinese people's commemoration of the late Premier Chou En-lai to organize the day-long riot last April 5. The scene of the incident, Peking's Tien An Men Square, has been the center of the revolutionary capital ever since Chairman Mao Tse-tung announced the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) there, in 1949.

The counter-revolutionaries were only an isolated handful, but at its height the crowd of bystanders that gathered in the Square numbered 100,000. The counter-revolutionaries attacked Chairman Mao and tried to split the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC) by openly supporting Teng Hsiao-ping, the main capitalist-roader in the CPC. They spread counter-revolutionary slogans and posters, turned over cars, started fires, beat up bystanders and some of the people's armed forces who were keeping order.

But these counter-revolutionaries didn't get far!

The very same day, the Peking worker-militia, people's police and army guards, crushed the rioters and rounded them up. Under the Party's leadership, the masses there saw through them and later dispersed at the Party's call.

On April 7, Teng Hsiao-ping was kicked out of all posts in the CPC and the state, including his post as Deputy Premier of the PRC. During the following weeks, revolutionary mass demonstrations involving millions around the country in support of the Central Committee's decision showed that the whole Party and the nation rallied around Chairman Mao's revolutionary leadership.

The outcome is another victory for the socialist revolution in China! It proves again that all counter-revolutionaries are doomed, and that the victory of socialism is inevitable!

SOCIALISM OR CAPITALISM?

The U.S. capitalist press and the revisionist "C" PUSA have been reporting widely this struggle in defense of socialism. As usual, they are lying through their teeth, slandering it as a "personal power struggle" between Chairman Mao and Teng Hsiao-ping, or as the New York Times called it, a "demonstration of Byzantine court politics in Peking."

What's really going on? Was the counter-revolutionary riot at Tien An Men just some accidental, annoying disturbance? Where do capitalist-roaders like Teng-Hsiao-ping come from?

There definitely is a power struggle in socialist China today, but not between individuals or personalities. It's a power struggle between classes, between the victorious proletariat in China and the bourgeoisie (the capitalist class) that's trying for a comeback. It's a life-and-death struggle for power between socialism and capitalism, between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

ARMED STRENGTH OF THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP

"The teaching on the class struggle, when applied by Marx to the question of the state and of the socialist revolution, leads of necessity to the recognition of the political rule of the proletariat, of its dictatorship, i.e. of power shared with none and relying directly upon the armed force of the masses. The overthrow of the bourgeoisie can be achieved only by the proletariat becoming transformed into the ruling class, capable of crushing the inevitable and desperate resistance of the bourgeoisie, and of organizing all the toiling and exploited masses for the new economic order.

(cont. on p.13, following supplement.)

Kahoolawe Island Takeover: Native Hawaiians Reclaim Their Land

The native Hawaiian people have demanded an end to the U.S. military's bombing of Kahoolawe, an end to military control and the island's return to the Hawaiian people. Tired of waiting for the politicians' promises, tired of fighting within the bourgeoisie's laws, fed up seeing the island bombed daily, a group of Hawaiians occupied the island in January.

Kahoolawe, smallest of Hawaii's 8 major islands, has been under direct military control since 1941 and is used for bombing target practice regularly by the U.S. Navy. The takeover has become a symbol of the growing struggle and consciousness of Hawaii's native people. As one of them said, "I think we've created an awareness that can't stop. We have no other way of accomplishing this. We tried legally to get the bombing halted, but no one is willing to listen to us."

Yet Kahoolawe is just the tip of the iceberg. It is but one example of how capitalism has and is oppressing the native Hawaiian people. It is just one example of how the Hawaiian islands are being used to serve not our needs but the needs of the super-rich, the US imperialists. But it is also the tip of the iceberg of the rising revolutionary consciousness and national movement of the Hawaiian people!

Walter Ritte and Dr. Emmett Aluli, two of the "occupiers" of Kahoolawe, were arrested for trespassing on military land. Who are the real trespassors? Why is it

that the military and a few large land-owners control the majority of Hawaii's land? Why has the struggle for land become the focus of the native Hawaiians' struggle? What is our stand, the position of the working class, toward this national struggle?

GROWING CONSCIOUSNESS OF HAWAIIANS AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM AND THE FIGHT FOR THE LAND

In the communities of Kahana Valley, Kahaluu, Waimanalo, Sand Island on Oahu, and on the neighboring islands of Kauai, Molokai, Maui and Hawaii, the resistance of native Hawaiian people to capitalist development of their land and homes is growing. The bourgeoisie has used the name of "progress" but actually means "we want more profits." In response to hotels, golf courses, condominiums, and expensive housing developments, the masses of workers, public assistance recipients, and small farmers have demanded "Stop development for the rich! Save our lands and homes!"

The U.S. government has spoken of "making things right" -- of helping the Hawaiians. What has this meant? For example, the Hawaiian Homes Commission, set up in 1921 to "restore the Hawaiian people to the land," has proven to be a total sham. Given control of some 200,000 acres of land, the majority of this ended up in the hands of the sugar and pineapple companies or the U.S. military. Native Hawaiians have fought for their land for years. But, out of the original 15,000



Native Hawaiians in solidarity with Kahoolawe Island land movement march to Molokai's Ilio Point to protest lack of public access to the state-owned land.

SOCIALISM GROWING STRONGER IN CHINA

(cont. from p. 12.)

"The state, i.e., the proletariat organized as the ruling class, this theory of Marx is inseparably bound with all he taught on the revolutionary role of the proletariat in history. The culmination of this role is the proletarian dictatorship, the political rule of the proletariat." (The State and Revolution. Lenin, 1917. Peking Edition, pp. 30, 31) (emphasis in original)

The counter-revolutionary riot at Tien An Men was a show of the "desperate resistance of the bourgeoisie" against the proletariat. It was a life-and-death attempt by the bourgeoisie to mobilize its forces to overthrow socialism and restore capitalism.

But under its Party's leadership, the proletariat quickly brought out its armed strength, using revolutionary violence to crush the bourgeoisie's counter-revolutionary violence! The Peking worker-militias smashed the April 5 riot.

This shows us the most fundamental Marxist lesson on the state. Every state, including the proletarian state, is a product of the sharp class struggle in society. Every state is an organ of one class for suppressing another. Every state, including the proletarian state, is fundamentally based on its armed strength.

"This dictatorship presupposes the ruthlessly severe, swift and resolute use of force to crush the resistance of the exploiters, the capitalists, landowners and their underlings." ("Greetings to the Hungarian Workers." Lenin, 1919, Collected Works, Vol. 29)

THE MASS CAMPAIGN TO STUDY THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

"But the essence of proletarian dictatorship is not in force alone, or even mainly in force. Its chief feature is the organization and discipline of the advanced contingent of the working people, of their vanguard; of their sole leader, the proletariat..." ("Greetings to the Hungarian Workers," Lenin, 1919, Collected Works, V. 23)

This gets to the heart of the current struggle in China. The most important thing about it is not the use of force to suppress the counter-revolutionaries, because there's actually been very little violence on the whole.

The most dangerous enemies are not the open counter-revolutionaries who help to stir up riots like that at Tien An Men Square. The most dangerous enemies are the capitalist-roaders hiding in the Party, those posing as real Marxist-Leninists, especially those high up in the Party leadership.

(Cont'd on p. 14)



AFTER THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY RIOT AT TIEN AN MEN SQUARE, MILLIONS OF CHINESE PEOPLE DEMONSTRATED AROUND THE COUNTRY AGAINST THE CAPITALIST-ROADER TENG HSIAO-PING AND IN SUPPORT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LINE AND LEADERSHIP OF THE CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE HEADED BY CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG! HERE, CIVILIANS AND ARMYMEN DEMONSTRATE IN TIEN AN MEN SQUARE. THESE DEMONSTRATIONS, LIKE THE MASS COMMEMORATIONS FOR PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S RECENT DEATH THAT WERE HELD ACROSS CHINA, SHOW THE PEOPLE'S TREMENDOUS CALUE AND LOVE FOR THEIR REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS.

UPHOLD THE *REVOLUTIONARY* TRADITION OF MAY DAY!!

On May 1, millions of workers and oppressed people all over the world celebrated the heroic struggles of the international proletariat against capitalism. Following the revolutionary footsteps of the American workers, whose strike for the eight-hour work day in 1886 shook U.S. capitalism, workers are downing tools and rising up against wage slavery. This is evident by the tremendous upsurge in the numbers of strikes and general strikes in more and more capitalist countries. Class struggle is intensifying!

In the U.S., the growing anti-revisionist communist movement is beginning to fuse with the working class movement. The working class is taking an offensive against capitalism, ever accumulating greater revolutionary forces to prepare for the final onslaught on the bourgeoisie. Of course, the bourgeoisie won't sit by idly. They are desperately hanging onto their rule, but the verdict of the historical mission of the proletariat to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat is sealed. To lead the working class to socialist revolution, we need a new anti-revisionist communist party. That's why party building is our principal and most urgent task.

Under the correct ideological and political guidance of Workers Viewpoint Organization, several May Day celebrations in the east and west coasts reflected this growing fusion between the growing revolutionary communist movement and the ri-

sing working class movement. Upholding genuine demands of workers and raising slogans against imperialism and for socialism and party building, we united with workers, oppressed national minorities, students, and other organizations across the country to celebrate the solidarity of the international proletariat by continuing our class struggle against monopoly capitalism.

In Los Angeles, WVO along with other advanced workers and advanced elements from working class communities led a militant, political rally to celebrate May Day. It was one of the largest rallies of the multinational working class in that area that day. Under the slogan of "Build the party on the proletarian ideological plane and grasp the key link of political line," the WVO drew a clear line of demarcation with the right opportunist OL's rally.

In New York City, under the political leadership of WVO, the May Day Organizing Committee, including other revolutionary organizations, called a political demonstration on May 1. Taking the initiative, we raised the most militant slogans and speeches both in preparation for and on May Day. We raised high our communist banners like "Marxist-Leninists Unite, Win the Advanced to Communism!" and "Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought is the Science of the Working Class!" along with banners of the coalition which raised "Workers Take the Offensive Against Capitalism!" This slogan promotes the proletarian offensive against capitalism to

prevent fascism and world war. But if there is a worldwar, we will turn it into a civil war!

Brothers and sisters in the May Day Organizing Committee enthusiastically leafletted factories, shops, and working class communities weeks prior to May Day to massively propagate the demands and slogans of the coalition in addition to exposing the true nature of monopoly capitalism and raising socialism and the need for a genuine communist party to lead the working class.

This powerful, militant and highly political May Day demonstration of 300-400 people signifies our correct line is turning into a material force to push ahead the whole party building motion. This May Day march also demonstrated that our correct line is being grasped by genuine forces within the communist movement and we are beginning to fuse with the working class. Workers from different cities and different industries like transport, construction, hospital, daycare, electronics and machine manufacturing, garment, and schools marched militantly together with other oppressed national minorities and students in the driving rain.

POLITICAL DEMONSTRATIONS AND TACTICS

A political demonstration is a form through which we bring socialism to the working class by doing propaganda and

(Cont'd on p. 14)

CHINA (cont from page 13)

"Marxism-Leninism holds that inner-Party struggle is the reflection within the Party of class struggle in society."

"Enemies at home and abroad all understand that the easiest way to capture a fortress is from within. It is much more convenient to have the capitalist-roaders in power who have sneaked into the Party do the job of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat than for the landlords and capitalists to come to the fore themselves; this is especially true when the landlords and capitalists are already quite odious in society." ("Report to the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China," Chou En-lai, 1973)

Teng Hsiao-ping was one of these big wheel capitalist-roaders inside the Party who was trying to take power from within. This is what made him especially dangerous.

To expose and ice out the hidden capitalist-roaders inside the Communist Party, force definitely isn't enough. In inner-Party struggle, the most important form of struggle is that over the Party's ideological and political lines, which reflect the class struggle in society.

Here, the Party must rely principally on the class consciousness and theoretical clarity of its members and the masses. The Party must have members who not only dare to struggle and dare to go against the tide, but who also have the theoretical orientation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought to find their bearings in the complicated class struggle.

"Of course, in the face of an erroneous trend there is not only the question of whether one dares go against it but also that of whether one is able to distinguish it. Class struggle and the two-line struggle in the historical period of socialism are extremely complex. When one tendency is covered by another, many comrades often fail to note it. Moreover, those who intrigue and conspire deliberately put up false fronts, which makes it all the more difficult to discern." ("Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution," Wang Hung-wen, 1973)

And this is why the most important feature of the Tien An Men incident and the whole current struggle in China is the CPC's reliance on the consciousness and strength of the broad masses, and their careful ideological preparation of the masses.

Chairman Mao explains:

"To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class."

The battle that broke out at Tien An Men Square had been prepared in the ideological sphere for a long time by both the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The setting for the incident was a great mass movement in China that has been going on for more than a year, drawing millions of people into the struggle against revisionism and capitalist restoration.

In early 1975, Chairman Mao launched a tremendous campaign in the CPC and among the masses to study the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this campaign, literally hundreds of millions of people have been mobilized to take part, mainly workers, peasants and soldiers. It is ideological work on a really mass scale.

In the campaign, the Party members and masses have studied Marxist theory to understand better the class struggle under socialism and the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat, and to criticize the revisionist theories that deny these. Here, the CPC is guided by Lenin's statement on the importance of



MEMBERS OF A GUNBOAT UNIT OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY DEMONSTRATE AGAINST TENG HSIAO-PING AND IN SUPPORT OF THE CPC CENTRAL COMMITTEE.

theory:

"In our opinion, the absence of theory deprives a revolutionary trend of the right to existence and inevitably condemns it, sooner or later, to political bankruptcy."

(China Reconstructs, Jan. 1976)

The CPC has been building up its mass study campaigns since around 1970, after the end of the Cultural Revolution. In 1974 they launched the mass campaign to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius. The present study campaign carries it on.

In both these campaigns, hundreds of millions of people have been mobilized to study Marxist classics, hold mass debates and criticisms, and write articles and put up big-character posters criticizing revisionism. There are workers' and peasants' and soldiers' study groups in thousands of factories and rural communes across the country.

It is a concrete application of the long-term task of the CPC and every anti-revisionist communist party and organization:

"Conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and criticize revisionism." (The Constitution of the Communist Party of China)

And indeed, the campaign was well-timed preparation for the upcoming struggles.

THE RIGHT DEVIATIONIST WIND

By the summer, the mass movement to study Marxism and criticize revisionism had gained tremendous momentum and was really showing its strength. The mass criticism of revisionism, of bourgeois thinking and practice, was mounting in the factories, mines, villages and schools throughout the country.

Under the rising pressure of this criticism, the capitalist-roaders in the Party were bound to start getting frantic, striking back and exposing themselves. And they did.

This was when Teng Hsiao-ping started bringing out his capitalist plans for China's education, scientific research, literature and art, trade, and all other areas throughout society, including a capitalist "general program" on the key link to China's development. This is when Teng Hsiao-ping really started coming out as the commander of all the capitalist forces fighting socialism both inside and outside the Party, the bourgeoisie's main man.

SOCIALIST OR CAPITALIST EDUCATION?

The opening shots of the current struggle against the right deviationist wind were fired at Tsinghua University in the summer of 1975. One of Teng

Hsiao-ping's henchmen, a university administrator, started by attacking Chairman Mao's revolutionary policy of selecting college students from among the workers and peasants.

Under Chairman Mao's policy, students must work in a factory or rural commune before attending college, and they are chosen by the workers and peasants. At school they study the actual problems that the masses face, combining classroom with field work, and theory with practice. This is the policy of open-door schools, where teachers and students work shoulder to shoulder with the workers and peasants. After graduation, the students return to integrate with and learn from the masses in the factories and the countryside, applying their learning to advance socialism.

This policy in education was one of many "socialist new things" that were the fruits of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution almost 10 years ago.

Teng Hsiao-ping and his gang charged that the influx of working class and peasant students into the schools was "lowering the quality of education." They claimed that the students were "not learning culture." They defended the disdain for the masses and for practical work that we see all the time in the U.S. capitalist schools, where professors run their mouths about everything in the world without ever going outside their rooms!

Lenin said that bourgeois prejudices had struck particularly deep roots in the capitalist schools. Teng Hsiao-ping and his supporters defended all the old privileges and prejudices of the ruling class intellectuals who used to control education in old China. They appealed to the most reactionary old Confucianist garbage that "those who work with the minds govern, while those who work with their hands are governed," and "going to school in order to become an official."

Even in socialist society, most intellectuals are still bourgeois intellectuals. This is because the heavy dominance of the old ruling classes hangs on so hard in the sphere of education. Even intellectuals from good working class backgrounds often adopt the bourgeois world outlook.

That's why, in both socialist and capitalist society, intellectuals face the problem of remolding their world outlook in the course of the class struggle. Through long and difficult practical struggles, intellectuals must adopt the proletarian outlook.

Chairman Mao's policy on education aims at this kind of remolding of intellectuals on a mass scale to serve socialism. This is why the CPC demands that all intellectuals humbly learn from the masses, integrate with them and link their theory with practice.

(cont'd on p. 15)

This is totally opposed to Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line, which would have built on the bourgeois intellectual elite who looked at "knowledge as capital" and thought only about their own "cultural development."

SUPERSTRUCTURE AND BASE

Education is a part of the society's superstructure, which includes political systems and institutions and views on politics, philosophy, arts, religion, law, etc.

Marxism holds that the society's economic base creates a corresponding ideological and political superstructure. The base generally plays the principal role. For example, capitalist economy creates a whole system of capitalist government, law, politics and ideology to serve the economy.

But the superstructure actively affects its base and sometimes plays the principal role, in pushing it forward or holding it back.

The struggle over education in China shows this clearly. The heavy dominance of bourgeois habits and ideology in education is one of the first steps to restoring capitalism in all spheres. In China before the Cultural Revolution and in the Soviet Union in the 1950's, some of the earliest areas the revisionists attacked were the spheres of education, literature and culture. The battle against the Right deviationist wind is a major struggle to weaken and eventually smash this dominance and strengthen the socialist system.

This shows that the proletariat not only has to build a strong socialist economy and enforce its political dictatorship. As the CPC sums it up, the proletariat has to exercise its all-round dictatorship in all spheres of the base and superstructure, from its industry, agriculture and commerce to the state power, culture, education, and so on.

This is one of the most important lessons of the socialist struggle in China since the Cultural Revolution, a lesson that today's battle in education reaffirms.

One Chinese comrade explained:

"Aren't many of the chiefs of the Soviet revisionist clique so-called 'red experts' university trained? It is precisely these people who turned the world's first socialist country into a social-imperialist country. We will not allow this to happen in China!"
(China Reconstructs, June '76, p9)

But Teng Hsiao-ping had more up his sleeve. As Chang Chun-chiao, a leading comrade in the Cultural Revolution has written:

"A capitalist restoration is inevitably preceded by the seizure of leadership and a change in the line and policies of the Party." ("On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie," Peking, 1975, p. 11)

Teng Hsiao-ping attempted just such a move. Last summer, he concocted a general program for the development of China over the next 25 years.

Then he started distorting three directives of Chairman Mao's, which were to promote stability and unity, push the national economy forward, and study the theory of the proletarian dictatorship and combat and prevent revisionism. Teng Hsiao-ping claimed that these three directives, taken together, were the key link to China's development.

In the course of the struggle against Teng Hsiao-ping, Chairman Mao showed that you couldn't put the first two directives about stability and unity and the national economy on a par with the third. Without studying Marxist theory and combating and preventing revisionism, the others can't move forward. "Class struggle is the key link" to moving them all.

How did Teng Hsiao-ping totally distort this by trying to take all three directives together as the key link? Where does the danger of capitalist restoration and the proletariat's need for continuing its class struggle come from?



SHIPYARD WORKERS IN SHANGHAI DEMONSTRATE AFTER THE RIOT AT TIEN AN MEN SQUARE.

THE BIRTHMARKS OF THE OLD SOCIETY

The proletarian revolution is the greatest and most thorough-going revolution in history. It's the greatest step forward for the proletariat and all oppressed people, because for the first time in history, the vast majority, under proletarian dictatorship, exercise their dictatorship over the minority of exploiters.

But as Marx explained, the whole epoch of socialism is still marked by certain defects that carry over from capitalism. The former ruling classes' exploitation and oppression of the masses inevitably leave their mark on socialism.

What we have to deal with here is a communist society, not as it has developed on its own foundations, but, on the contrary, just as it emerges from capitalist society; which is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges.
(Critique of the Gotha Programme. Marx. 1875. Marx, Engels and Lenin on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, Peking, p. 17)

In 1949, the Chinese people emerged victoriously from a heroic, century-long struggle to overthrow the dark, semi-colonial system, the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Led by the CPC, the Chinese people entered the new historical period of socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But the defeat of the old rulers and the beginning of socialism did not mean that the Chinese people would proceed smoothly and quickly to build a socialist society as the transition to communist society, free of all classes and class struggle.

As early as the eve of China's liberation, Chairman Mao showed that under socialism the principal contradiction in society would be "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie."

In 1962, he developed this further:

"Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance."

When China fought her way to socialism, there were still remnants of the old landlord and capitalist classes from before liberation who fought socialism bitterly, doing everything they could to stop it cold and get back the old exploiters' paradise. These remnants of the old ruling classes still exist and work constantly to restore capitalism in China.

The working class is still a relatively small minority of China's population. As Chou En-lai pointed out in an interview with William Hinton in 1971, the industrial proletariat numbers only about 30 million out of China's population of 800 million. The proletariat is surrounded on all sides by the corrosive and disorganizing influences of the petty bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie. Lenin explained:

People have not become saints because the revolution has begun. The toiling classes who for centuries have been oppressed, downtrodden, and forcibly held in the vice of poverty, brutality and ignorance cannot avoid mistakes when making a revolution. And, as I pointed out once before, the corpse of bourgeois society cannot be nailed in a coffin
(cont'd on p. 16)

WVO CALLS FOR LETTERS

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

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

Write to: Workers Viewpoint Org.
43 W. 28 St.
New York, N.Y. 10001

CHINA (cont from page 15)

and buried. The corpse of capitalism is decaying and disintegrating in our midst, polluting the air and poisoning our lives, enmeshing that which is new, fresh, young and virile in thousands of threads and bonds of that which is old, moribund, and decaying. (Letter to American Workers, LCW, Vol. 28)

Furthermore, China does not exist by itself. It is encircled by U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social-Imperialism and other capitalist countries that constantly try to pressure and subvert China's proletarian dictatorship.

There are ideological influences and corrosion as well. There are the old reactionary habits, customs, and ways of thinking left-over from the past, as the struggle in education clearly shows. In China, the oldest and most reactionary of these ideologies, inherited and further developed by every ruling class since the slaveowners, is Confucianism.

And finally, there are the inequalities that still exist in China's socialist system. For example, China's system of socialist public ownership is solidly in command of her economy, but there is still some private property. There is still an unequal wage system, the eight-grade wage scale.

Marx explained that some inequalities are inevitable under socialism. They cannot be eliminated immediately. But as Chairman Mao says, they can and must be restricted. The inequalities must be constantly fought and cut down.

These inequalities are bourgeois right, which are the economic basis for generating new capitalists. If the proletariat doesn't wage class struggle to restrict bourgeois right, it will grow, the inequalities will widen, the new generations of capitalists will get stronger and they will eventually overthrow socialism and restore capitalism.

CLASS STRUGGLE IS THE KEY LINK

For all these reasons, the class struggle and the danger of capitalist restoration continues. For all these reasons, Chairman Mao has said time and again:

"Never forget classes and class struggle."

But Teng Hsiao-Ping chopped up this into little pieces and threw it out the window! His general program would have centered all work for the next 25 years around "modernization" as the fundamental and only task. Posing

CORRECTIONS

In Vol. I, no. 2 (May Day issue):

In the table of contents on page 1, the title of the last article should read: "Angola! Guardian Fully Degenerated -- No Longer in the Communist Movement."

The caption on page 9, upper right, incorrectly stated that "The working class is the source of all value." In his "Critique of the Gotha Programme," (Selected Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 3, p. 13), Marx pointed out that natural resources are just as much a source of use value -- or wealth -- as the labor power of the working class. The caption as corrected reads: "The working class, utilizing the wealth of natural resources, has created society, its wealth and culture. Our class will go on to fulfill our historic mission of overthrowing monopoly capitalism and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat!"



WORKERS OF THE CAPITAL IRON & STEEL CO. IN PEKING DENOUNCING AT A RALLY THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY INCIDENT STAGED AT THE TIENANMEN SQUARE BY A HANDFUL OF CLASS ENEMIES.

TEACHERS AND STUDENTS OF TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY HELD A RALLY ON THE NIGHT OF APRIL 7, 1976 TO VOICE THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPC.



as the only one who cares about economic work and who is an expert in economic work, he attacked Chairman Mao's correct line by charging that the Party "only talks about politics but not economics; it only talks about revolution but not production."

Chairman Mao blew Teng Hsiao-ping away by saying:

What "taking the three directives as the key link!" Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it.

This means that only by waging the class struggle to strengthen the proletarian dictatorship can the working class strengthen the national economy and stability and unity. In turn, stability and unity and the national economy must serve and strengthen the proletarian dictatorship.

As the struggle over education already shows, Marxism says that economics and the base generally play the principal and decisive role. But at certain times, politics and the superstructure can lead economics. This is the way it is under socialism, and this is what Chairman Mao is saying with his slogan:

Grasp revolution, promote production.

(cont'd on p. 17)



STRENGTHEN THE ALL-ROUND DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT OVER THE BOURGEOISIE IN THE SUPERSTRUCTURE INCLUDING ALL SPHERES OF CULTURE, AND CONSOLIDATE THE SOCIALIST ECONOMIC BASE.

Lenin likewise explained:

Politics cannot but have precedence over economics. To argue differently means forgetting the ABC of Marxism.

The only formulation of the issue (which the Marxist standpoint allows) is: without a correct political approach to the matter the given class will be unable to stay on top, and consequently, will be incapable of solving its production problem either. (Once Again On the Trade Unions, The Current Situation and The Mistakes of Trotsky and Bukharin. 1921. LCW, Vol. 32)

By placing all three directives together on the same par, Teng Hsiao-ping was trying to feed the Party an eclectic mish-mash. By never referring to the class struggle in his general program, he was putting production in command, resurrecting the old revisionist theory of stressing "productive forces." In deeds, he worked to expand bourgeois right and advance the bourgeoisie's class struggle against the proletarian dictatorship!

PRRWO'S MECHANICAL MATERIALISM

Now we can see what PRRWO is spreading around the U.S. communist movement when they run trash like this against WVO:

"The tasks of Marxist-Leninists are to smash the capitalist economic base, construct a socialist economic base and then, through ideological struggle, crystalized through the continuance of class struggle and struggle between the two lines, transform the superstructure so that it can conform to the socialist economic base."
(Palante, March-April, 1976, p.11.)

So you see, in PRRWO's eyes, first smash the capitalist economic base, then construct a socialist economic base, and finally transform the superstructure to conform to the socialist economic base!

PRRWO says nothing about the active and leading role of the superstructure in transforming the economic base! They say nothing about the need for ideological preparation of the masses to continue the revolution! They say nothing about politics!

This is how PRRWO polemicized against WVO when we explained that the U.S. communist movement is affected by bourgeois ideology. We are bombarded everyday, from all sides, and bourgeois ideology is far stronger than proletarian ideology.

Because of this, we have to take up the ideological task in party building from the jump. In the course of class struggle, we have to fight the bourgeois ideology that we have, to serve the class struggle better. We have to build the party on the proletarian ideological plane.

We always have to wage this ideological battle in the course of the class struggle, and in order to serve the class struggle better. And as long as we're under capitalism, bourgeois ideology will be stronger than socialist ideology. We're not making any cultural revolution under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. But we must take up this ideological task in party building.

But PRRWO came back: No! WVO is talking too much about ideology, and it's all so abstract! First we have to smash the capitalist economic base, then construct the socialist economic base and then we can deal with the superstructure!

But just let them try to answer Engels' question:

"Why do we fight for the political dictatorship of the proletariat if political power is economically impotent?"
("Engels to C. Schmidt in Berlin," October 27, 1890, Selected Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 3, p.494.)

So we see how PRRWO has now ended up in the same cozy bed with Teng Hsiao-ping! But at least Teng Hsiao-ping put ideological and political struggle on a par with economics. PRRWO puts it behind economics, and even forgets to mention it altogether!

Now that's some "general program"!



THE MASSES ARE THE MAKERS OF HISTORY!

The counter-revolutionary riot at Tien An Men Square shows in practice the truth of Chairman Mao's teaching that classes, class contradictions and class struggle continue under socialism.

It shows that the old and new bourgeoisie will never take their defeat lying down, and will try over and over again to make a comeback and restore capitalism.

The great victory of the proletariat in suppressing the counter-revolutionary riot and the whole struggle against the Right deviationist wind shows that the proletariat must exercise its all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, in all spheres of the base and the superstructure through the whole epoch of socialism.

This victory and the masses' ideological preparation through the study campaigns shows the power of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, once it is grasped tightly by the masses. It shows the bankruptcy of all opportunist and revisionist lines in the international communist movement that downgrade the importance of Marxist theory, and the importance of building the party on the ideological plane.

This victory shows that the masses have infinite strength to make history, when they are led by an anti-revisionist Communist Party and are conscious of their aims!

* * *

Next month, we'll deal more with the lessons that the struggle in China has for the U.S. communist and workers movements.



(Molders cont'd from p. 7)

proletariat.
(Lenin - the Tasks of the Russian Social-Democrats.)

Secondly, we have to make use of every legal opportunity possible to conduct communist propaganda instead of binding our hands by confining it to behind closed doors. We must engage in the illegal work of building factory nuclei as basic units of communists in the plants; but illegal work should not be pitted against open communist propaganda. The factory nuclei is an illegal and closed form of organization, but that doesn't mean that all its tasks are illegal and closed. Under conditions of bourgeois democracy, we have to make use of every legal opportunity available to us, though we must never rely on it. We must learn to skillfully combine both legal and illegal forms of struggle.

Finally, we must do communist propaganda not just among communists and advanced elements we already have around us, but must conduct broad and open communist propaganda to draw out even more advanced elements in order to push forward the fusion of the working class and the communists. ATM's line is nothing more than the "stages" theory resurrected.

ATM and RWL take a mechanical approach to the tasks of communists failing to see their inter-relations. With their anti-working class outlook on the consciousness of the workers, their confusion on the question of legal and illegal work of communists, and their fear of the twists and turns of the movement, they have objectively united with the right opportunist line of the RCP and OL by not putting out communist propaganda to the working class.

BUILD THE COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP IN THE TRADE UNIONS; THE TRADE UNIONS BELONG TO THE WORKERS!

With the misleaders of the International Molders and Allied Workers pushing for "trusteeship" of our local, it's even more important for communists to step up our propaganda work. "Trusteeship" means that whatever traces of union democracy that existed in our union will be taken away. They now want to assume absolute control over us because they're afraid of our rising resistance and determination

(Translation cont'd from p. 6)

any country declared to be an "aggressor country" by the League. This Article was clearly anti-Soviet in nature, because the West could label socialist Soviet Union an "aggressor" any time they wanted. The reason the Locarno conference decided to pull Germany into the League of Nations was precisely to make Germany the advance spearhead against the Soviet Union under the binding force of the Charter of the League.

At the Locarno meeting, when the question of the membership of Germany in the League of Nations was discussed, Germany's foreign minister Stresemann declared: Germany has no military forces, therefore we cannot assist any country that may be "under attack"; Germany has economic difficulties, therefore we are incapable of imposing economic sanctions against "aggressor countries". His aim was to force the western countries to approve Germany's rearmament. But upon hearing this, the French foreign minister flew into a rage and condemned this declaration as an attempt to stand on the sidelines in an international conflict that might be breaking out. Stresemann was forced to express in more open terms that if the western countries were going against the Soviet Union, then Germany would surely accept the binding force of such a decision.

Germany formally entered the League of Nations in September, 1926. With the assistance of England, Germany shortly thereafter became a permanent member of the League Council, which was the main organ for the formulation of the policies of the League of Nations. Some of the victors of the First World War for example, Poland, Brazil, Spain had striven unsuccessfully for a long time to achieve this status, yet Germany did it overnight. This showed that in the interna-

which is turning into a mighty revolutionary force as our consciousness develops from a class in itself to a class for itself. We must fight this move by the misleaders of the International, and to do that we need to put out even more communist propaganda to expose the true nature of this scheme by the agents of the bourgeoisie. We must agitate among all workers to fight for union democracy, win over the other locals within the International, and throw out these misleaders who fear the strength of the workers instead of supporting it. Trade unions are the most basic forms of mass organization for workers under capitalism. Trade unions unite us in our common fight against the capitalists for higher wages, better working conditions, job security and against oppression of women workers and workers of oppressed national minorities.

As communists and advanced workers, we know that trade unions are not sufficient by themselves. We also need a vanguard proletariat party, built on the proletarian ideological plane by grasping the key link of political line, and guided by the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. But in the period of party-building, we do not liquidate our tasks in the trade unions. Communists must expose the misleaders within the trade unions, as well as other liberal reformists who try to hold back our movement and straitjacket it under capitalism, and struggle to take over leadership in these trade unions. Communists must work wherever the masses are to win them to our leadership. We must win the respect, the hearts and minds of our class brothers and sisters for the communist leadership we provide in the heat of class struggle.

Following ATM and RWL's line of keeping quiet in front of the masses because of the "red-baiting" or because the masses are "too backward" to understand, objectively aids the bourgeoisie by isolating the communists and advanced from the masses of workers, splitting the working class, and strengthening the International's misleaders in pushing their "trusteeship" scheme. By surrendering to the trade union misleaders, ATM and RWL are objectively letting the trade union misleaders throw the communists and advanced workers out of leadership of the local. We must fight even harder now to maintain our leadership of the working class, and

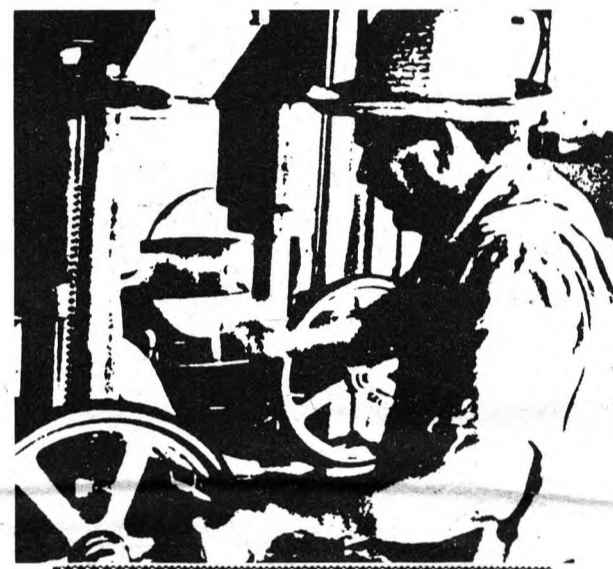
tional arena at that time, Germany had not only gained equal status with the primary imperialist countries of the West, but had already surpassed Poland, Brazil, Spain and other countries.

The primary document formulated at the Locarno meeting was the Rhine Convention. It stipulated that Germany, France and Belgium were to guarantee the maintenance of the existing borders, that is, to guarantee the maintenance of the border between France and Germany, and between Germany and Belgium, and guarantee that the demilitarized zones stipulated by the Versailles Peace Treaty were not violated. The three signatory countries undertook the obligation of resolving all conflicts by peaceful means. As guarantor countries of this convention, Britain and Italy had the obligation to assist countries subjected to aggression. In other words, if Germany violated the borders between Germany and France or between Germany and Belgium as stipulated by the convention, and invaded France or Belgium, Britain and Italy were obligated to assist them. Obviously, this convention imposed a limitation on Germany from expanding westward. However, in order to lure Germany eastwards, Austin Chamberlain refused to make a guarantee as to the borders to the east of Germany with the excuse that Germany would not launch attacks against Poland and Czechoslovakia. He said that with the "stabilization" of the situation in the west, the situation in the east would also stabilize as a result. Although Germany also signed arbitration treaties with Poland and Czechoslovakia, under these treaties, Germany did not have to undertake the obligation to preserve the existing state of the territories. That is to say, if Germany invaded Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union by going eastward, the west could simply stand idly by without any intervention. In this way, Germany won the right to expand eastward. (Continued in Next issue...)

not give in to any threats. Only under the guidance of communists will the working class overthrow the bourgeois state and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Historically, communists have played a vanguard role in the trade unions in the 30's. In the 40's they were systematically kicked out from the unions by all kinds of schemes of the bourgeoisie. During the same period, the bourgeoisie also passed the Wagner Law which forbid communists from taking any trade union posts, out of fear of the growing consciousness of the working class. This law still holds today and the bourgeoisie will step up its use as workers are increasingly open to communism and see the need for communist leadership in the trade unions.

Today, we must again take up the vanguard role in the trade unions. As the communist movement begins to further fuse with the workers movement, more and more the trade union misleaders will resort to reactionary tactics to discredit our leadership and isolate us from the workers. Only by standing firm against all red-baiting and schemes and boldly taking on the trade union misleaders can we expose and undermine their leadership and win the workers to our side.



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beración y el pueblo quiere revolución" está desarrollando a una velocidad tremenda.

Estas dos tendencias la revolución y el peligro de una guerra mundial son testimonio de la situación corriente en el mundo de dos tendencias contendientes.

El periodo inmediatamente adelante se puede resumir con el refrán "O guerra trairá la revolución o la revolución prevenirá la guerra mundial." Estas dos tendencias contendientes están compitiendo furoso uno con el otro.

Domésticamente nosotros estamos enfrentando a las dos tendencias contendientes de revolución y fascismo. El liderato comunista en el periodo inmediatamente adelante es decisivo por que cualquier vacilación o hesitación de nuestra parte en tomar la ofensiva contra el capitalismo y en combatir por el socialismo puede resultar en el fascismo y tardar la revolución proletaria y el socialismo. La lucha contra el peligro del fascismo es una parte de nuestro programa mínimo. La revolución prevenirá el fascismo o el fascismo trairá la revolución. Pero si el fascismo llega nosotros podemos y tenemos que volverlo en una guerra avil. En cualquier caso la tendencia revolucionaria es irrevocable.

El Primero de Mayo es el Día Internacional de los Obreros!

Construyamos el Partido en un Plano Ideológico! Agarrems il Punto Clave de la Línea Política!

Marxistas-Leninistas Únanse, Ganemos a los Avanzados al Comunismo!

KAHOOLAWE ISLAND TAKEOVER

CONT'D FROM P. 11

of the Straits of Malacca...Facts prove that, in its contention for hegemony with the other superpower, the Soviet Union is anxiously seeking bases for operation in the Asian and Pacific region in order to establish maritime and air supremacy there." (Peking Review, April 16 and April 30, 1976)

The Micronesian peoples desire independence from both U.S. and Soviet Social-Imperialism. Learning from the example of Hawaii and Guam, it is clear that in order to avoid destruction of their local economies and forced dependence on imperialism, the only solution is national independence, self-reliance, and unity with the Third World.

SOCIALISM IS THE ONLY SOLUTION - BUILD THE NEW ANTI-REVISIONIST PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS

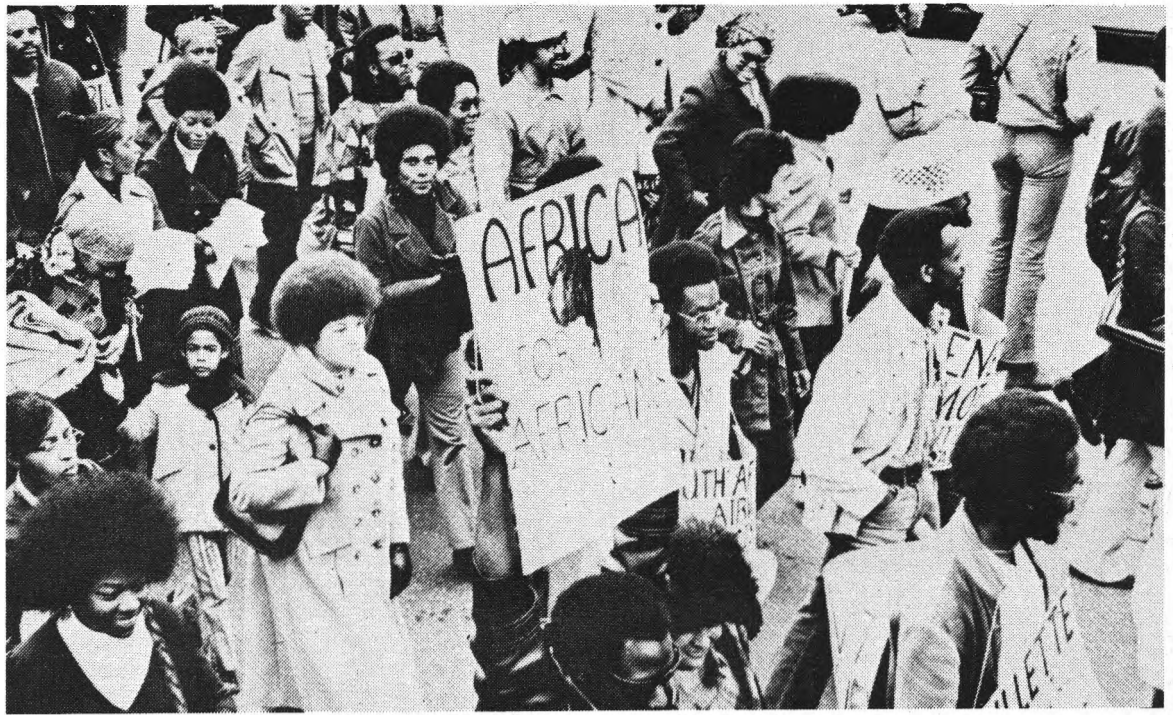
We have seen that the land ripoff and exploitation of Hawaiians today are rooted in the capitalist system. The monopoly capitalists daily oppress the people in Malaysia, Guam, Micronesia, and Hawaii and we must huli (overthrow) them to end the cause of our oppression. We must build the vanguard party of the working class capable of leading our fight against all oppression and for socialism. We must build our leadership armed with the science of revolution, the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

EXPOSE RWL'S "LEFT" OPPORTUNISM

ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

CONT'D FROM P.36

for the bourgeois cultural nationalist misleader Stokeley Carmichael to seize the opportunity to wrest back his previously-exposed leadership by calling a demonstration which numbered 5000.



With their totally bankrupt "left" opportunist line that is feeding the activities of centrists, revisionists and other misleaders and wreckers in ALS C and FFM, the RWL is driving themselves out of the Afro-American liberation movement.

What did RWL do? They just cancelled their forum on party building and their absurd call for a small demonstration only to their so-called "advanced" (to justify their primitiveness and not bring propaganda and agitation to the masses).

How did the "left" opportunist line of RWL feed the bourgeois nationalist misleaders? Historically the Afro-American people have consistently given support to and demonstrated their anti-imperialist solidarity against national oppression with the revolution liberation struggles in Africa. This support work has also built militant solidarity among the comrades fighting for liberation in Africa and the Afro-American comrades here.

RWL came out of the heroic struggles of the Afro-American people in support of the liberation struggles in Africa and played a progressive role in them, thus winning respect and leadership through their relatively correct line and work. With the intensification of the contradiction between the two superpowers and the rising of militancy of the liberation struggles in Zimbabwe, Azania, the Afro-American people here in the U.S. will spontaneously rise up in support of the liberation struggles. And the question is who will provide the leadership and with what lines?

The RWL, following from their "left" opportunist line on party building, (which means in practice that party building is the only task and boycottism is the way to fight bowing to spontaneity--the same as PRRWO's "left" opportunism) is trying to turn the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) and February First Movement (FFM) into "left" sects. They push RWL's line on party building as the basis of unity and "purge", and close the door to all advanced elements who disagree with their "left" opportunist line by liquidating principled struggle using bureaucratic rules. Because of this "left" opportunist line on party building and the international situation, they are causing great harm to the Afro-American liberation movement here by wrecking the ALSC and FFM, by building up 'bourgeois nationalist misleaders such as Carmichael and by feeding centrism to the African liberation support work.

Comrades, we need not answer your slanders here on WVO's "united action with revisionists" at the October 27, 1974 rally in support of Puerto Rican independence, or at the International Women's Day event in 1975, or our "unity" with the American Federation of Teachers leadership in the recent New York City teachers' strike. We have repeatedly done that in forums and in our last journal, Vol. II, No. 2.

Comrades, we have shown you the bankruptcy of your "left" opportunist line on the international situation, shown you that you don't take a clear proletarian stand to support "revolution prevents war" over "war gives rise to revolution". You don't take a clear stand to oppose and not be afraid of war, but instead, fear and disbelieve in sharp turns. You don't have a clear stand on opposing the dangerous role of Soviet social-imperialism but instead, feed the centrists on this question. Your viewpoint negates the objective development of the world today, the concrete international situation that is characterized by "the two contending trends of world war and revolution". Your method is one of sophistry, distorting quotes, dogmatically substituting general truths for concrete analysis of concrete conditions, and eclectically pulling together different polemical statements to justify your hollow position. In practice this "left" opportunist line has unity with centrism and right opportunism.

Our analysis and actions speak louder than words. It's crystal clear that you are talking about revisionism with certain centrist assumptions behind you. It's clear to us what ideological trend you really represent and how you'll end up if you choose to keep on going towards the marsh!

Comrades, we urge you to re-examine your position on the international situation before it's too late!!!

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