

supplement: OL's Road to Revisionist Party

End the Criminal Rule of the U.S. Monopoly Capitalist Class, Fight for Socialism!

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

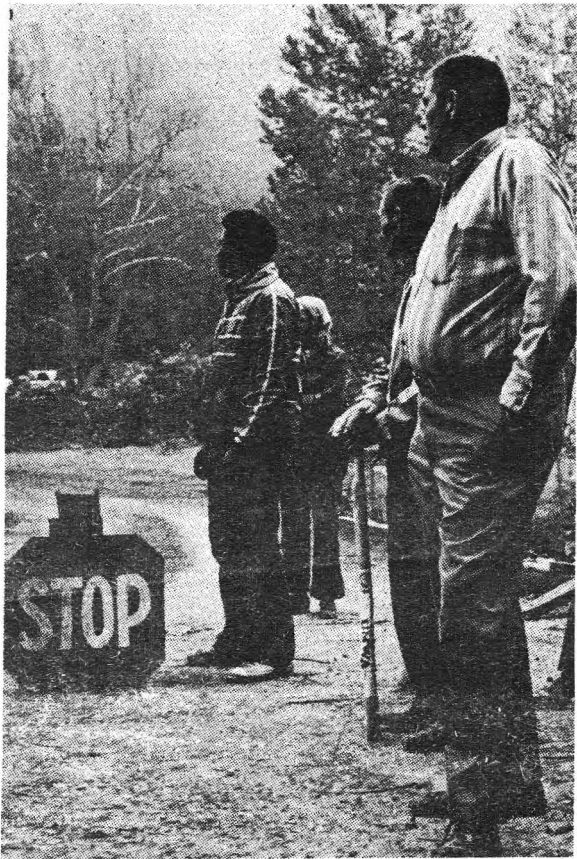
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The Proletariat and Oppressed People and Nations of the World, Unite!

MINERS STRIKE AGAINST GOV'T AND MILLER



COALMINERS CALL A HALT TO CAPITALIST oppression by striking at state and at trade union misleaders like Miller.

Starting in the mines of Kanawha County, West Virginia, a strike of political significance to the whole working class spread like wildfire over the whole coal region of the Eastern United States.

On June 24, Local 1759 of the United Mine Workers in Kanawha County, W.V., wildcatted in protest of a U.S. federal arbitrator's ruling that a communications job vital to the safety of the miners did not have to be filled by a union member. As usual, the coal monopoly capitalists went to their stooges, the U.S. government, and promptly got a Federal judge to issue a restraining order against the strike. The judge put a \$50,000 fine on the union as well as fined them \$25,000 for every day they kept the strike going.

SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL STRIKE

"We're being ruled with an iron rod - and we've had enough!" said one miner. Sick and tired of U.S. government courts which act as legal goons for the capitalists (especially in taking away one of the working class's most powerful weapons, the right to strike) the Kanawha County miners struck back with a vengeance. A political strike with great significance for the whole U.S. working class and the first major one this year, the strike is more than a fight with the monopoly capitalists over "bread and butter" issues like wages or working conditions. It is a call to the workers around the country to challenge the rule of the monopoly capitalists and to aim our action straight at the heart of the U.S. ruling class -- the bourgeois state.

At a time when the misleaders of many unions have sold out or are trying to sell-out the rank and file of our unions, the tremendous strike of the coal miners shines like a beacon. It is a testament

to the strength of the working class when it unites to fight all its enemies -- not only the bosses, but also their stooges, the government, as well as trade union misleaders. It is only through the kind of action taken by the miners that the working class can protect their hard-won gains, like the right to strike, from the sell-out misleaders, who want to give it up through such ruling class schemes like the E.N.A. or binding arbitration, pushed by the likes of Abel of the United Steelworkers and Leon Davis of the 1199 National Hospital Workers Union.

Spreading like wildfire to Illinois, Ohio, and Kentucky, and 80,000 strong by the third week, the miners' action shows the weakening grip of "liberal" and "reformist" trade union misleaders like United Mine Workers President Arnold Miller. Like all of his kind in every union who are bought off by U.S. imperialism's superprofits from the Third World and double exploitation at home, such as Leon Davis of the 1199 National Hospital Workers Union and Ed Sadlowski of the United Steel Workers, Miller is less and less able to mislead the workers. Miller, afraid for his own reputation and trying to please his capitalist bosses, tried to make the mineworkers go back to work unsuccessfully. Virtually all of the coalminers see Miller as a clear sell-out. Hand in hand with Miller and other UMWA misleaders, the monopoly capitalists in the coal industry and the government have tried to take away the right to strike. They have continually imposed injunctions, heavy fines, and the jailing of miners for striking against unsafe conditions and contract violations.

LONG HISTORY OF CAPITALIST OPPRESSION AND RESISTANCE

Conditions in the mines, highlighted by frequent mine disasters, reveal the

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LOCAL 420, D.C. 37

nyc Hospital Workers Take Stand Against Capitalist Attacks

The four day strike of 18,000 hospital workers of Local 420 (District Council 37 - American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees) is a shining example of how workers and oppressed nationalities are rising up in resistance against capitalist attacks. It represents the sharpening contradiction between the monopoly capitalists and the working class in this period of the rapid decay of imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism.

The capitalists are only digging their own graves in their ruthless attacks on the working class. As Lenin, the great revolutionary, pointed out in 1920,

"The bourgeoisie are behaving like barefaced plunderers, who have lost their heads. They are committing folly after folly, thus aggravating the situation and hastening their doom."
("Theses on Fundamental Tasks,"
LCW, Vol. 31, p. 227)

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Rubber Workers Defend Living

Turn Economic Strike into Political

Today, 70,000 rubberworkers are playing a leading role in the fight by the working class for wage increases and protection of our standard of living, our very livelihood. Battling militantly against the big four rubber companies, Goodyear, Firestone, Uniroyal and Goodrich, despite court injunctions and police arrests, the workers have been striking since April 20 with no strike benefits since the first 3 weeks of the strike.

Though the trade union misleaders (TUMs) have refused to fully mobilize and organize us for the strike, (thus revealing their reactionary stand with the bourgeoisie) we ourselves have taken up this task. In spite of court injunctions limiting the number of pickets, still we have continued to organize mass pickets and to stop scabs and thousands of office workers from entering the plants. We have done this in spite of Bommarito, president of the United Rubber Workers (URW), who refused to even post bond for strikers arrested at the Goodrich plant for setting up a mass picket. This is the first contract fight of a major basic industry this year and will affect other key industries like auto whose contract is up in Sept. The resistance of the rubberworkers indicates the necessity for communists to provide leadership in the working class struggle and through the advanced workers, fuse this movement with the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought.



MISLEADER BOMMARITO travels to other continents to get buddies in labor aristocracy to endorse scheme to push boycott as public relations gimmick.

WORKERS SOLIDLY UNITED AGAINST BIG 4 MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS

This nationwide strike is a significant battle for the whole working class against the bourgeoisie for a decent standard of living. But solidarity among all of the workers is strong! Already, our strike has drawn support from workers here and around the world. In the spirit of proletarian internationalism, workers in the subsidiaries of the big 4 rubber companies in England, France, West Germany, Switzerland, Japan, Sweden, Spain and Canada have formed a ban on overtime for the duration of the strike and rubberworkers in Peru voted to go on a 48-hour sympathy strike. Historically, the big 4 have banded together in a "mutual assistance pact" to resist the demands of the workers and to increase production in their foreign subsidiaries to make up for the slack during a strike in the U.S. Now such actions only bring forth more international solidarity and determination among all workers to resist such attacks!

Full support for the strike also came from the United Mine Workers, locals of the United Steel Workers, and Teamsters.

Local 1250 of the United Auto Workers in Ohio took up collection of strike support funds in front of their plant gates and United Farm Workers joined rubber workers picketing outlets in Akron urging boycott of Firestone products.

But what has brought forth such persistent and revolutionary spirit among the rubber workers, who have walked out for over 100 days, now the longest strike in the industry's history? This strike is a serious test between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The monopoly capitalists of the rubber industry are the last of the big monopoly capitalists of the major industries to hold out on the cost of living clause in multiyear contracts. But the workers are determined to win, preparing to stay out till Christmas if necessary, even without strike benefits.

All the while Bommarito's been sabotaging the strike and stabbing us in the back. He failed to prepare for the strike, as clearly seen by the depletion of strike funds after the third week of the strike. This is a direct attack on us, taking food from the mouths of our families, hoping to starve us into agreeing to another sellout contract. We must take control of these strike funds through strike committees of representatives elected by workers. Bommarito has sided with the monopoly capitalists by not building up the strike funds before the strike.

'73 SELLOUT A BITTER LESSON FOR THE WORKING CLASS

The contract struggle in 1973 was a bitter lesson for us. In 1973 the current economic crisis was just beginning to rear its head. The Nixon administration imposed a wage freeze on all contracts. The bourgeoisie was making a fresh offensive to take back and limit the gains of the working class. In the face of the intensifying contradiction between the two classes, the soldout union misleadership hid the real class nature of monopoly capitalism under the campaign slogan of "human dignity, economic equality, and security". On the one hand, Bommarito openly called for a policy of class peace between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. On the other hand, he bent over backwards to apologize to the bourgeoisie for the independent actions of the strikers. These class collaborationist tactics were clearly aimed at straitjacketing our initiative. The result was a total sellout contract with only a 6% increase in wages and pensions without any cost of living clause when the inflation rate was running rampant at 12%. There were no gains made against speedups, job combinations, layoffs or closing of plants. His sellout in '73 is clear to all of us. Recently, he couldn't even get re-elected at his own local! Communists must carry out our task of directing our exposure of the TUMs, the double dealing social props of the bourgeoisie, and point out their class nature and sham schemes to dupe the workers.

BOMMARITO PUSHES BOYCOTT AS PUBLIC RELATIONS GIMMICK

His first scheme was to push the boycott of Firestone products as a public relations gimmick rather than build a strong nationwide strike. He went on the air and to newspapers, travelling to other continents to get his buddies in the labor aristocracy to endorse the boycott with their signatures. No effort was made to mobilize the masses of workers to implement the boycott. He's now blaming the standstill at the negotiating table on the weakness of the boycott, claiming the workers don't care enough to support it. The boycott if used to support the strike and increase its effectiveness can be a power-

ful weapon to unite and educate the whole working class. But for Bommarito, it's a gimmick to divide and demoralize us.

BOMMARITO PUSHES PARITY WITH UAW WOODCOCK MADE TO LOOK GOOD

The cry for parity (equivalent, same level wages) with UAW is a joint effort on the part of Bommarito and Woodcock to trick the working class by putting a lid on our demands and to make Woodcock look good since the auto workers' contract is coming up in Sept. The UAW did make significant gains in wages in '73, but that was through determined rank and file pressure and militancy. That's what we should emulate.

Even the COLA (Cost of Living Allowance) won in the auto contract was not a complete victory. Pensioners are not protected by COLA. Even the best COLA today is totally inadequate. It only makes up for a maximum 5% rise in inflation and this is only signed into multi-year contracts. So over a period of 3 years, we still end up further behind.

The wildcats by over 9,000 auto workers in close to 40 plants over the last three months across the country is an indication of the growing resistance and dissatisfaction. Clearly no gains to improve job security and SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) funds were made in '73. 50,000 workers are still laid off while auto production has rapidly been picking up.

Afraid that a victory in this battle might add fuel to flames of growing resistance among workers in all other industries, Labor Secretary Usery, bourgeois agent of the monopoly capitalists, is playing up this struggle as a "special case" to "catch up" for the losses by workers in the '73 contract. Even he admits that it was a sell out!

TUMS AND BOURGEOIS PRESS CRY "TOO MUCH DEMOCRACY" IN URW IS CAUSE OF "INEFFECTIVE STRIKE"

The bourgeois press and the TUMs led by Bommarito blasted "too much democracy" within the union as the reason why the strike has "not been effective". They have pointed to the failure of the 2 General Tire (the fifth largest tire producer) plants to close down the lines and join the strike. The union constitution gives each local absolute autonomy and responsibility for determining their own bargaining and settlements. The real reason why the General Tire workers aren't out with us is because the local union sellouts are determined the workers should remain on the line! This is not "too much democracy" within the union. At one of these plants, the majority of the workers wanted to go out but were bound by the agreement of the soldout local leaders. As we all know, there is not enough trade union democracy today with the TUMs in tight control!

Whether a local can strike or not, though the majority of workers may vote to go out, is not in our hands but is controlled and has to be "authorized" by the majority of the executive board of the international union which we know is controlled by misleader Bommarito. What we must push for is true trade union democracy for workers! Communists as the most advanced and organized sector of the working class must take over the leadership of the trade unions! We must turn them into revolutionary fighting organizations and practice consistent democracy in the interest of the working class. Each local should have the power to call a strike through a majority vote of workers within that local and not be bound hand and foot, under the control

Standards— Hit Ruling Class !

Strike Against Capitalism

of the TUMs, whether they are in the local or international leadership.

We should follow the glorious tradition of the revolutionary miners of "one out, all out" (one local out, all locals out). This tradition should be raised to a formal clause in union constitutions. Historically, we have all too often been forced to wildcat over local grievances or in sympathy with other striking unions because the TUMs refused to authorize an official strike. For example, during the WWII, the chauvinist TUMs refused to endorse any strike in the name of "industrial cooperation" with the monopoly capitalists in a "no strike pledge". But still, we wildcatted and stopped the lines in defiance of them.

Trade unions are mass organizations and we are for organized democracy and control of the trade unions by workers under the leadership of the communists. We are not for anarchistic, ultra democracy. However, all locals should have the power to make certain decisions on their own. For example, call a strike, set up strike committees and pickets, resolve local grievances and issues like the question of working conditions and job safety. The question of independence of and democracy within locals is very important, especially today when all internationals are in the hands of the misleaders. The tactic of TUMs, especially with locals more and more coming under our leadership (e.g. the recent molders struggle, see Workers Viewpoint Newspaper, Vol. 1, No. 3, June 1976) to deal with "rebellious" locals and ones that break from the fold is to impose trusteeship, total control over locals.

ONE MASTER CONTRACT FOR ALL RUBBER WORKERS NEGOTIATED BY WORKERS

The rubber industry is a very diversified industry. Only 1/3 of the total 120,000 rubber workers are tire builders. Only 70,000 of 120,000 rubber workers are out on strike now. This lack of a nationwide contract covering all the United Rubber Workers (URW) is an example of the working together of the bourgeoisie and the TUMs. The fact that not all contracts are negotiated at the same time, both for tire and non-tire producing workers at all plants have definitely hurt the effectiveness of the strike. While 70,000 workers are out, majority of the rubber workers are still on the line producing at plants whose contracts won't be up for another year!

The bourgeoisie, through the TUMs and the press, are also desperately trying to split our ranks by playing up wage differentials at different plants and for tire and non-tire workers. Workers at different plants doing the same job get paid different wages. Even organized workers who work in the south and southwest but do the same work are paid less. The reasoning of the bourgeoisie is that wages in the south and southwest are generally lower than for the rest of the country. But the workers are determined to stand together. This is why Bommarito at first had to come out seemingly militant, demanding the same catch-up increases for all workers. Under the pressure of the monopoly capitalists, Bommarito started sliding like a snake, leaving open the possibility of a separate agreement for tire and non-tire workers, in the name of saving jobs of workers. Fearing the solidarity of the workers and their fierce determination to stand together, the monopoly capitalists are setting up new plants with unorganized labor in the south and southwest as well as abroad to try and get away with paying lower wages and benefits.

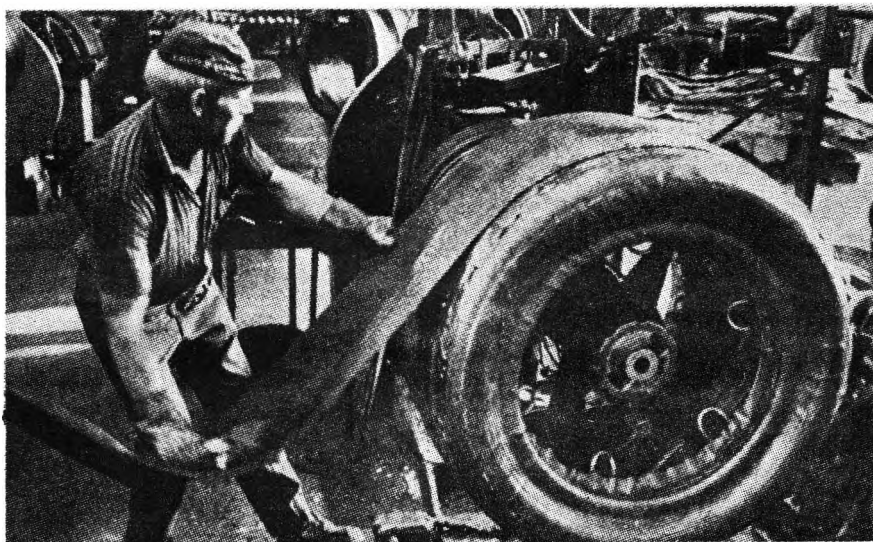
To cut the fragmentation and divisions promoted by the bourgeoisie in negotiating contracts, all workers should be under one master contract which includes all rubber workers regardless of whether they're

tire or non-tire workers, whether they work for 1 of the big 4 or for a smaller company. However, the negotiations should be controlled by the workers through a national workers' negotiation committee of workers' representatives democratically elected from all locals. The final contract must be approved by all union members.

The TUMs have been half-heartedly pushing for master contract negotiations, but under their leadership and control. Failing this, they have pushed "pattern bargaining" which the monopoly capitalists are also for. This means one contract, usually the first negotiated (regardless of whether it's the highest or lowest) becomes the pattern for settlements of other contracts with other plants of the same company and other companies. The TUMs and the monopoly capitalists heralded this as a great step forward for the workers. But we know this is no advance for us because the bargaining is in the hands of the misleaders, the social props of the bourgeoisie who sit with the monopoly capitalists to make out some deal that's good for their interests but definitely against ours. The contract that becomes the pattern is sure to be acceptable to the monopoly capitalists and not to our advantage as we saw in the last sellout Goodyear contract in '73. We are against "pattern bargaining" as a substitute for a real master contract which includes all rubber workers negotiated by workers' committees controlled by us.

BOMMARITO'S TRUMP CARD IS BINDING ARBITRATION

Caught now between the strike and pressure from his capitalist bosses, Bommarito is pulling out their trump card, binding arbitration. The strike is beginning to hurt as many auto companies are running out of big 4 tire stocks especially with the gearing up for the '77 models. Tire profits for Goodyear in the 2nd quarter dropped 40%! Recently, Bommarito and Usery appeared together on Akron TV and attacked the big 4 for not negotiating in good faith and threatened them with binding arbitration. But we know this has only been used to force the workers back to work to break up and attack our strikes, and not to make the monopoly capitalists concede to our demands. If we submit to binding arbitration, we are giving up the strike to settle for the sellout agreement between the TUM's and the monopoly capitalists.



IN THE SPIRIT OF proletarian internationalism, rubber workers around the world ban overtime. Here, a worker in a Goodyear factory in Sweden.

RUBBER WORKERS SEE THROUGH BOURGEOIS BAG OF TRICKS

Once again this year the bourgeoisie is trying to throw their bag of tricks at us. To subvert the strike, the monopoly capitalists have resorted to desperate attacks on the workers. First, they cut the SUB funds to workers who were laid off during the economic crisis before the strike. 10,000 laid off rubber workers have yet to be recalled.

Failing to divide the strikers, Goodyear and Firestone gave pay rises of 75¢/hr. retroactive to 7/1 to non-striking workers. When their latest offer to the URW was flatly rejected by the strikers, the big 4 sought to negotiate with individual locals trying to split the rank and file. This last tactic has also failed. The striking rubber workers have solidly stood together.

The rubber workers have learned their lesson well! As the working class here and our brothers and sisters around the world have shown, imperialism can never face up to the revolutionary resistance of the masses head on. They must rely on the dual tactics of reform and repression and their social props, the TUMs to subvert our struggle from within.

TUMS LIKE BOMMARITO HAVE GOOD ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL REASONS TO SERVE THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS AND SELL US OUT

Where do trade union misleaders like Bommarito and local misleaders come from? As the great Russian revolutionary Lenin said:

One of the chief causes hampering the revolutionary working class movement in the developed capitalist countries is the fact that because of their colonial possessions and the superprofits gained by finance capital, etc., the capitalists of these countries have been able to create a relatively larger and more stable labor aristocracy, a section which comprises a small minority of the working class. This minority enjoys better terms of employment and is most imbued with a narrow-minded craft spirit and with petty bourgeois and imperialist prejudices. ("Theses for the Second Congress of the Comintern", LCW, Vol. 31)

Superprofits means profits above and beyond the average rate of profit that the capitalists get from the "average" exploitation of the working class in the United States. The main source of superprofits for the U.S. monopoly capitalists is the plunder of the Asian, African and Latin American countries. For instance, while the average rate of profit for the U.S. monopoly capitalists in the U.S. is around 10%, the rate of profit in the Third World

is 30% or more. Another source of higher rate of profit is the more intense exploitation of the oppressed nationalities and women in the U.S. Lenin said:

"The bourgeoisie of an imperialist 'Great' Power can economically bribe the upper strata of "its" workers by spending on this a hundred million or so francs a year, for its superprofits most likely amount to about a thousand million. And how this

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The recent 11-day strike of the 40,000 workers in New York City's voluntary hospitals is a brilliant example of the working class's growing revolutionary spirit and determination. The hospital workers, members of District 1199 of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, joined the thousands of miners, the Westinghouse, auto, and rubber workers who downed tools last month in fierce resistance to attacks on the working class by the monopoly capitalists. The 1199 workers consistently broke through the bounds of bourgeois legality and the direct orders of their social-democratic* trade union misleaders (TUMs).

There were 143 arrests during the strike. The vast majority of these came in battle with the police who, carrying out the orders of their capitalist masters, tried to break the strike and keep the lines open. At one hospital, a communist from WVO spoke out to expose the class nature of the police as they pushed around strikers to let in scabs. When the cops grabbed and beat this comrade for the "dangerous" exposure being done, the masses of workers rushed to his defense and attacked the police with fists and umbrellas.

This was a clear sign to communists of the pressing need to build the anti-revisionist communist party to unite and organize the new forces that are surging forward, and direct them towards the goal of socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat!

Workers were wide open to communist propaganda done in the thick of class struggle, and they came forward to defend communists' right to speak. Advanced workers in particular stepped forward, anxiously greeting communist propaganda and willing to fight for the emancipation of the whole working class.

At one hospital a rank and file group, the Workers Organizing Committee, defying the cops and the TUMs, held a rally to build the strike and to provide a form for raising the consciousness of the workers with communist and rank and file speakers. The workers responded to the union organizer's attempts to disrupt and prevent the communist from speaking by chanting "Which side are you on?" and screaming "Let them speak." After the rally and hearing the speeches, one worker said, "If that's what communism is for, and that's the truth, then I'm for it!"

When a union organizer denounced the communist speaker for raising things other than "bread and butter issues" and said the strike had nothing to do with Angola or Palestine, he was soundly booed off the platform. One worker yelled out, "We're concerned with Angola -- they're working people just like we are!"

STRIKES ARE A SCHOOL OF WAR!

Leon Davis is a social-democratic misleader because he preaches socialism in words but collaborates with the bourgeoisie in deeds. In 1935, R. Palme Dutt, a British communist writing for the Third Communist International, pointed out that Social-Democracy assisted fascism to power in Europe "by disorganizing the working class front, by breaking strikes, by denunciation of the class struggle, by preaching legalism and trust in capitalism, by expulsion of all militant elements and splitting of the trade unions and working class organizations." This is precisely the role played by Davis and the other 1199 TUMs during the strike. Instead of harnessing the tremendous drive of the working class to raise the struggle to a higher level, these traitors of the working class tried to sabotage the strike from the start.

While the workers were battling the cops to close the lines, Davis gave orders to his organizers to let everyone through the lines for the first two days. The TUMs organized goon squads during the strike to stop communists and rank and file workers from agitating

*Historically, the social-democrats in the European working class movement sold out to the bourgeoisie of their own country during World War I, instead of promoting proletarian revolution.

1199 Workers Steeled

and handing out propaganda and agitation literature. At the last delegates assembly during the strike, Davis told the rank and file groups to "change the world after the strike." 50% of his time at the assembly was spent attacking the "radicals." In the settlement, the TUMs signed a "disciplinary action" clause which allowed the administration to fire any worker convicted of "crimes" during the strike.

These dirty tricks only exposed the class collaborationist nature of the TUMs even more. It is clear to the workers that the TUMs are afraid of communists and advanced workers who, in the course of taking up the issues and strike demands, educate the workers on the need to overthrow monopoly capitalism. It is also clear to workers that Davis was doing all he could to prevent militant workers from directing the strike against the real enemy, the monopoly capitalists and the state. Workers ignored Davis' open plea that "the police have nothing to do with the strike" and met the attacks from the cops head on.



1199 STRIKERS demonstrate at Democratic Convention. The lesson of 144 arrests on the strike lines shattered misleader Davis' preachings of faith in bourgeois democracy.

In many instances, doctors and nurses walked off the job and joined the picket line. This shows that some of the petty bourgeoisie who are also squeezed by the crisis of capitalism can be won over to the side of the working class.

The strike vividly illustrates Lenin's teaching that "strikes are a school of war, a school in which the workers learn to make war on their enemies for the liberation of the whole people, of all who labour, from the yoke of government officials and from the yoke of capital." (On Trade Unions, p. 64)

Through their own experience, workers learn not only about the treacherous role of the trade union misleaders, but also about the role of the state. Through the strikes, workers "begin to understand that laws are made in the interests of the rich alone; the government officials protect those interests; that the working class must win for itself the right to strike, the right to publish workers' newspapers..." (Ibid, p. 64). Communists must help workers to sum up these experiences with the science of Marxism-Leninism, raising this spontaneous consciousness to a communist level. This is how strikes provide an excellent condition for the accumulation of revolutionary forces for the final overthrow of monopoly capital!

OPPOSE BINDING ARBITRATION: DEFEND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

The biggest sell-out came in the misleaders' trick to turn the purpose of the strike into one for binding arbitration. Leon Davis had this trick up his sleeve before workers went out. As we pointed out in the last issue of our newspaper:

Instead of recognizing the strike as one of the major weapons of the working class in its fight against capitalist exploitation and oppression, Leon Davis is trying to divert the struggle away from the initiative of the rank and file into relying on binding arbitration. Binding arbitration is a tactic used by the bourgeoisie and its misleaders to make us believe that the government is a "neutral" body that will solve the differences between us and management. (Workers Viewpoint Newspaper, July 1976, Vol. I, No. 4)

This is how the strike was finally sabotaged by the TUMs. During the strike, Leon Davis even put on a show that the State, represented by Gov. Carey of New York, was on the side of the workers since he was pushing binding arbitration. Leon Davis tried to sell the lie that our real enemy is the League of Voluntary Hospitals who resisted binding arbitration. Of course, we know that these are lies to confuse workers as to the class nature of our enemies.

We know the State, the League, and the misleaders are working hand in glove to sell us out. As workers surge forward across the country to resist the offensive of capitalism, the monopoly capitalists are forced to step up their attack on our political right to strike, and to organize our rank and file and workers. TUMs across the country are crying out that they want to restore "industrial peace" by substituting strikes with binding arbitration. This is why it is no accident that the woman who was on the arbitration panel that brought about the ENA which sells out the steel workers right to strike is also on the panel to "arbitrate" 1199 demands.

This is part of the monopoly capitalist scheme to dampen the rising anger and political consciousness of the workers and to usher in fascism. Proletarian revolution is the only alternative to fascism. We must fight for our right to strike in a revolutionary way. Reject binding arbitration. Break through the bounds of bourgeois legality. Expose the TUMs and show our fellow 1199 workers that we are fighting in solidarity with our brothers and sisters across the country against the common enemy, the U.S. monopoly capitalist class! We must accumulate revolutionary forces through the struggle. This is part of our party building task and the long-term task of overthrowing the monopoly capitalists in this country.

We must also expose sham communists, such as the October League, who pretend to be our friend. The OL reported that "the League changed its position after N.Y. State threatened to cut off medic-aid reimbursement payments and other funding to the hospitals. (Call, July 26, p. 5). The OL also said that the misleaders' "call for binding arbitration fell on deaf ears. When the arbitrators called for a meager cost of living increase while asking the union to accept a wage freeze, the hospital owners refused even that and pushed a strike on the union." (Call, July 17) So the OL is pushing the same lie as the trade union misleaders, that the bosses in the hospitals and the state had opposite interests, that the League was "threatened" into binding arbitration by the state. Who are these "communists" who did no political exposure of binding arbitration, not warning workers before hand? The OL even slanders the 1199 workers by saying it was the arbitrators that "push a strike on the union," and not the militancy and determination of the rank and file! These sham communists and right opportunists must be

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in Strike Battle

thoroughly exposed and driven out of our ranks.

The sell-out shows that communists must step up our task of building a genuine communist party to provide ideological and political leadership to the working class. The single greatest weakness of the strike was the weakness in communist leadership and organization. One-fourth of the workers were too disgusted to vote but simply abstained for lack of leadership, instead of taking up the offensive. The 1199 workers voted 21 to 1 to end the strike and to accept binding arbitration. This is not because the workers are for binding arbitration. The majority of workers are confused over what this trick represents. But wherever communists explained binding arbitration to the workers, they overwhelmingly took a firm stand against it!

The spontaneous militancy of the 1199 workers and their openness to communism show that objective conditions in the U.S. are ripe for revolution. It is the subjective forces that are lagging behind.

EXPOSE CENTRALIZATION; OPPOSE ALL BUDGET CUTS!

In the U.S. today, the so-called "recovery" from the deepest economic crisis since the 1930's that the bourgeoisie is trumpeting everyday is nothing but a ripple in a fast downpouring stream. The desperation of the monopoly capitalists is shown in their frantic effort to shift the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the working class. In the healthcare area, these attacks on the working class come in the form of layoffs, cutbacks, speed ups, and closing of hospitals and health facilities. In New York, 6,000 workers have been laid off since last June. Now the monopoly capitalists are threatening thousands of more layoffs and the closing of 42 hospitals and cutting back more than 5,000 patient beds.

The bourgeoisie is pushing the centralization of health services in order to reap more profits and tighten their control over the entire health care system. The N.Y. State government has recommended that the big hospitals receive greater Medicaid reimbursements and smaller hospitals receive not enough to survive. Mayor Beame of New York City openly said that the state would aim at cutting the hospitals until there is only one left in each of the 5 boroughs of New York City.

Giant hospitals, like Columbia Presbyterian, which is a multi-national corporation, with investments in Latin America and the Chicago slums, will be built up to squeeze out smaller, less profitable hospitals.

This is the same process that is going on at all levels of the state apparatus, the CIA, FBI, the industries, the education and health system. The centralization process economically and politically is a product of both the inevitable, growing crisis of capitalism, which is beyond the control of the bourgeoisie, and a result of the conscious maneuvering of the monopoly capitalists. The bourgeoisie is trying to take advantage of the inevitable economic and political crisis, in a futile attempt to forestall their inevitable doom.

We must expose the schemes of the monopoly capitalists to centralize the health system in the name of "cutting mismanagement" and "improving efficiency." The bourgeoisie's conscious centralization process means tremendous cutbacks, speed-ups, and especially massive layoffs. We must fight to oppose all budget cuts! No layoffs, no closings, no wage freezes and speedups! We won't let them shift the burden of the economic crisis onto our backs! We must continue our fight for a decent contract. We must demand contracts with full wage increases and uncapped cost of living clauses. The bourgeoisie's acts to consciously impose political and economic centralization are a step towards fascism. The only solution to fascism is proletarian revolution!



1199 WORKERS, rejecting their misleaders' sellout pacifism and breaking through the bounds of bourgeois legality, are wide open to communist propaganda.

LESSONS OF THE STRIKE

In summing up the Belgian strike of 1913, Lenin said that the first lesson is to "look less to the Liberals, trust them less, and have more confidence in the independent and whole-hearted struggle of the proletariat." We must draw the same lesson for the 1199 strike. We must work towards throwing out the TUMs and taking the union leadership into our own hands. We must not look to the assorted group of so-called "communists" in the union, such as the Progressive Labor Party. And right in step with these Trots, we have the OL liberals who all actually side with the bourgeoisie and the TUMs to sell-out the workers. No where do they bring out the concrete lessons of the sell-out, how it was a sell-out, what is and should be the political lesson of the strike in order to direct the political resistance of the working class. The OL's call for "all of us who oppose injustice and racism and exploitation" is nothing but a classless appeal for support. The OL's highest "political" demand on their leaflet was for the community to bring food to the picket line. This is the lowest common denominator approach to what OL means by communist propaganda.

Not far from the empty militance of these economists, the revisionists of the "C" PUSA and the Puerto Rican Socialist Party throughout the strike gave full, uncritical support to the TUMs. The PSP, who a few months ago ran a class collaborationist headline "Strike Threatens New York City" (emphasis ours), wrote, "(we give our) full support to the 1199 in this strike... A victory for 1199 will be a victory for all of us," but PSP's failure to expose the TUMs and binding arbitration only serves to rob the working class of its victories. Don't they know that a "victory" by binding arbitration would be within the framework of the Medicaid freeze and would be taken out of the hide of the workers? The "C" P goes even further in propping up the TUMs by openly lying that the strike was to stop the "speedup and job elimination" (Daily World, July 10, p. 1). Isn't it perfectly clear the treacherous role these revisionists play in trying to lead the masses to a thinly concealed defeat?

WORKERS VIEWPOINT, August 1976, p. 5
Lenin said the second lesson of the Belgian strike is: pay attention to socialist propaganda, work more to build up a strong, highly principled and strictly party organization which is true to socialism. (On Trade Unions, p. 240)

This is the most crucial lesson we have learned from the strike!

MINERS STRIKE

cont'd from p.1

monopoly capitalists' merciless drive for profits. Last March, 26 men were killed in the Scotia Coal Company mine near Whitesburg, Kentucky, even after the Federal inspectors had "warned" of dangerous conditions. Just like the judges and arbitrators, the Federal inspectors are part of the capitalists' toolbox, which the coal bosses use to suppress the miners and other workers.

But crumbling mine roofs, high concentrations of explosive gas and murderous speed-ups are some of the conditions that miners meet daily. Exploitation by the capitalists in the mines is crystal clear. One miner pointed out how they load enough coal in a matter of minutes to pay for all labor and expenses -- the rest of the day's work is for the profit of the capitalists.

The miners have not taken this lying down as the recent strike shows. Last year, 40,000 miners went out to fight the sell-out contract that threw away the right to strike over local violations of the contract and grievances. Because of their militant tradition of working class solidarity, of "one goes out, all go out," miners strikes have historically rained hard blows at the monopoly capitalists. The whole U.S. working class can learn from their example. Right now, because the strike is so widespread and effective, the capitalists are beginning to call off their legal goons in the court for a while, hoping the miners will go back to work. The Federal judge in West Virginia has agreed to drop the fines on Local 1759 if the men agree to go back to work. There is no doubt, however, that the miners, like all workers, will have to continue the struggle up to and including the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the setting up of the socialist system under the dictatorship of the working class. This political strike is an indication that the U.S. proletariat is screaming for and sorely needs its Party, which can give these struggles a higher consciousness of the workers' historic mission!

(TO BE CONTINUED)

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

Dying Screams of the PRRWO/RWL Clique and Responding Echoes from Assorted Opportunists

Periods, Key Link, Character of the Party, and the Sorting-out Process to Build the Foundation of the Party

An invincible proletarian vanguard party has to be built on the granite theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought in its application to the concrete political, economic, military, organizational, philosophical and other ideological spheres.

The Bolshevik Party was founded by Lenin after the most vigorous struggle against opportunism line-by-line, sphere after sphere. In the course of combating the opportunist line on concrete issues in various spheres, the correct lines and principles were developed. These universal principles are the foundation for the Proletarian Party of a New Type in all countries.

Comrade Stalin summed up this part of the Bolshevik history:

"The whole history of the struggle against the 'Economists,' Mensheviks, Trotskyites, Otvovists and idealists of all shades, down to the empirio-criticism, was a history of the building up of just such a party. The Bolsheviks wanted to create a new party, a Bolshevik party, which would serve as a model for all who wanted to have a real revolutionary Marxist party. The Bolsheviks had been working to build up such a party ever since the time of the old Iskra. They worked for it stubbornly, persistently, in spite of everything. A fundamental and decisive part was played in this work by the writings of Lenin -- What Is To Be Done?, Two Tactics, etc. WITBD? was the ideological preparation for such a party. Lenin's One Step Forward, Two Steps Back was the organizational preparation for such a party. Lenin's Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution was the political preparation for such a party. And lastly, Lenin's Materialism and Empirio-Criticism was the theoretical preparation for such a party.

It may be safely said that never in history has any political group been so thoroughly prepared to constitute itself a party as the Bolshevik group was. The conditions were therefore fully ripe and ready for the Bolsheviks to constitute themselves a party.

(History of the CPSU(B),
Ch. 4, sec.5, p.140-141)

Studying, applying Marxism and criticizing revisionism question by question, sphere after sphere, dealing with different problems coming up as a result of the need for the link between the subjective factor and the objective factor period after period, Lenin defended and further developed Marxism; and particularly throughout the early periods concerning the nature and character of the Proletarian Party of a New Type, which, due to historical limitations, were not fully developed by Marx and Engels. These developments were historically necessary and inevitable in order to undertake the immediate task of overthrowing the Tsar and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat in the new era of imperialism.

Today in the U.S., we have the tremendous benefit of the scientific summations and laws of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. MLMTTT is the theoretical basis that guides our thinking and action. We must apply this theoretical basis to the concrete practice of the U.S. revolution and in the context of a steel-to-steel fight against the bourgeoisie and combating opportunism and primitiveness of all kinds that will deviate us from the path. We must build a Bolshevik Party in the U.S. by struggling for study and application of MLMTTT in sphere after sphere. In the immediate period ahead the key link is the development of the political line for the draft Party Program.

Brief History of Periods in the U.S. Communist Movement

During the first period of the U.S. communist movement, genuine Marxist-Leninists struggled against eclecticism -- the petty bourgeois theories of "student as vanguard," "lumpen as vanguard," Nkrumahism, Guevarism, etc. All petty bourgeois radical theorists were sorted out for the failure to adopt the standpoint of MLMTTT, reaffirming the leading role of the working class, the Communist Party of China and the Party of Labor of Albania at the head of the international anti-revisionist communist movement.

Negation of eclecticism, however, does not mean reaffirmation of the entire science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought in all spheres. In fact, the need for a party, the role of theory to guide practice were not reaffirmed during that period. With the defeat of eclecticism, the second period began with a two-line struggle over the key link of either following the pragmatic line of the Revolutionary Union (RU) to build the mass movement through blind practical work, or upholding the leading role of Marxist-Leninist theory to pursue the principal task of party building. Unlike the first period where the eclectic advocates were swept out of the movement, the sorting-out of opportunists occurred within the communist movement through struggles in the second period.

With the dominant line in the communist movement being upholding the leading role of ML theory and principal task of party building, many genuine Marxist-Leninists put a forceful end to the second period and pushed the communist movement forward, more firmly steered in the party building motion. Today we must build the party on the proletarian ideological plane and grasp the key link of political line, that particular sphere to which we must apply Marxist-Leninist theory in order to develop the program to lay the foundation of the genuine U.S. Bolshevik Party. Mainly by overcoming the obstacle of opportunism in the political sphere, all communists and advanced workers will be tested and opportunists will be sorted out through struggle over the programmatic elements, and the genuine will be bound together by the program itself.

Individuals and organizations are sorted out over concrete questions of the key link in any particular party building period. They also are sorted out when they are not advanced elements or are incapable of withstanding the necessary hardships to move forward in any phase of the communist movement.

Moreover, genuine and sham organizations and individuals are all sorted out in any period of the development of the communist movement or the party if they

do not practice the proletarian line of study Marxism and criticize revisionism, of criticism and self-criticism, mass line, link theory with practice and the objective with the subjective, stand with the interests of the vast majority, be able to unite with the majority including those who made mistakes and are willing to change -- these sum up the five criteria for membership and the three great traditions of the CPC.

These criteria and traditions, their proletarian character and the establishment and practice of the tradition around them is the character of the party. These criteria and traditions are the concentrated expression of the proletariat, the most advanced class in history. They are the concentrated expression of the will of the proletariat, its broad-mindedness, far-sightedness, organization, discipline and militancy. When organizations or individual communists violate this proletarian character in practice in any period of development of the party over any particular question or sphere, they will inevitably unleash the floodgates of opportunism (especially when opportunism is justified with theory) and sooner or later be condemned to political bankruptcy.

Opportunist October League (OL), Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee (MLOC), Resistencia, and the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization/Revolutionary Workers League clique (PRRWO/RWL) have no such strategic outlook on building the working class vanguard Party. Hopelessly blocked by their petty bourgeois outlook, they cannot even comprehend this process of building the party on the proletarian ideological plane in the thick of class struggle.

They don't understand why certain definite forms of opportunism and ideological trends are historically inevitable due to class, material, and ideological bases, independent of our will. They cannot comprehend the significance of these struggles and can only conceive of these processes of differentiation as evils of some individuals, bad intentions of leaders, the work of agent provocateurs, etc! They view unity and disunity of organizations as simple unity and disunity of "given persons, groups, and institutions."

Opportunists are characterized by a lack of ideological and political definiteness, by a spinelessness, drifting with the stream or dominant trend, mutating their political positions from time to time according to the "chopping and changing of petty politics" and not able to make a shred of contribution to the struggle for the party.

That's why those marsh forces did not take definite positions during the struggle, but engaged in petty rumors and whispers over the split, awed at the spectacular, Otvovist displays of the PRRWO/RWL clique, but totally at a loss as to why these present-day Otvovists died hard. (Before the Otvovists died, they made a contribution by leaving the name "fruit flies" to describe those in the marsh who, after the battle is already won, come crawling out like bugs and declare "We told you so!", like when Resistencia sided with the PRRWO/RWL clique on their "left" opportunist lines. They even dare to stand above the split, but borrow arguments from WVO here and there to make the pronouncement that they're already dead. Some even lumped WVO with the Otvovist clique, and cried, "they are all the same!")

Marsh forces are incapable of understanding Lenin's words: "...the bourgeois influence over the proletariat that gives rise to liquidationism (=semi-liberalism,

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 6

which likes to consider itself part of Social-Democracy) and otzovism (=semi-anarchism, which likes to consider itself part of Social-Democracy) is not an accident, nor evil design, stupidity or error on the part of some individual, but the inevitable result of the action of these objective causes, and the superstructure of the entire labour movement in present-day Russia, which is inseparable from the 'basis'." (Against Liquidationism, p. 79)

Marsh forces are incapable of understanding the split, let alone its historical significance. Lenin again summed this up for us. For the same reason they cannot make heads or tails out of ideological struggle; they claim today that unity never existed within the Revolutionary Wing. But this is only their nature. As Lenin stated:

The Mensheviks [October League, Resistencia, MLOC - ed.] do not weigh up the implications of all these manifestations of liquidationism / of the Otzovist PRRWO/RWL -- liquidators of a new type - ed. 7. They either conceal them or are baffled by them, at a loss to understand the significance of certain facts, floundering in minutiae, vagaries and personalities, unable to draw general conclusions, unable to grasp the meaning of what is going on. (The Liquidation of Liquidationism, LCW, Vol. 15)

A concrete in-depth analysis of the split and the degeneration of the Otzovist PRWVO/RWL in order to bring further clarity to the communist movement is not even a serious question for the OL. What the OL is interested in doing is to whip up enough sensation and "I told you so's" to get enough mileage to further drag along its lowest common denominator eight principles of unity, a "unity trend." The OL loves the "left" opportunist PRRWO/RWL. This was the best thing to ever happen to the OL, because now they can use the "left" opportunist PRRWO/RWL trend to cover over their own right opportunist trend!!

While claiming that unity never existed for the wing, the OL, the present-day leading banner-carrier of the opportunist trend, as usual, presented a philistine analysis of the split, but feared to even mention the criteria of the Revolutionary Wing: (1) propaganda as our chief form of activity, (2) focus on winning advanced workers, (3) Marxist-Leninist analysis of fusion, advanced workers, periods, key link, (4) factory nuclei as our main form of organization, (5) political line as key link, (6) necessity to grasp nationally specific forms of revisionism, (7) attitude toward criticism, self-criticism, (8) upholding the leading role of M-L theory and party building as the central task, and (9) waging open polemics. Why? Because those are the very aspects that exclude the OL and the RCP from any genuine Marxist-Leninist trend! OL's hodgepodge analysis, failing to do a serious historical account of each organization's line -- including the WVO -- since the crystallization of the Revolutionary Wing last fall until its disintegration in Feb./March, is a hallmark of right opportunism. Slipping and sliding in its latest Class Struggle, the OL points out the August Twenty Ninth Movement's (ATM) position in support of the E.R.A. What the right opportunist OL fails to mention is that ATM's line was put forth in the process of the Wing's disintegration, not when it was formed.

At a loss to understand certain facts, the OL negates PRRWO's historical development and general thrust of its line during the formation of the Revolutionary Wing. In struggling with the WVO and

*The Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee (MLOC) also steps out to utter their responding echo on the disintegration of the Revolutionary Wing and the degeneration of the PRRWO/RWL clique. Flowing from their outlook on military campaigns to "unite" the ML movement "by surprise" and "sneak attack", MLOC is also unable to make a concrete analysis. They can only lump the WVO with the PRRWO/RWL and make anti-communist remarks about our principled ideological struggle being "screaming and yelling matches."

other communists (in fact, in their Feb. 1976 journal, PRRWO had to admit that the WVO had been open and above board about differences with them; WVO's relation with PRRWO had been one of principled struggle). PRRWO began to change their line on a number of important questions: their "C" motion, the U.F.T. strike, united front tactics from above and below, the advanced worker, communist work in trade unions, recognizing "left" as the main danger in PRRWO, factory nuclei as the key link, united front as a tactic and not a strategy. After struggle with the WVO, PRRWO changed its position to support the Oct. 27 Puerto Rican Solidarity Day, as well as achieving unity on busing and the E.R.A.

It was PRRWO's opportunist line on organization, going against the correct verdict of the merger of RWL and WVO, that put a stop to their steps forward and eventually opened a floodgate of opportunism, backsliding on all major lines.

WVO's unity with other members of the Revolutionary Wing was over their methodology, the character of their organization in relation to building the Party, theoretical tasks, open polemics for line, and criticism-self-criticism. These are precisely the absolute lines of demarcation with the OL! On the question of differences between member organizations during the Revolutionary Wings existence, it was impossible to have a Wing without differences over political line -- precisely over the key link which was and would have been continually struggled out in the third period. Differences within the Revolutionary Wing over political line were struggled over openly in public forums, newspapers and journals. Yet the OL hopes to get over without providing a concrete analysis of the formation and development of the Wing until its end, without drawing out concretes and specifics and understanding the cause and the effect.

Lenin, in reviewing the split between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, summed up:

In each of these stages the circumstances of the struggle and the immediate object of the attack are materially different; each stage is, as it were, a separate battle in one general military campaign. Our struggle cannot be understood at all unless the concrete circumstances of each battle are studied. But once that is done, we see clearly that development does indeed proceed dialectically, by way of contradictions... (One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward, Progress Publishers, p. 206)

Only those thoroughly bourgeoisified, metaphysical intellectuals, who would question why Lenin was in the same party with the Mensheviks and Trotsky, or why Chairman Mao was in the same party as Liu Shao Chi, Lin Piao, and now Teng Hsiao-ping, would say political unity never existed before between WVO and the PRRWO/RWL clique, and that it was all such a big hoax! This argument is second best only to the PRRWO/RWL clique's explanation of their purging 2/3 of their membership and leadership, that CIA agents and cops were strategically placed one by one, post by post, in key spots of their organizations!

Why the Rapid Degeneration of the "Left" Opportunist PRRWO/RWL?

PRRWO/RWL's classical Menshevik line on merger (between RWL and WVO) opened a floodgate of opportunism which manifested itself in rapidly developed neo-Trotskyite political lines and consummated organizationally into an isolated "left" sect.

Though the political line is the key link in this period of party building, opportunism can still rise in other spheres. It is exactly in another sphere -- the organizational sphere -- that PRRWO/RWL's degeneration and dive into the marsh began, the question being the merger of RWL and WVO within the Revolutionary Wing, the two organizations having achieved suff-

icient ideological and political unity. (see "Party Spirit-Circle Spirit" article in WV newspaper, June 1976).

By our willingness to liquidate ourselves in the merger with RWL, the WVO practices Party spirit, working in the interest of the vast majority. The Chinese comrades have concisely summed up the world outlook and stand of the proletariat on this question:

Chairman Mao has made 'working for the interests of the vast majority of the people of China and the world' one of the principal requirements for successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution, and it has been written in our party constitution. To build a party for the vast majority or for the interests of the minority? This is the watershed between proletarian and bourgeois political parties and the touchstone for distinguishing true Communists from false. (Tenth National Congress, CPC, p. 13)

A petty bourgeois proprietor's world outlook, careerism, Menshevik line on organizational questions and circle spirit is the historical, class, and social basis of the PRRWO/RWL degeneration. This and the pragmatic and narrow nationalist ideological trends (see WV Jnl. #4) represent the ideological, social, and class basis which has led to the rapid degeneration of the "left" opportunist Otzovist clique.

An important condition (which dissected the Menshevik essence and charted out the Otzovist path of the PRRWO/RWL clique) which forced their nose dive into the marsh has been WVJ #4 and the WVO's hot pursuit in the national tour. Internally, cadre on the leading body of RWL and on different levels of both organizations struggled against the rapidly developing Trot line and the halting of the RWL and WVO merger.

Given these bases and conditions, the exposure and collapse of the "left" line has been thoroughgoing. Opposition to the Otzovists sent them more and more into a petty bourgeois frenzy. A panic followed. First RWL's philistine leadership broke democratic centralism to block the circulation of the correct line internally by tricks. RWL stated that its party building position was a principle of unity for the New York and

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

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From The **BOLSHEVIK** **ORGANIZING COMMITTEE**

NOTE: This letter which represents open polemics with the RWL was written by members of the Bolshevik Organizing Collective, all of whom were once members of the RWL but split off (though RWL declares we were purged.) This open letter (except for two inserted paragraphs) was passed to the RWL cadre in Durham and Greensboro.

The comrades from the local RWL refused to accept this document, under the guise of not having formal liaison relations with us. We informed the comrades that in our opinion they were clinging to organizational unity over political unity and shutting themselves off from struggle for the correct line. We are publishing this document so that honest elements inside the RWL may use these concretes to continue to wage the struggle which we are sure must be going on in opposition to the bankrupt left line now dominating the organization.

June 16, 1976

AN OPEN LETTER TO A DISTRICT AND ALL
REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE COMRADES

Dear Comrades,

We, the members of the Bolshevik Organizing Committee, extend revolutionary greetings to you. In addition to this letter, you should find the following documents:

- (1) "The U.S. Labor Party and the Revolutionary Class Struggle"
- (2) "BOC Self-Criticism"
- (3) "Community Organizing Collective Criticism to the Political Bureau Draft"

This letter and the enclosures are forwarded to you in the interest of deepening the class struggle which is now raging in the communist movement and the RWL.

As you know, the central task of all genuine communists is party building. Building the party on an ideological plane while grasping the key link of political line and struggling to formulate the program, strategy, and tactics of the party, implementing the two tactics of winning the advanced to communism and uniting the Marxist-Leninists; these are the important questions the communist movement is confronted with today. These are the areas of the fierce struggle, promoting the forward motion toward the Bolshevik Party while distinguishing the genuine from the sham. In the course of struggle, opportunism on matters of organization and politics is inevitably exposed. Comrades, we seek to struggle with you around the opportunism which is now dominant in the RWL leadership and the opportunism we have observed in our contact with a district. The enclosed document and the documents you have already received should have exposed the sham revisionist Mensheviks in this district.

Before we get into a discussion of the RWL, we want to make some general points. We are a small circle. But we are struggling against small circle spirit. We do not intend to remain an isolated small group; we will struggle to unite with a definite trend on the basis of unity of line. We have been studying carefully the line in the Workers Viewpoint Journal #4 and comparing it with the Bolshevik (the lines contained in it), Party Building in the Heat of Class Struggle, and Palante. We have achieved basic unity with the WVO line although there are areas of the line and of the practice we still have questions about. In comparison to the line of PRRWO and the RWL we are united with the view that WVO has the most overall correct line. We, in the course of struggle, look forward to deepening our grasp and usage of MLMTTT in the forward motion toward the party.

Comrades, all of the basic contradictions in the world today are intensifying. The contradiction between the proletariat and the Bourgeoisie within capitalist countries, between capitalist countries (occurring within the ranks of competing capitalist countries including the USSR), between the socialist countries and imperialism, between capitalist countries and colonial and dependent countries are intensifying. This intensification of class struggle internationally is reflected within the communist movement. The splits, realignments, purges, etc., within the communist movement is a direct result of the increased contention between proletariat and bourgeois interest. The forces within the RWL played a progressive role in the class struggle and particularly within the Black Liberation Movement in the late 60's and early 70's. The petty bourgeois class outlook (which was submerged in the overall petty bourgeois character of the BLM) of many of the leading comrades in the RWL has been expressing itself within the RWL since its formation in the form of left and right deviations (principally right). With the intensification of class struggle and the exposure of deviations and the ideological basis, some comrades have struggled to transform themselves and are adopting the stand, viewpoint, and method of the proletariat. Other RWL cadre fronting as staunch M-L adherents are covering-up and disguising their petty bourgeois class outlook; they have resorted to lying, distorting, revising, conspiring; when trapped, they engage in false repudiation often disclaiming it later in words and deeds. We think this characterizes the Mensheviks in this district. Still other comrades in the RWL are being swept along to the swamp under the discipline of organizational line, failing to go deeply into the political and ideological essence of matters.

Our perceptual view is that comrades in a district are following this course. While these two tendencies exist, we know there is genuine class struggle going on within the RWL and within your district. We seek to promote that struggle by sharing our view and experience and to raise up sharply criticisms of the opportunistic line organizationally and politically being peddled by the RWL.

The RWL has been in the throes of class struggle since the Second National Conference. Current members of the BOC have stated that we viewed the struggle as positive. Open clashes of contending views representing different class interests was vigorously pushed for by BOC members when we were with the RWL. The RWL Mensheviks obstructed honest line struggle, maneuvered to block the struggle, turned the line struggle into a witch-hunt, deprecating MLMTTT while twisting and revising history to conform to their petty bourgeois line. We think the documents (and discussion) we have shared with you clearly show this. We were a part of the RWL historically and while we broke with the revisionist line of this district, it is our proletarian duty to push the line struggle forward and expose the opportunist line which is consolidated in this district and dominant within the national leadership.

Comrades, waging the class struggle within the RWL on a principled basis, exposing sham revisionist lines, and opportunists of all shades is the absolute necessity and urgent task for us, especially during this period of party building. Hard-hitting, open and honest polemics is in the interest of proletarian revolution; the proletariat has nothing to gain from dishonesty.

"I believe we should do things honestly, for without an honest attitude, it is absolutely impossible to accomplish anything in this world. Which are the honest people? Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin are honest, men of

science are honest. Which are the dishonest people? Trotsky, Bukharin, Chen Tu-hsiu, and Chang Kuo-tao are extremely dishonest; and those who assert 'independence' out of personal or sectional interest are dishonest, too. All sly people, all those who do not have a scientific attitude in their work, fancy themselves resourceful and clever, but, in fact, they are most stupid and will come to no good."

Mao Tse-tung, "Rectify the Party's Style of Work," Selected Readings, pp.220-221.

Sophistry, Black Liberation Movement feel-good styling, distortions, incomplete quotations, extraction out of context, lying and similar "get over" tactics are the weapons employed by the class enemy. The interest of the proletariat is represented by bold, forthright, honest struggle. We are emphasizing these points precisely because we know the RWL is practicing these petty bourgeois "get over" techniques. We have seen it develop and lead to the complete degeneration of RWL cadre in this district; we saw it practiced by the representative from the National Leadership in polemics with WVO; we are seeing it being practiced by Comrade "U" in your district. We will lay out points on this question in detail later in the letter.

The central task of building a genuine communist party, a Bolshevik party, imparts on us a most serious and difficult undertaking. The struggle against petty bourgeois prejudices, against opportunism, will be difficult in this country -- the citadel of capitalist technological and ideological development, but such a struggle is an absolute necessity if we are to build a genuine communist party.

"One of the necessary conditions for preparing the proletariat for its victory is a long, stubborn, and ruthless struggle against opportunism, reformism, social-chauvinism, and similar bourgeois influences and trends, which are inevitable, since the proletariat is operating in a capitalist environment. If there is no struggle, if opportunism in the working class movement is not utterly defeated beforehand, there can be no dictatorship of the proletariat."
(Lenin, On the Struggle Against Revisionism, p.78.)

We in the BOC have grasped even more deeply the profound truth of Lenin's declaration. We have especially come to see more clearly the need to in fact build the party on an ideological plane as we grasp the key link of political line. In particular, we see the need to pay special attention to grasping fundamentally and applying dialectical materialism to each and every question, identifying the principal contradiction, the position of the aspects of the contradiction, the direction of the motion, the relationship with other contradictions, etc. We see the need to struggle for the orientation and ability to go concretely into the particularity of questions, going thoroughly into its essence and not accepting superficial, incomplete, one-sided explanations. A thoroughgoing, all-sided orientation toward investigation -- this is what Mao meant by a "honest" scientific attitude. Comrade Hill points out the main reason for the degeneration of the communist party of Australia as being a weakness in materialist dialectics:

"The most important feature in our weakness was our failure sufficiently to study and apply materialist dialectics and to make materialist dialectics a main question. It is not difficult at all to make materialist dialectics a main question. But it is

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AN OPEN LETTER TO A DISTRICT AND ALL REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS LEAGUE COMRADES

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vitality important. 'The laws of contradiction, that is, the laws of the unity of opposites is the basic law of materialist dialectics.' (Mao Tse-tung, On Contradiction.) We must keep that firmly in mind in understanding the strengths and weaknesses of the past, in seeing things in their movement and their development by resolution of contradictions."

So, comrades, we agree with Comrade Hill that materialist dialectics is "vitality important." We have seen dogmatism (and if you seriously examine the documents we have sent you, you will see it, too) run wild in this district. Mao points out in "Rectify the Party's Style of Work" that "dogmatists can easily assume a Marxist guise to bluff, capture, and make servitors of cadre of working class and peasant origin who cannot easily see through them. They can also bluff and ensnare the naive youth."

We must be able to make a thorough analysis and not fall victim to phrase-mongering. Let us share with you one example that typifies how the Menshevik clique "captures and makes servitors of cadre" in this district. In January, S wrote a Menshevik document called "Some Points on Problems in the District." This document abandoned Marxist-Leninist analysis and employed dogmatism, sophistry, distortion, and lies (you should have a copy and a response which a BOC member wrote). In the muted struggle on the District Committee, a District Committee member T stated that she did not understand the theoretical points made in the document but she united with it. When later asked why she united with it if she did not grasp the theoretical points in the document, she stated that she united principally on the basis of her friendship and trust in S!!! This is a District Committee member. We used this example because we think T is one of the more honest elements left in RWL here and could verify the point if need be; there are many other examples. A clique of friends, pals, who have abandoned MLMTTT, that is what the marsh force is here. But, let us move on to the question of the RWL National Leadership.

VIEW OF THE RWL NATIONAL LEADERSHIP

We view the RWL national leadership as thoroughly opportunist. Our view is based on a summation of our struggle and practice with the national leadership, our study of the line contained in Bolshevik, and the exhibition put on by the National Leadership Cadre at the WVO-RWL forum (specifically the lines drawn out at the forum). We repudiate the view we put forward in our letter of disassociation from the RWL which upheld the RWL line as basically correct and the view that a small minority was opportunistically blocking the information we were sending to the national leadership. We are developing a document which sums up the basis for the incorrect view we held of the RWL; we will share it with you when it is completed. In this section of the letter, we want to present the reasons (obviously not completely) for our view of the RWL.

The RWL lays out its criteria in Bolshevik for how to determine who is in the "revolutionary wing" (p.10). Essentially the RWL lists upholding theory as the leading factor in all our work, correct attitude toward criticism, self-criticism, repudiation and transformation, and M-L line on how and what kind of party we are trying to build. We think that if the RWL really applied its own criteria, it should "purge" itself from the "revolutionary wing."

In our struggle in this district, we have documented the role of the Menshe-

vik S in obstructing the effort of comrades in this district to get the theoretical and organizational documents coming out of the Second National Conference. We summed up our criticism of the PB in the enclosed document: "COC Criticism to the PB-Draft." We have never gotten a response. Comrades should look at what the enclosed document says; there are serious charges made of the PB. How could they be ignored?

In April we sent a package of documents to the national leadership, growing out of the struggle here. In the cover letter we charged the RWL national leadership with operating through a clique of friends and wives; we called on them to state clearly their position on the vulgar mechanical materialist proletarianization line, which PB representatives in the district openly upheld. We criticized the role of the national leadership in upholding and helping to consolidate the line of the Menshevik clique in this district. We called on the RWL leadership to step forward and make bolshevik self-criticism. To all of this the RWL national leadership never responded.

We tried to reach the RWL national leadership by phone; after extreme difficulty we finally made contact and arranged for a phone conversation. The RWL left us waiting and never returned the call. We have received not one word of explanation or self-criticism!

Comrades, we know that all the rhetoric in Bolshevik about self-criticism is false. Chairman Mao teaches us that "...social practice alone is the criterion of truth..." No amount of phrase-mongering about Bolshevism self-criticism changes the truth of the slimy practice of the RWL national leadership on this question. In phrase-mongering about self-criticism, the RWL states:

"What we had to do is to go deeper into how it was that Alkalimat even got into the organization. How our liberalism, bowing to spontaneity, remnants of bourgeois nationalism fed into his opportunist schemes." Bolshevik, p.8.

Well, how did your bourgeois ideology feed "into his opportunist schemes"? Not only should you answer how Alkalimat even got into the organization, you should also look into how he ever got into the organization and became the leading individual on the leading body all on the same day. The RWL promised a campaign to expose the particularity of the line of Alkalimat, how it merged with and was promoted by the dominant bourgeois line of the organization. Has the RWL done this? It certainly has not. There is more in Bolshevik (which is actually very little) than has been said before. Why don't you stop phrasemongering, RWL?

In the Bolshevik the character of all the criticisms is very superficial. It does not go into anything in depth. What we get are packaged generalities: bowing to spontaneity, bourgeois nationalism, conciliation to some outside forces, etc. These general truisms avoid getting to a concrete analysis of the particularity of deviations, grasping deeply the internal and external factors, and laying out a comprehensive plan of rectification. The essence of this is false repudiation and glossing over of errors. For example, it glosses over the proletarianization line which the RWL says was vulgar mechanical materialist and was "the dominant line over the first two years." But even in the little self-criticism it does, the RWL essentially upholds external factors as the cause of its right line.

Listen to this. On the vulgar mechanical materialist line the RWL says: "But in struggle with the petty bourgeois forces in the Black Liberation Movement, we came to overemphasize the objective conditions of the working class and belittled the role of the conscious element." (Bolshevik, p.62.) Doesn't this sound like Nixon saying a few of "our zealous" White House staffers made some mistakes while fighting Vietnam War protestors? It sounds very familiar, doesn't it? That's because they are both loaded with bourgeois evasion. Nixon blames the war protestors, the RWL blames petty bourgeois elements in the Black Liberation Movement generally (not within RWL). Let's continue. RWL says it adopted the incorrect line on the international situation (it now upholds a trotskyite line on the international situation) as "part of the general error that we made in regard to WVO. We conciliated with opportunism." Now it explains this line on the basis of the WVO. In both cases the RWL presents itself as basically correct, but is overcome by the external forces and adopts an incorrect line. The RWL does not boldly start with the petty bourgeois social base which makes up its leadership and the dominance of bourgeois ideology internal to the RWL.

The RWL in polemicizing against the OL line on self-criticism states that there was "no mention of class basis for this line, no searching for ideological roots, no open repudiation of this incorrect line. Instead, we get partial repudiation, gutless and empty word magic..." Well, RWL what do you call this sham criticism in the Bolshevik? The local RWL mensheviks have learned well from their leaders; in some cases they might be able to offer a lesson in the art of bourgeois deception and maneuvering under the cover of MLMTTT.

The RWL mouths about the leading role of theory and the correct line on party building. When we studied the Bolshevik initially we saw a lot of errors, but it was only after we intensified our study and particularly our study of the WVO Journal #4 that we could see not only the misrepresentation of the WVO line, but the utter shallowness of Bolshevik and its endless generalities and downright incorrect lines. The Bolshevik does not uphold the leading role of theory. In fact, it is more of an eclectic hodgepodge using fancy style and generalizations.

For example, in the discussion of fusion, the RWL after stringing together several pages of quotes from the classics, has only one paragraph on the question of fusion in the U.S. today. That paragraph says nothing of significance. We quote:

"In the U.S. anti-revisionist communist movement, this struggle has proceeded against the opportunist line of the leading role of theory, criticism and self-criticism, party building, national question, trade union question, the woman question, and strategy and tactics. In the course of this struggle the movement divided into two wings, the revolutionary wing and the opportunist wing. As a result, the contemporary level of the science was raised and the fusion of MLMTTT developed. [what?!! --BOC] Some of the forces in the opportunist wing were a part of the genuine forces in the old period and made some contributions to the development of fusion, bringing some aspects of MLMTTT to the working class movement." Bolshevik, p.28.

What kind of a statement is this? It tells us nothing useful about fusion in the U.S. It is not even clear whether the RWL is saying that the communist movement and

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LEBANON

ARAB PEOPLES' UNITY AND ALL

The fierce resistance of the fighters for national liberation at Tal al Zatar, the Palestinian camp in Beirut, Lebanon, symbolizes the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples' powerful movement against Soviet Social-Imperialism, U.S. Imperialism, and the reactionary Syrian and Lebanese capitalists. The Lebanese and Palestinian peoples' struggles are striking blow after blow at the two superpowers and the local reactionaries!

Like a tidal wave, the Middle Eastern peoples' movement is surging ahead more broadly and at a higher level than ever before. Marxist-Leninist leadership is growing and developing in the midst of struggle. The Palestinian and Arab peoples' struggles fully confirm the law that the reactionaries make trouble, fail, make trouble again and fail until they meet their doom, while the people fight, fail, fight again until final victory.

After every major struggle against Soviet Social-Imperialism, U.S. Imperialism, and the Israeli Zionists, the Palestinian and other Middle Eastern peoples' movements come out stronger and more determined. The June War of 1967, the October War of 1973, and more recently the surging struggles of the Palestinian people on the West Bank, the fierce resistance to the Lebanese reactionaries' attacks by the united Lebanese and Palestinian peoples, and the growing heroic struggles of the Iranian workers and peasants have thrown the two superpowers, the Israeli Zionists, and the local reactionaries into a panic.

Lebanon is a country where imperialism has ruled and attacked the people many times. In order to prop up its rule, the French imperialists years ago forced a constitution on the Lebanese people which attempted to divide them up along religious lines, Christian against Moslem. This was done to make sure that the people were divided against each other and not united as oppressed Arab nationalities to fight against imperialism, or as oppressed classes against their common enemy, the imperialists and the Lebanese compradore capitalists and big landlords. On top of that, division among them was



sharpened by giving the Christian bourgeoisie more seats in the Parliament than the Moslem bourgeoisie.

So while the capitalist press in the U.S. and other countries want to make it look like a "religious conflict," in reality it is a contradiction between the Lebanese and Syrian people and their own bourgeoisies, and between the entire Lebanese and Syrian people and the two superpowers.

The Moslem sector of the national bourgeoisie (middle capitalist) in order to mold the peoples struggle to serve their own class interests, stand against new democratic and socialist revolutions under proletarian leadership, but will take a progressive stand against the two superpowers. They support religious separation in government and benefit from the present divided system but currently to a lesser degree than the Christian bourgeoisie. Their stand against the comprador Christian bourgeoisie and support of the peoples struggle against them, serves their own class interests. This is the basis for a "unity and struggle" policy towards the Moslem national bourgeoisie.

LEBANON AND THE SUPERPOWERS' NO WAR-NO PEACE SCHEME

Soviet Social-Imperialism, the main source of war in the world today, as well as U.S. Imperialism have a need to keep the whole Middle East in constant state of "no war, no peace." Each one is trying to gain control of the area for itself in order to control the Middle East's oil, and to fight for their main goal - to control Europe.

"No war, no peace" means brief fighting followed by a period of truce, with both war and peace under the control of the two superpowers - the Soviet Union and the U.S. Our Chinese comrades have stated that, "To the Soviet Union only such a situation will facilitate its contention with the other superpower for spheres of influence, strategic areas and oil resources in the Middle East; its reaping huge profits through arms sales; and its testing of new weapons in preparation for a new war on a larger scale." (Peking Review, June 11, 1976, p. 26).

The history of the aggressive Soviet Union's meddling in the Middle East exposes this "no war, no peace" scheme. In the June War of 1967, the Soviet revisionists continued to "assure" the Arab countries that Israel would not attack them. When the war erupted on June 5, together with U.S. Imperialism they hastily cooked up a "ceasefire" in favor of Israel. Immediately following the war, the Soviet revisionists worked closely with the U.S. to push for a political settlement in the Middle East. This was done to create a "no war, no peace" situation to move ahead their contention and division of spheres of influence.

The UN resolution 242 (1967) pushed by both superpowers, treats the Palestinians as a "refugee problem." This in fact recognizes the sovereignty of Zionist Israel and deprives the Palestinian people of their right of self-determination.

During the October War of 1973, the Soviet Union continued to ship manpower to Israel through "emigration" of Soviet Zionists directly and only to Israel, after the war began. This of course strengthened the Zionist forces against the Arab and Palestinian people. Scheming together with the U.S., the Soviet Social-Imperialists called for an immediate cease-fire when the Arab and Palestinian people were winning. The Soviets charged that the Arab people's liberation struggle "seriously menaces the maintenance of peace." Every time the Arab and Palestinian people have arisen in resistance to Zionist Israeli aggression, the Soviet Union has worked hand in hand with the U.S. to impose their "just and durable peace." Of course, this "just and durable peace" is nothing but an attempt to crush the Palestinian and Arab peoples' liberation movement.

The Soviet Social-Imperialists and the U.S. Imperialists have to make sure that the Palestinian and Arab peoples' movements are weak and "controllable." This is the only way that the "no war, no peace" scheme can work. When the Palestinian peoples' movement is surging ahead and building strength day by day, and when Zionist Israel is hit by economic and political crisis and losing strength, it's no wonder the Soviet Social-Imperialists and U.S. Imperialists are eager to stop the Palestinian peoples' struggle.

Just as they did during and after the 1967 and 1973 wars, through the UN resolution 242 and the "mini-state" plan, the 2 superpowers are trying to stop the Palestinian and Lebanese national liberation struggles now by opening up a new military front against the Palestinians and Lebanese people to give the Zionists some breathing room. The Soviet Social-Imperialists and U.S. Imperialists have used the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of reform and repression against the Palestinian and Arab peoples' struggle. Anything that weakens the Palestinian and Arab peoples' struggle helps the Soviet Social-Imperialists and U.S. Imperialists.

This is not the first time the 2 superpowers have resorted to armed suppression of the Palestinian cause. In 1970 the U.S. imperialists Kissinger and CIA director Richard Helms, with the approval of the Soviet Union, launched their bloody "emergency plan." This plan was carried out by King Hussein of Jordan and tried to wipe out through armed force the Palestinian movement and caused the deaths of 20,000 Palestinians.

During that time, the Soviet Union supported not only Jordan's attacks on the Palestinian resistance movement, but also openly stated that it would act in behalf of Jordan if Iraq and Syria intervened to assist the Palestinian resistance movement. At the present time, the Soviet Social-Imperialists are continuing to supply arms to the reactionary Phalangists as well as to Syria, in order to suppress the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples' struggle. It has fanned the flames of conflict, sowed dissension in Lebanon, and committed this cynical crime in which the masses are used to fight each other.

Moreover, the Soviet Social-Imperialists fear the Palestinian peoples' movement and victory in the Middle East. A victory would establish

basis for the complete liberation of the Arab people from the yoke of imperialism and all reaction.

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Palestinian youth train to continue the struggle in unity with the peoples of the Middle East against Soviet social-imperialism, U.S. imperialism and all reaction!!

HITS SUPERPOWERS REACTION!

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It would wipe out once and for all the Soviet Social-Imperialists' hope of establishing their goulash communism anywhere in the area.

SYRIAN NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE'S INTERFERENCE IN LEBANON

Six months ago, the Syrian army invaded Lebanon under the fake banner of a peace-keeping force. While Syria engineered a number of cease-fire agreements, these worked in the interests of the Phalangist forces by allowing them to consolidate their positions, regroup, and resupply. The Syrian cease-fire agreements served to take the momentum away from the Lebanese and Palestinian resistance. These moves also serve the interests of the superpowers, who still push their "no war, no peace" line in the area.

The farce of Syria's "peace-keeping mission" has been exposed to the Lebanese and Palestinian masses: objectively Syria is fighting on the side of the Phalangist-led troops, but their drive to weaken the Palestinian resistance and prevent a revolutionary government in Lebanon has been set back severely.

Syria opposed both superpowers on the Palestinian mini-state plot and the UN resolution 242. It has been consistently anti-imperialist. Until now it has opposed the plots of the superpowers to undermine Arab unity and dominate the world. But the Syrian invasion of Lebanon has clearly shown the dual nature of the national bourgeoisie -- anti-imperialist when forced to by revolutionary forces and for their own interests, but sell-outs to imperialism for their own interests when the mass movement for new democracy grows too strong.

As our Chinese comrades said in A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement (pp. 16-17),

In some of these [Third World] countries, the patriotic national bourgeoisie continues to stand with the masses in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism and introduce certain measures of social progress. This requires the proletarian party to make a full appraisal of the progressive role of the patriotic national bourgeoisie and strengthen unity with them.

As the internal social contradictions and the international class struggle sharpen, the bourgeoisie, and particularly the big bourgeoisie, in some newly independent countries increasingly tend to become retainers of imperialism and to pursue anti-popular, anti-Communist and counter-revolutionary policies. It is necessary for the proletarian party resolutely to oppose these reactionary policies.

Generally speaking, the bourgeoisie in these countries have a dual character. When a united front is formed with the bourgeoisie, the policy of the proletarian party should be one of both unity and struggle. The policy should be to unite with the bourgeoisie, in so far as they tend to be progressive, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, but to struggle against their reactionary tendencies to compromise and collaborate with imperialism and the forces of feudalism.

The Syrian invasion of Lebanon was started in the interests of both the Syrian national bourgeoisie, and the two superpowers. These interests are identical at this point - to try to defeat the growing national liberation struggles.

The Soviet Social-Imperialists pushed for a Syrian invasion to attack the peoples' revolutionary struggles. Both superpowers are scheming together as well as against each other for control of the Middle East, try to use Syrian and other national bourgeoisies as their lever. Their vicious contention has been exposed a hundred times in the area, and now, their bloodstained hands are impossible to cover up.

The superpower that flies the banner of "socialism" is being exposed as social-imperialist to the Palestinian and Lebanese masses. Their threat to the interests of the people of the whole world as the main source of a new war is a lesson written in blood which oppressed people are learning through hard struggle.

The Soviet Social-Imperialists and U.S. Imperialists and the Syrian national bourgeoisie seek to weaken the Palestinian resistance movement, and prevent a revolutionary government in Lebanon. The Syrian national bourgeoisie cannot destroy the Palestinian movement at this point, because of the fierce resistance of the Palestinian people, and because this would expose them in the eyes of the Arab masses who support the Palestinians and have gained much inspiration from their heroic struggles. Because the Palestinians and Lebanese progressive movements share strong unity in their common struggle, a weak Palestinian movement under the control of the Syrian national bourgeoisie would assure the influence of the national bourgeoisie in Lebanon. With the Palestinians "under control", the Syrian bourgeoisie would then be in a better position to bargain with Israel for the return of the Golan Heights, in trade for Syrian support of the superpowers' mini-state plan, and a guarantee to shackle the Palestinian national liberation movement and keep it from attacking the Israeli Zionists. This not only works in the interests of the Syrian national bourgeoisie, but the superpowers' mini-state plot as well (See Workers Viewpoint Journal, vol. 2 #1, "Smash the Superpowers Mini-State Plot!").

THE CROSSROADS OF THE LEBANESE CRISIS

The struggle in Lebanon has revealed the viciousness of the Syrian invaders and their Phalangist partners. Doubling their offensive against the heroic Palestinian and Lebanese masses, they have unleashed a campaign of death and destruction. Spurred on by the superpowers, the Syrian-Phalangist murderers have caused the death of thousands and injuries to countless more. The Palestinian and Lebanese resistance continues to fight, inspired by the support of revolutionary people around the world. House-to-house fighting is going on in Lebanon, as the revolutionary masses unconditionally refuse to be defeated.

In the struggle against superpower hegemonism and Arab reaction, the Palestinian resistance movement has undergone a realignment. The Rejection Front of the PLO, and Al Fatah under Yassir Arafat have concluded leadership discussions. They have united to oppose all attempts to weaken the Palestinian movement. Arafat, who has historically vacillated on the question of the Palestinian mini-state, dished up by the superpowers, to derail the Palestinian people's struggle to recover the whole of Palestine, has been forced back into a more consistent anti-superpower position. This is a good thing, and will strengthen the Palestinian resistance and the Lebanese progressive movement.

There has also been talk of a partition plan as a solution to the Lebanese crisis. The partition would divide Lebanon into two areas: a Syrian controlled Moslem-Palestinian section, and a Phalangist dominated Christian sector. This is another plot of the superpowers and must be opposed! If the partition plan were to be implemented, Arab governments would be forced to recognize one side or another. This would drive a wedge in the Arab peoples' unity in the Middle East, and aid the U.S. Imperialists' and Soviet Social-Imperialists' plans for hegemony.

The Lebanese people are wholeheartedly opposed to the partition plan, and are demanding a secular state in Lebanon, united with the Arab world and against U.S. and Soviet social-imperialism. We must take up these demands of the Lebanese people and comrades and oppose all attempts at capitulation!!

Our support of the Palestinian resistance and the Lebanese progressive movement is crucial at this point. We must support their just revolutionary cause! We must oppose superpower meddling in the area, expose the U.S. Imperialists' step-by-step agreements, and the Soviet Social-Imperialists' attempts to wreck Arab unity and destroy the revolutionary forces to gain a foothold in the Middle East.

The Palestinian and Lebanese peoples will surely win victory!!

VICTORY TO THE PALESTINIAN RESISTANCE AND THE LEBANESE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT!

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ARAB AND US PEOPLE UNITE TO OPPOSE SUPERPOWER MEDDLING AND HEGEMONISM: FIGHT THE DANGER OF WORLD WAR!

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RCP Helps Ruling Class

"Celebrate" Bicentennial

As the last issue of Workers Viewpoint newspaper (Vol. I, No. 4) pointed out, the Bicentennial "celebration" staged by the bourgeoisie is "part of their work among the U.S. working class and masses to numb and disarm us ideologically to prolong their rule." Through their "celebrations," the bourgeoisie tried to divert the unurge in our powerful multinational working class movement for socialism by whipping up national chauvinism and faith in bourgeois democracy to lay the groundwork for fascism and another imperialist world war.

But for all the work and money the ruling class is putting into it, they aren't getting over. The workers' disdain for the barrage of capitalist lies was clearly shown in the miserable turnout for these bourgeois Bicentennial "celebrations" across the country.

The task of communists is to thoroughly expose the class nature of these bourgeois lies. We must use these lessons of the day to bring to the workers the need for socialism and the need to build the genuine communist party of the working class. We must channel the spontaneous resistance of the working class into a mighty current for the task of overthrowing monopoly capitalism and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat.

REVISIONIST RALLY IS A BIG FLOP

As faithful collaborators of the bourgeoisie, the right opportunist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and the revisionist Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) and "Communist" Party, U.S.A. ("C"PUA) organized two Bicentennial rallies in Philadelphia over the Fourth of July, peddling their revisionist and economist lines under the cover of "communism."

The PSP/"C" coalition rally was a flop as far as the workers were concerned. These revisionists showed themselves to be faithful agents of the bourgeoisie by raising the same blatant appeals to national chauvinism and illusions of bourgeois democracy as their capitalist masters. They raised slogans such as "Bicentennial Without Colonies or Repression," trying to swindle the workers into thinking that there can be no imperialism or repression under monopoly capitalism, that imperialism and repression are mere "policies" and not intrinsic to monopoly capitalism. They only raised independence for Puerto Rico and did not take a stand with the international proletariat to support all national liberation struggles. This shows how they are narrow nationalists to the bone. The revisionist politics of the coalition appealed to the marsh forces who have been sorted out as the genuine communist movement surged forward. The PSP contingent in the march was dwarfed by a swarm of gay liberationists and other petty bourgeois elements from past spontaneous movements who could not move into the new period.

In spite of the RCP's phony gesture of inviting the PSP-"C" coalition to do "open polemics," while it has consistently shied away from polemics with the genuine Marxist-Leninist forces in the anti-revisionist communist movement for fear of being exposed, the content of RCP's rally was in essence the same as the revisionist coalition. The thoroughly economist line of the RCP serves in essence the same class-collaborationist role as the PSP-"C"PUA.

PRAGMATIST RCP BELITTLES CONSCIOUSNESS OF WORKERS

The "Rich Off Our Backs" July 4th demonstration was a lively demonstration of how the RCP has completely abandoned our communist task of conducting propaganda to the broad masses, especially the advanced workers. Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, delivered the same worn-out May Day speech he gave two years ago. There was no propaganda on the role of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought as the theoretical

basis guiding our thinking. In fact, the words MLMTTT were not even mentioned. He shamelessly defined communism as "nothing but in common." Instead of exposing the class nature of the monopoly capitalists, he said that they are just like tapeworms in society.

As for the strategy and tactics of proletarian revolution, Avakian left it to nothing more than "getting rid of Al Capone and Bugsy Moran" (he wanted to mean US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism), and "seizing the time to drive the stake through Dracula's heart." Such fairy-tale type propaganda is downright anti-working class. Does Avakian think that the working class is too backward for the science of MLMTTT?

In the name of "applying Marxism to the experience of the masses in a down-to-earth militant and lively way" (Revolution, July), RCP resorts to the "strength of the old world" -- bourgeois ideology. In fact, they become the happy collaborators of the bourgeoisie by freely borrowing from the anti-communist propaganda of the bourgeoisie. Avakian declared in his speech, "what's wrong with 'brainwashing'? I believe that the brain is like anything else: if it's dirty, then you gotta wash it!" So this is how a chairman of a supposedly communist party interprets the duty of communists to transform ourselves and change the subjective world in the course of changing the objective world!

The RCP demonstration chose to focus especially on the "American rulers" because they thought that "the American workers are much more likely to understand that the New Tsars are pushing towards war. Our capitalists -- our rulers -- are doing plenty of 'education' on this point themselves." (Revolution, July, p.14) This totally liquidates the task of communists to give a scientific analysis of the contention of the two superpowers and the greater danger of Soviet social-imperialism as the source of world war. Instead, the RCP substitutes bourgeois anti-communist propaganda as a form of attack on social-imperialism instead of communist exposure.

In WV Journal vol. II, no.2 (#4), we pointed out that the communist movement is entering into the third period, when political line is the key link. We said

"principally because of the emergence of the mighty, irreversible trend based on building the party on the ideological plane, and secondarily because of the flow of the mass movement -- because of this 'totality of historical conditions' today the second period of the communist movement has ended." (p.99)

The first period of the communist movement lasted until 1972. It was the period of eclecticism where the forces emerging out of the spontaneous anti-war and national movements were groping for direction and guidance. The RCP (then the RU) played a leading role in that period, affirming the general truths of MLMTTT as the guiding theory of the proletarian revolution in the U.S. and the working class as the main force in making the revolution. However, RU was sorted out in the second period when it failed to grasp the role of theory and persisted in its "practice, practice, practice" line.

As the communist movement is moving into the third period, the pragmatist RU has shown itself totally incapable of providing communist leadership to the working class. Their reports on workers' struggles in the Revolution are tireless chants about how workers were united and how workers fought back. As Lenin pointed out, this is confining "propaganda" to working class hostility to capitalism instead of "undertaking the organization of the political exposure of [monopoly capitalism] in all its aspects." (What is to Be Done?)

The July 4th demonstration showed RCP's further political degeneration, falling

back into the first period of eclecticism. In the demonstration, they pulled out of the garbage can such co-opted slogans as "Power to the People," which has absolutely no working class content. The banner of one contingent in the RCP rally even read "Youth in Action, Fighting for Satisfaction"!

In all their propaganda, they carefully avoided terms such as "bourgeoisie" or "monopoly capitalists" as if advanced workers do not see the oppressive nature of monopoly capitalism already. Instead, they preferred to coin slogans such as "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War" which neither points to the nature of imperialism nor exposes the role of the two superpowers which are fiercely preparing for world war. This shows the RCP tails behind the spontaneous consciousness of the working class, not only the advanced workers. Along with the worker quoted by Lenin in What is to Be Done?, a worker in their demonstration bluntly said, "They're not telling us anything we don't already know!"

Chairman Mao has said that "the correctness and incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." With their anarcho-syndicalist line, the RCP cannot win over advanced or even middle workers. Their economist propaganda is useless in winning advanced workers to communism. Their incorrect ideological and political line is the reason their demonstration could only draw barely 3,000 overwhelmingly petty bourgeois and student elements. This shows what the RCP can draw out organizationally with six months of nationwide promotional campaigns, resorting to bourgeois publicity and public relations gimmicks. The Philadelphia demonstration was a clear sign of the quickening degeneration of the RCP and its desertion of the working class. In a report to the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China we learn that:

"If one's line is correct, even if one has not a single soldier at first, there will be soldiers, and even if there is no political power, political power will be gained." (p.17)

In the rally, the RCP had to resort to force to physically prevent anyone in its ranks from buying a WVO newspaper or talking to our propaganda teams. Instead of principled struggle, RCP engineered mindless chants of "Rich Off Our Backs," "No Rich Man's War," and "Jobs or Income Now" in attempts to drown out our communist propaganda. In practice, the military parade style of RCP's march was designed to shield their friends and cadres from ideological and political struggle, fearing exposure of their thoroughly right opportunist lines.

The marsh OL liberals fled before RCP's threats. The forces of WVO persisted in struggle and exposure against this thoroughly bourgeois line.

THE REVOLUTIONARY TREND HAS SEEDS EVERYWHERE IN OUR MOVEMENT

The cracks are appearing in RCP, as more and more workers and communists refuse to be force-fed a steady diet of opportunist garbage which supports bourgeois ideology in the name of exposing it. We call on all genuine communists to unite in ruthlessly exposing the right opportunists in our movement, represented by the RCP and OL. The struggle over the July 4th demonstration shows once again that the victory of the genuine Marxist-Leninist and proletarian revolutionary line in the U.S. is inevitable!

build the party on the
proletarian ideological
plane
grasp the key link of
political line!

Rubber Workers....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

little sop is divided among the labour ministers, "labour representatives", labour members of war industries committees, labour officials, workers belonging to the narrow craft unions, office employees, etc., etc., is a secondary question.

"On the economic basis referred to above, the political institutions of modern capitalism -- press, parliament, associations, congresses, etc. -- have created political privileges and sops for the respectful, meek, reformist and patriotic office employees and workers, corresponding to the economic privileges and sops. Lucrative and soft jobs in the government or on the war industries committees, in parliament and on diverse committees, on the editorial staffs of "respectable" legally published newspapers or on the management councils of no less respectable and "bourgeois law-abiding" trade unions -- this is the bait by which the imperialist bourgeoisie attracts and rewards the representatives and supporters of the "bourgeois labour parties".

(Lenin, "Imperialism and the Split in Socialism", LCW, Vol. 23. On Trade Unions, p. 294, 296.)

In other words, once these trade union misleaders get to the top, they have good economic and political privileges to work for the monopoly capitalists and to sell out the working class. That's why we always have to watch out for what they do, and not what they say.

TURN OUR ECONOMIC STRIKE INTO A POLITICAL STRIKE AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE

Our strike is a part of the working class upsurge that is spreading like wildfire across the country. It must be used to unite and educate the working class in our revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie. That's why, as communists, we must lead the working class to turn this economic strike for wages and an improved standard of living into a political strike that will shake the very roots of monopoly capitalism. We must direct this strike not only at the big 4 but the entire monopoly capitalist system and its social props. The bourgeoisie and its agents have tried to play up this struggle as only a struggle to catch up for losses in wages.

But the intensifying economic crisis has brought poverty and ruin to the entire working class, eroding our wages, eating at our standard of living and viciously throwing our class brothers and sisters into the streets. It is monopoly capitalism that is oppressing the rubberworkers and not only the big 4. The state of the rubberworkers is no exception. It is only more magnified because they have gone for 3 years without a COLA clause to even begin to stem the rampant rate of inflation.

In order for the working class to get rid of the diseases of capitalist society, there is only one solution: the armed overthrow of the monopoly capitalist class who own all the major industries, including the rubber giants, the breaking up of the capitalist state, and the setting up of the dictatorship of the proletariat -- where the workers rule and suppress the capitalist exploiters. This is the only way for the working class to liberate itself from depression and inflation, unemployment and lay-offs, once and for all. As long as capitalism exists, these evils will exist.

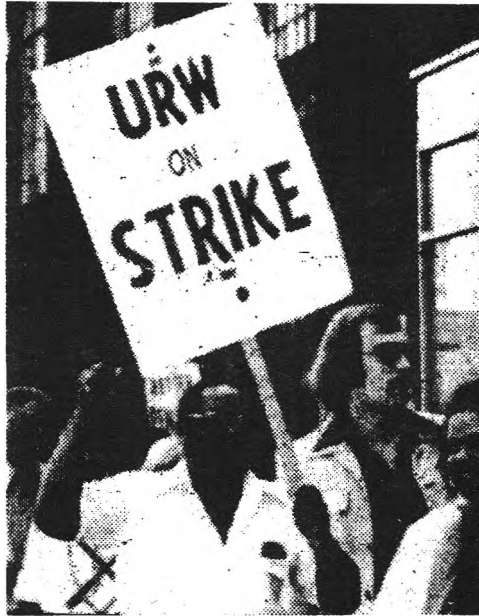
The working class cannot win the battle against capital unless it is guided by the most advanced party -- the genuine vanguard of the working class -- a revolutionary Communist Party of the type Lenin and Mao Tsetung built, a Bolshevik party. The building of this party in the U.S. is the principal task of all genuine communists and advanced workers in the U.S. today.

As class conscious leaders of the working class, we must link every immediate struggle for reforms, improvement

in our standard of living, to the whole, to the struggle for socialism. As our great revolutionary teacher, Lenin, said:

"Revolutionary Social-Democracy has always included the struggle for reforms as part of its activities. But it utilises 'economic' agitation for the purpose of presenting to the government, not only demands for all sorts of measures, but also (and primarily) the demand that it cease to be an autocratic government. Moreover, it considers it its duty to present this demand to the government on the basis, not of the economic struggle alone, but of all manifestations in general of public and political life. In a word, it subordinates the struggle for reforms, as the part to the whole, to the revolutionary struggle for freedom and for socialism." (Lenin, What Is To Be Done? In On Trade Unions, pp. 101-02)

As communists, we are the staunchest and most consistent fighters for immediate gains and for consistent democratization, improvements in our standard of living and working and living conditions. But everywhere and always, we must link this struggle to the final aim of socialism. To do otherwise is to turn traitor to the working class. Therefore, we must turn this economic strike of the rubberworkers into a political strike against the entire bourgeoisie and its agents that enslave us.



COMMUNISTS MUST LEAD WORKERS TO TURN economic strike against big 4 into political strike against capitalism.

As the clashes between antagonistic classes intensify, the trade union misleaders will be forced to approve strikes.

"...but they do this under pressure from the workers or for demagogical purposes; they try, not always successfully, to have strikes conducted peacefully and quietly, without demonstrations, without creating any disturbances, and within the bounds of bourgeois norms and legality. They want to lead the strike movement towards pacifism, and bourgeois reformism, to make it apolitical." (Filip Kota, Two Opposing Lines in the World Trade Union Movement)

We must not allow these bourgeois agents to subvert our strike. We must reject pacifism and reformism. We must link up the programs and tactics of the TUMs with the class struggle. Guided by the science of MLMTTT, we use our concrete and immediate experience to disclose and grasp the class nature of our enemies. Today the trade unions are under the leadership of the labor aristocracy, the bribed strata of bureaucrats. We must link up our economic demands with political demands and go beyond the bounds of legality to take back control of our unions. This can only be done by ruthlessly exposing the opportunists and misleaders in our own ranks, and by promoting the leadership of the best and most advanced representatives of our class.

WORKERS VIEWPOINT, August 1976, p. 13

At this time, communist propaganda is our chief form of activity as communists. This propaganda must be done in the thick of class struggle, aided by agitation, linked up to concrete issues, and must be in the context of providing communist political leadership to the day-to-day immediate struggles of the workers.

Propaganda is especially important today in order to identify and consolidate the advanced workers in the working class, who will become part of the cadre core of professional revolutionaries of the yet to be formed genuine communist party. Advanced workers at this time must be open to studying MLMTTT and must be independent leaders of the working class, staunch and consistent fighters who are able to win the confidence and trust of the class. Being advanced elements they are active, and have a critical mind and combative spirit. So they are not passively open to socialism or indifferent towards it. They actively seek it out and take a stand on it through contacts with communists. Their scope is broad so they are able to generalize, have a "philosophical mind" so they can theorize and see beyond their own oppression, link it up with other oppressed workers, oppressed nationalities and oppressed people around the world.

The strike of rubberworkers, which is in its 15th week, is a militant and revolutionary struggle of the working class in the face of this deepening economic crisis. Wave upon wave of advanced workers are coming forth thirsting for Marxist-Leninist theory.

Today, with inflation and recession looming over the drooping shoulders of the bourgeoisie, they can no longer stimulate the one to cover the other, like they did in the "good old days." No longer able to absorb any more deficits, the bourgeoisie can only resort to greater centralization to prepare for more repressive attacks on the working class and to throw out worthless paper reforms like the Busing Plan and the ERA to try to split up our ranks and weaken our resistance. Under these conditions sham bourgeois democracy, the best shell of political rule of the monopoly capitalist class, is beginning to crack and is bound to shatter in the face of the inevitable death of imperialism and the inevitable upsurge of working class resistance and proletarian revolution.

The militant and fighting spirit of the working class demonstrated by the wave of strikes that have jumped up across the country -- San Francisco municipal workers, the New York City hospital workers, the Illinois Bureau of Employment Security workers, the Chrysler Trenton Plantworkers, the Westinghouse workers, the rubberworkers and many more -- are clear signs of the rising consciousness of the working class in grasping the necessity of waging a tit-for-tat struggle against the attacks from the monopoly capitalist class. It is through these struggles and through the active role that Communists play in providing leadership in the thick of class struggle that the best and most advanced brothers and sisters of our class will come forward to join in the most urgent task of building a genuine Communist Party that will fight in the interests of the working class and all oppressed people for the victory of socialism.

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See page 11

Historical Lessons of Munich

EXPOSE THE SUPERPOWERS' CONTENTION FOR WORLD HEGEMONY !

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

WE HAVE MUCH TO LEARN FROM HISTORY. BEFORE WORLD WAR II, THE MUNICH PACT WAS AN EXAMPLE OF APEASEMENT OF THE GERMAN FASCISTS, OF LURING HITLER TO THE EAST, TRYING TO ENCOURAGE HIM INTO STARTING A WAR AGAINST SOVIET UNION.

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

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

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

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

tegic materials, petroleum and rubber. Therefore, U.S. and British monopoly capital started as early as the 1920's to help Germany gain the advance technology for refining petroleum from coal and other material, and making synthetic rubber. U.S. monopoly capital helped Germany produce magnesium, beryllium, aluminum, tungsten, and many other strategic materials, signed all kinds of contracts with the German government to provide armaments and munitions, and secretly exported large quantities of explosives, machine guns and other materials to Germany. According to figures published in the U.S., monopoly capital invested about \$1 billion in Germany, and built more than 60 arms industrial enterprises to produce trucks, cars, tanks, radio equipment, airplanes and other weapons and military facilities for the German troops. The U.S. government approved the sales to Germany of patents on motors held by the capitalists. The investment of British monopoly capital in Germany was approximately 200 million marks. The largest French armament trust, Schneider-Creusot, became world-famous for the large quantities of arms it provided Germany. It was an open secret at that time that the U.S., British, and French imperialists disregarded the limitations imposed on Germany by the Versailles Peace Treaty, supported and assisted Germany in rearming.

REVOKING THE ARMS LIMITATIONS ON GERMANY

After coming to power, Hitler on the one hand did his utmost to create the illusion of "all quiet on the Western Front," saying that Germany did not have any conflicts with the western countries "over questions of principle, matters of life and death or of any importance," that they wanted to implement "peaceful cooperation," and agreed to the signing of "any solemn mutual non-aggression treaties." On the other hand, he said, "Germany is very uneasy about the armaments of Russia," wanting to make the west believe that German rearmament is aimed eastward. Pushed by Hitler's propaganda, all of a sudden it became a popular theme for the western ruling class to advocate allowing Germany to rearm. A British capitalist politician clamored:

"It is unquestionable in my view, and I am deeply convinced that one day we will allow the Germans to expand their armaments, or they will want to rearm themselves. Considering the terrible danger from the east, an unarmed Germany is like a ripe apricot waiting to be picked by the Russians."

The British representative to Geneva's International Disarmament Conference made a proposal to amend the arms limitations imposed on Germany by the Versailles Treaty, to allow Germany to have a 200,000-man army. Meanwhile, with the support of Great Britain, Italy proposed that Germany, France, England, and Italy enter into a "Four Power Convention." The draft Convention stipulated: 1.) Amend the Versailles Treaty, eliminate limitations on Germany; 2.) recognize that Germany has equal rights in armaments as the other countries; 3.) the four countries are to coordinate with each other on important international questions. However, due to the opposition of the people and the internal contradictions among the western countries, the above proposals were not adopted. This series of statements and activities nevertheless encouraged the German Fascists, and tolerated their flagrantly violating the Versailles Treaty to carry out arms expansion and war preparations openly and on a large scale.

Shortly after coming to power, Hitler sent Schacht to the U.S. to discuss with the U.S. monopoly capitalists the question of giving further assistance to the rearming of Fascist Germany. They entered into many large-quantity munitions deals. Hitler ordered the German Army increased from 100,000 to 300,000 by October 1, 1934, naval personnel increased 100%, the continued building of submarines in Finland, Holland and Spain, and the start of construction of 26,000-ton cruisers. Then Minister of "civil aviation" Goring received orders to step-up the training of pilots and the manufacturing of military planes so as to build a powerful air force.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 15

Chapter 3: Helping Germany To Rearm

HELPING GERMANY TO SECRETLY REARM

The Versailles Treaty had set limitations on the German military forces. However, German militarist forces were not reconciled to the defeat they suffered in WWI. Harboring ambitions of making a comeback in contending for world hegemony, they started activities of rebuilding the armed forces right after the end of the war.

Although the gathered German General Staff was disbanded in name, its basic forces gathered in Berlin under the names of "construction corps," "research department," and "Ministry of Education," still carrying out war preparations. The 100,000 troops allowed under the Versailles Treaty in fact became a troop of 100,000 officers. Even Churchill saw this; he said:

"This small force will become a cell, a furnace. When possible, a big army of millions will come from this nucleus, from this furnace. These 100,000 men will be the leaders. Once they decide to expand, soldiers will become sergeants, sergeants will become senior officers."

As for the navy, various naval organizations were restored under the signboard of civil administration institutions. Submarines were built secretly, naval bases restored, with personnel far exceeding the limit imposed by the Treaty. The Treaty stipulated that Germany must disband its air force. However, air force agencies were secretly established within the army and large numbers of air force personnel were placed in the army. At the same time, under the cover of civil aviation, various measures were adopted to gather the strength of the air force, to train pilots, to build airplane factories and to expand airport facilities. Munitions

factories from before were maintained under the disguise of serving civil purposes. Large sums of "construction loans" provided by the U.S., Great Britain and others were used to set up new military industries. Weapons and other military equipment were collected in the name of civilian organizations. Warehouses for storing weapons were spread all over the country, forming a storage network. The king of munitions, Krupp, admitted in his notes:

"the work on war material gave our enterprises the most rigorous test... it was especially difficult during the period of 1919-1933." However, during these years, "the work did not cease. When the required time came, we were able to serve the German National Defense Force without the least delay in time or work. The most important varieties of guns and artillery used between 1939 and 1941 were all readied before 1933."

The supervisory organs originally established by the Western imperialist countries in Germany knew full-well that Germany was openly and flagrantly violating the Peace Treaty and expanding its arms. However, the rearmament of Germany suited their goal of pushing Germany eastward against the Soviet Union. Especially after the total smashing of the three armed interventions by the western imperialist countries against Soviet Russia in the post-war years of 1918-1920, they felt that they could not gain victory by just relying on their own forces. So they relied even more on colluding with Germany and pushed it eastward against the Soviet Union. Consequently, not only did they not attempt to end the rearming of Germany, but actually provided support and assistance to this process.

Germany lacked the two important stra-

Hitler ordered that the productive capacity of synthetic petroleum be increased to 300,000 tons by 1937 in order to produce synthetic rubber on a large scale. The German Defense Works Committee mobilized close to 240,000 factories to produce war material. Germany gradually publicized this whole series of rearmament efforts in violation of the Peace Treaty. The German delegation to the International Disarmament Conference formally proposed that all limitations on German rearmament be eliminated. This demand won Great Britain's support. The Thames newspaper called this demand the "timely rectification of this inequality." The British newspaper New Nation appealed for the realization of "the principle of unconditional recognition of the equality of states." Britain's attitude further emboldened Germany. On October 14, 1933, with the excuse that there was inequality in arms against it, Germany withdrew from the Geneva Disarmament Conference, and five days later announced its withdrawal from the League of Nations so as to shake off the arms expansion limitations imposed on it. On December 18, The German government sent a memorandum to France, demanding that Germany have the right to equality in armaments. On February 19, 1934, Goring declared that Germany should have a "National Defense Air Force," with its strength equal to 30-40% of the total strength of Germany's four neighbors: France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. On March 29, 1934, Germany announced its military budget for 1934-1935, which stipulated that military aviation expenditures be increased from 7.8 million to 210 million marks, army expenditures be increased from 344 million to 574.5 million marks. Western imperialist countries did not oppose Germany's series of demands for revoking the Versailles Treaty and sharply increasing the military budget. They wanted to slide by, allowing Germany to rearm but not formally striking down the military provisions of the treaty that limited Germany, thus hoping to maintain their initiative.

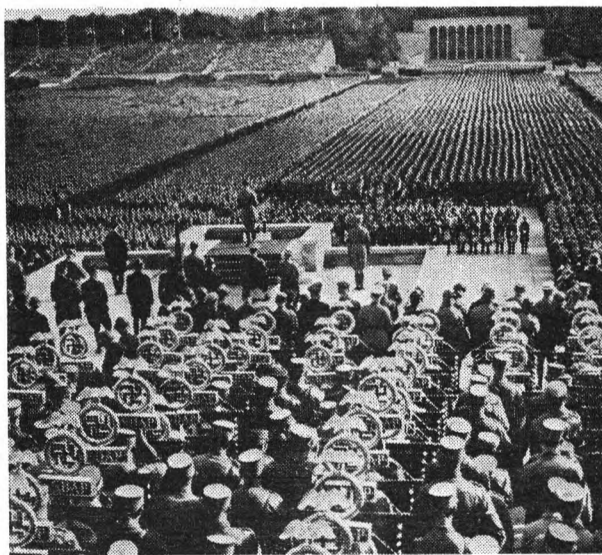
In February, 1935, Great Britain and France jointly put forward a proposal to Germany, requesting that it participate in a general conference with the western countries to consider the questions of "equal rights" for Germany and the "complete solution to the European question." Hitler took this opportunity to play a trick. In his intentionally muddled reply he requested that bilateral talks be held before the general conference, and invited a British representative to Germany for negotiations. British Foreign Secretary Simon happily accepted the invitation and planned to go in person. To further test the stance of the western countries, Hitler decided to create before Simon's visit a fait accompli which would seriously violate the military provisions of the Versailles Treaty. He therefore declared on March 10 that Germany already had an air force. On March 16, he promulgated a decree establishing a "National Defense Force," implementing general conscription, and demanding that 12 corps and 36 divisions be set up during peacetime, with about 500,000 men. This amounted to openly tearing up the military provisions of the Versailles Treaty.

As Hitler had expected, France and Britain did not adopt any concrete actions to meet his challenge. They only superficially sent "protests" to Germany and proposed that the League of Nations discuss the question of Germany's violation of the Versailles Treaty. Even more absurd, at the end of the mild "protest" note from England, it asked Germany: "The Government of Great Britain would like very much to know if the Imperial Government is still willing to have Simon's visit carried out according to the formerly agreed to limits and objectives?" Hitler was most happy about this and quickly provided an affirmative answer.

On March 25, Simon arrived in Germany for talks with Hitler. Hitler carried favor with England by talking about "the threat of the Soviet Union" and saying that "Germany has no defense capability," describing Germany's rearming as being aimed only at the Soviet Union. Since Hitler saw that Great Britain was not at all alarmed by Germany's rearming, he openly de-

clared to Simon, "We will never allow anyone to touch the general conscription system," "Germany's army and air force must be equal to the strongest army and air force of our neighbors." When discussing the air force concretely, Hitler not only reiterated that Germany already had an air force, but also boasted that "in this regard we are already equal to Great Britain." These acts by Germany violating the treaty and expanding arms received the silent consent of the British representative. According to the memoirs of the interpreter who served at this meeting, "the meeting was conducted in a happy atmosphere." Simon listened attentively to Hitler, "with expressions of understanding" on his face. No wonder Hitler said when leaving the conference room: "We have made a very good contact."

Fascist Germany's open scrapping of the Versailles Peace Treaty's provisions on military limitations, and its large-scale arms expansion and war preparations met with opposition from the people of the various countries. In particular, the people in Britain and France strongly demanded their governments take determined measures against the threat of Fascism. However, the British and French capitalist governments did not change their policy of allowing Fascist Germany to rearm. Under the pressure of public opinion, and in order to deceive and pacify the masses, they did put on a front and held a summit conference, along with Italy, in April of 1935 in the city of Stresa, in northern Italy, to discuss the question of Germany's violation of the Peace Treaty and its arms expansion. For window dressing, the conference expressed "regrets" about Germany's actions, adding that they support a resolution to condemn Germany when the League of Nations discussed this question. What was important was the fact that no sanctions were imposed on Germany at all, which in fact told Germany that western countries would not take any action if Germany continued its arms expansion and war preparations, thus in reality recognizing the fait accompli created by Germany of scrapping the military provisions of the Versailles Treaty.



NAZI PARTY DAY, 1935...
FASCIST GERMANY FRANTICALLY REARMED to prepare for war, with the help of U.S. and western imperialists.

THE ANGLO-GERMAN NAVAL ACCORD

Soon after the meeting at Stresa, Hitler proclaimed himself the standard-bearer of the "crusade" against the Soviet Union, announcing that "we are ready to sign pacts of mutual non-aggression with the entire world, but at no time will we be ready to sign a treaty of mutual assistance with the East. Germany will never fight on behalf of the Bolsheviks. I would rather be hanged than sign such a treaty." Subsequently, on May 21, 1935, he made his "peace speech," a luring lullaby of "all's quiet on the western front." He said that Germany did not want war, that war was meaningless, useless, and disgusting. "Nazi Germany wants peace because of its basic conviction." What will be realized in our age is the resurgence of the West.... Germany can make an indelible contribution to this task. This is our proud hope and unalterable conviction." In this speech, Hitler also

attempted to move forward under the guise of retreat, and demanded an expansion of the German navy. He said, "Germany has neither intention, nor necessity nor the means to engage in new competitions in naval forces." It was announced that Germany was willing to restrict its navy to a level corresponding to thirty-five percent of the British navy. Such sugar-coated words were welcomed by the western powers. The Times of London stated unabashedly, "It turned out to be a rational, frank and comprehensive speech.... No one can doubt that the policy proposals made by Mr. Hitler can form an adequate basis for the settlement of the German issue -- to replace a defeated Germany that had peace imposed on it sixteen years ago, by a free, equal and powerful Germany.... It is our hope that this speech will be recognized throughout the world as an honest and carefully considered statement of true intentions."

The worst fear on the part of the British government was that Germany might have other considerations which would impede its military expansion. Thus the British urgently sought to start negotiations with Germany in order to eliminate all obstacles for the expansion of German armed forces. In June, the German representative, Ribbentrop, was invited to London for naval negotiations. The fascist envoy, at the first negotiating-session, haughtily proposed that the ratio between the German and British fleets should be 35:100, and no less. Furthermore, he stated that the proposal of Hitlerite Germany was not subject to any bargaining, the British could take it or leave it. Even other German delegates on hand felt uneasy with Ribbentrop's rudeness, fearing a complete failure with the British breaking off the negotiations. But the final result was just the opposite, for the British continued their efforts to please the Germans. The reply came the next day, saying that the British government was ready to agree to the German request. Thus an Anglo-German naval accord was smoothly and speedily concluded.

According to the accord, the German fleet could increase its total tonnage to thirty-five percent of that of the British fleet. At that time the total tonnage of the British fleet was 1,200,000 tons, while that of Germany was a mere 78,600 tons. It then followed that Germany could expand its own fleet by more than four-fold, to a total of 420,000 tons. In addition, the accord also allowed Germany to include submarines in its navy, with the stipulation that in peacetime, the number should be 45% of that of the British navy, while under unusual circumstances this quota could be exceeded, provided only that the British government was kept informed. Thus, there was in fact no limit on German submarines. The conclusion of the Anglo-German naval accord had been carried out by the British without the involvement of France and other allies. This was the first time that a major participating state and guarantor state of the Treaty of Versailles had officially proclaimed the lifting of naval restrictions stipulated by the peace treaty against Germany. Even reactionary politicians in Britain were forced to admit that the British signing of the accord "not only argued for, but also approved, acts sabotaging the peace treaty."

For a long time, the strategic deployment of the British navy had been a dispersing of its fleets among the thirteen bodies of water throughout the world, with less than one-third of its strength deployed in the seas around Britain. The implementation of the Anglo-German naval accord implied that the German fleet would equal or even surpass the strength of the British home fleet, because the latter was small in size to begin with, and it too was dispersed among different bodies of water. This way, the German navy would become the most powerful naval force in Europe. Britain was willing to face this kind of situation for two reasons: it had already been lulled by Hitler's lullaby of "all's quiet on the western front," and failed to sense the German threat to itself; furthermore due to Britain's desire for an early German move toward the east, there was the need to help Hitler create a powerful naval force as soon as possible through the naval accord, so that they could take on the Soviet fleets in the Baltic Sea and North Sea.

Heroism Under Dictatorship of Proletariat

CHINA APPLIES MASS LINE TO FIGHT
NATURAL DISASTERS.

(text of a telegram)

August 1, 1976

Chairman Mao Tse-tung
Central Committee
Communist Party of China
Peking, China

Comrades:

We are deeply concerned to hear of the damage to property and lives caused by the natural calamity in the northeastern region of China.

The Chinese masses -- the workers, peasants and soldiers -- under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of China, were quickly mobilized to carry out the orderly evacuation of millions of people and to provide relief to stricken areas. The people of the world also greatly benefitted from China's accomplishment of forecasting earthquakes and preparing the people, which are based on the mass line.

We are greatly inspired by accounts of heroism of the Chinese people, many themselves injured, in selflessly helping others during the earthquake, and of the quick and selfless acts of the People's Liberation Army. This shows the deep class love between the people and the army which is possible only in the superior social system of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, because in the U.S. the army serves the bourgeoisie's suppression of the working class and all oppressed nationalities.

This reveals the great strength of the Chinese people under the dictatorship of the proletariat -- the dictatorship of the proletariat is firmer than ever before and revolutionary socialism is the great hope for the people of the world! It is this strength which has stricken fear into the 2 superpowers and all reactionaries who even dare think of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat in China. This shows the Communist Party of China is indeed great and glorious!

We are confident that the Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and Chairman Mao Tse-tung's proletarian revolutionary line, will turn a bad thing into a good thing, rebuild the stricken areas better than ever before, further consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and deepen the struggle against the right deviationist wind, unite the party and all the people to serve the people of China and the world.

Central Committee
Workers Viewpoint Organization
(Marxist-Leninist)
43 West 28th Street
New York, New York 10001



In the Chicano National Moratorium of August 29, 1970, Chicano workers and students rose up in a mighty fury against the imperialist war in Vietnam and demanding an end to national oppression.

IN MEMORY OF CHU TEH

Turn Grief Into Strength

Comrade Chu Teh, who died on July 6 at the age of 90, dedicated himself to the implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the liberation of the Chinese people and the cause of communism. He made particular contributions to the cause of the international proletariat in his example of putting the revolutionary military line of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought into practice.

Born of a poor peasant family in S.W. China, Comrade Chu Teh took part in the bourgeois democratic revolution of 1911 and engaged in revolutionary activities against imperialism and feudalism. In 1915 he joined the uprising against the warlords' attempts to restore the monarchy. In the course of struggle, Comrade Chu Teh came to espouse Marxism-Leninism and joined the CPC in 1922. From that time on he took an active part in revolutionary activities under the leadership of the CPC.

Under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and guided by his line on army building, Comrade Chu Teh led in the building and development of the people's army in China and the building and expansion of red bases in the struggle which finally led to overthrowing the "three great mountains" that had oppressed the Chinese people for centuries: feudalism, imperialism, and bureaucrat capitalism.

During the 26 years of arduous armed struggle against the warlords, the Japanese imperialists and the Kuomintang lackeys, Comrade Chu Teh successively served as Commander-in-Chief of the different formations of the Red Army that were developed and steeled in the struggle against the external and internal class enemies.

At his death, Comrade Chu Teh was serving the Communist Party of China and the Chinese people as a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Tenth Central Committee of the CPC and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.

Chairman Mao pointed out that "the united front, armed struggle and Party building are the three magic weapons" of the Chinese revolution. "The united front is a united front for carrying on armed struggle. And the party is the heroic warrior wielding the two weapons, the united front and the armed struggle, to storm and shatter the enemy's positions." (Mao Tse-tung, "Introducing the Communist.")

Commemorating Comrade Chu Teh today, we must take the teaching of MLMTTT on armed struggle to heart. Marx and Engels, in the Communist Manifesto, openly proclaimed the inevitability of a violent proletarian revolution. When Marx exposed the Gotha Programme he also pointed out the necessity of the vanguard of the proletariat to "systematically imbue the masses with the need for violent revolution." (Lenin, State and Revolution.) Force is the midwife of every old society which is pregnant with the new. This is the direct opposite of the treacherous lie of the "C" PUSA on the "withering away of the state" and the "peaceful transition to communism."



CHAIRMAN MAO DISCUSSING WITH COMRADE CHU TEH the military situation in China and how the Party's political and military line should be carried out.

While our principal task today is building an anti-revisionist communist party, we must also prepare ourselves militarily for the final onslaught against the bourgeoisie. In this period when the danger of world war is growing everyday and contending fiercely with the revolutionary trend, we must prepare to turn an imperialist war into a civil war. We must develop the correct political line in applying Chairman Mao's teaching on the three "magic weapons" to the concrete situation of the U.S. This is part and parcel of our party building task.

As Chairman Mao summed up for the Chinese revolution: "The party's failures or successes, its retreats or advances, its contraction or expansion, its development and consolidation are inevitably linked up with its relations with the bourgeoisie and with armed struggle. When the party takes a correct political line on the question of forming a united front...our party moves a step forward in its development, consolidation and bolshevization.... Similarly, when our party handles the question of revolutionary armed struggle correctly, it moves a step forward in its development, consolidation and bolshevization." (Mao, "Introducing the Communist.")

This shows the complete bankruptcy of the "left" opportunist line of the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization and Revolutionary Workers League that "party building is the central and only task," totally liquidating tasks of communists to lead united front struggles and prepare for the armed overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

This is the spirit in which we should commemorate the loss of our fine Chinese comrade, Chu Teh, today.

Commemorate the Chicano National

The fusion between the Chicano national movement and the U.S. working class is an irreversible trend! On August 29, 1970, Chicano students and workers from all over the country led a broad multinational coalition in a march against the imperialist war in Vietnam and demanding an end to national oppression. In particular they were protesting the disproportionately high number of Chicanos being killed and wounded in the war.

The Chicano National Moratorium was the culmination of hundreds of smaller moratoriums and conferences, such as the Second National Youth Conference in Denver and the February 28, 1970, Moratorium,

where 6,000 Chicanos marched in solidarity with the world-wide anti-imperialist and working class movements.

Demonstrators carried banners saying "FNL Vencera! -- NLF Will Win!" and "Raza Si, Guerra Aqui! -- Chicanos, Yes, Our War Is Here!" that linked up the struggles of the Chicano people against national oppression and those of the oppressed peoples of the world against U.S. imperialism and showed a firm proletarian internationalist stand. As they marched through working class neighborhoods of East Los Angeles, the largest Chicano barrio in the U.S., their ranks swelled to 20,000. Hundreds of families and students along

OLYMPIC ARENA: OPPRESSED PEOPLES WAGE POLITICAL STRUGGLE

The five interlocking Olympic rings supposedly symbolize the brotherhood of the five sections of the world. But events at the Montreal Olympics reveal that sports are not isolated from the struggle of the peoples of the world against hegemonism, colonialism, and imperialism.

Exploding the myth that the Olympic arena is "above politics", the ruling Chiang clique of Taiwan was forced to withdraw its delegation. This was the demand voiced by countries and peoples the world over, especially the masses of patriotic Chinese in Taiwan Province: to stop interfering in China's internal affairs.

And in a move displaying worldwide solidarity with the Azanian people's struggle against colonial oppression, 29 nations, spanning three continents, boycotted the Olympics. Beginning with Nigeria and Tanzania, then encompassing virtually the entire African continent, and later joined by several Caribbean and Asian nations, a total of some 700 athletes withdrew in protest over New Zealand's "continued collaboration with racist South Africa". They were protesting the presence of New Zealand in the Olympic Games, whose government had sent and partly subsidized a three-month tour of a rugby team to South Africa, immediately after the brutal suppression of widespread rebellions against the racist white-minority settler regime.

The withdrawal of the Chiang clique team, which calls itself the "Republic of China", was preceded by desperate maneuvering in the International Olympic Committee (IOC). When Canada, which has recognized the People's Republic of China as the sole representative of China since 1970, refused to allow the "ROC" team to enter the country, the IOC first threatened to close down the entire 21st Olympic Games. The U.S., meanwhile, whining over "the intrusion of politics into sports", and brandishing its big stick, threatened to pull out its team and end U.S. television coverage, a big source of Olympic funds. Finally, a "compromise" was proposed: let the Chiang team use its flag and anthem but play under the "name of Taiwan for these Games only". But this attempt to resurrect the corpse of the "one China, one Taiwan" scheme of the superpowers failed miserably.

In recent years, country after country has opened diplomatic, trade and other relations with the People's Republic; in 1971, the PRC seat was restored in the United Nations as the only legitimate representative of China, including Taiwan Province. The superpower schemes of isolating People's China -- "2 Chinas", "one China, one Taiwan", or the "independence of Taiwan" -- have become exposed to more and more people.

Taiwan has always been an inalienable part of Chinese territory and its people have always been kith and kin to their compatriots on the mainland. In 1949, Chiang Kai-shek and his henchmen, propped up by U.S. imperialism, fled the revolutionary wrath of the Chinese people and imposed their tyrannical rule over the

Moratorium!

the route joined the march to Laguna Park, later renamed Salazar Park after Ruben Salazar, one of the three brazenly murdered by police.

Fearing the tremendous strength of the national movement, the capitalists used the pretense of an incident a block away to provoke an attack by 1500 police. They tear-gassed and brutally clubbed hundreds of demonstrators who were peacefully listening to the speeches and music, and three people were murdered.

But wherever there is oppression, there is resistance! The fury of the Chicano people rose in the face of massive police

people of Taiwan province. But the people of Taiwan have always cherished the motherland and possess a glorious revolutionary tradition. In February of 1947, as part of the countrywide war of liberation, the masses of workers, peasants, and students launched an armed uprising which shook the reactionary Kuomintang regime to its foundations. And ever since, they have continued to struggle in many forms against the fascist Chiang clique; everyday the cry for liberation and unification with the motherland grows stronger.

Thus the Chiang clique was caught in a dilemma, unable to move. Unable to accept the "one China, one Taiwan" scheme because of the mass insurgent movement that it knew such a traitorous act would unleash, and finding itself increasingly isolated abroad, it was left with no choice but to pack its bags and leave Montreal.

Clearly the presence of the Chiang clique as the official representative of China is a political issue: to recognize the Chiang sports organization is an act of interference in China's internal affairs. The Chiang clique must be expelled forever from all international sports federations, including the IOC, and China's sovereign right and its seat must be restored!

SPORTS CANNOT BE DIVORCED FROM POLITICS

The events of the Montreal Olympics vividly prove that sports cannot be divorced from politics. Contrary to the myths peddled by the bourgeois press that the Olympic arena is "above politics" and should be "left to the athletes", the Olympics--and sports in general--serve

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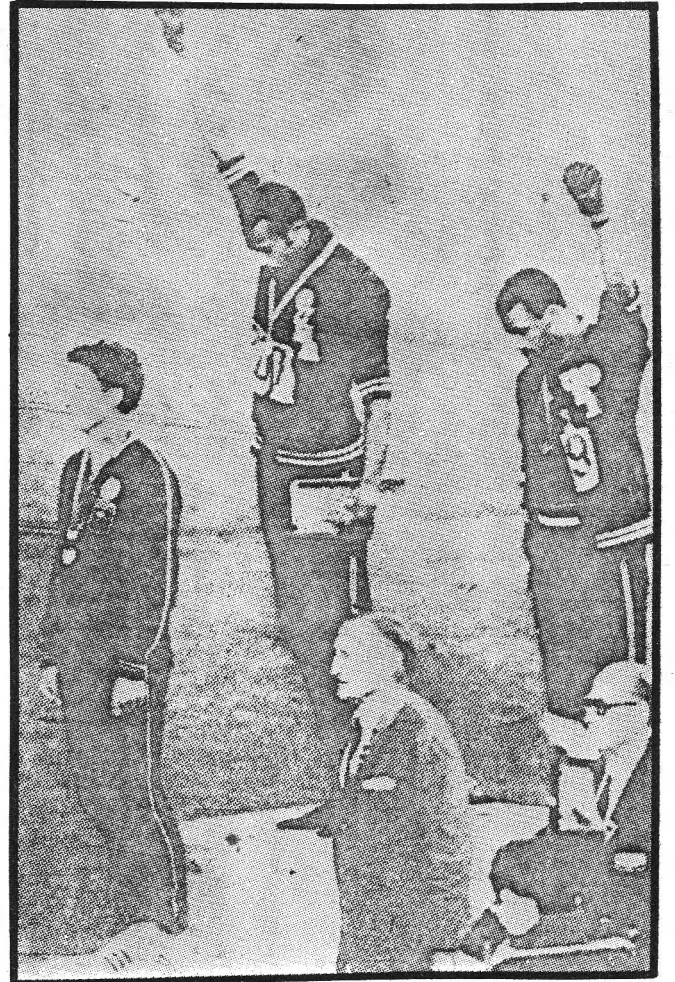
repression and they fought the agents of the state with whatever they had -- bricks, rocks, bottles, their bare hands -- and forced the police to retreat behind burning police cars.

The Chicano National Moratorium was a victory in the struggle of the Chicano people against national oppression! Rapidly following in that tradition, 200,000 to 300,000 gathered on September 16, 1970 to celebrate Mexican Independence Day. And on January 9 and January 31, 1971, thousands marched in defiance of police repression and in solidarity with working class and national liberation movements the world over.

The Chicano national movement grew out of and was a component part of the Civil Rights and anti-imperialist movements of the 1960's, during which millions of U.S. workers and students took a militant stand in solidarity with national liberation struggles abroad and against national oppression at home. The Chicano national movement represents the mighty upsurge in the Chicanos' struggle against national oppression.

As with other national movements and organizations, the petty bourgeois cultural nationalists who had some influence at that time could not provide the correct leadership to carry out the historical task of fusing the national and working class movements. Nor could the revisionist "CP"USA which openly pushes bankrupt reformist and class collaborationist lines for the Chicano national movement. They urge Chicanos to confine their struggle to "improving our language, customs, and culture," fighting against stereotypes, and uniting with the "all-American" movement. (Political Affairs, Jan. 1972, pp.36-38.)

Out of these national movements did come many advanced elements who were seeking new solutions and who turned towards Marxism-Leninism. The August Twentieth Movement (ATM), who took their name from the moratorium, was one of those organizations that adopted Marxism-



MEXICO CITY, 1968: 2 Afro-American trackmen raise their fists in the "Black Power" salute, focusing world attention on the Afro-American liberation struggle raging then, and shattering the myth that sports are divorced from politics.

Leninism. And in January of this year, Chicanos from all over the Southwest had a conference in Colorado to discuss, among other things, the role and tasks of the Chicano student movement and the national question. Independent Marxist-Leninists, M-L collectives and other advanced elements who came out of the national movement drew a clear line with the cultural nationalists and upheld the leading role of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought in giving direction to the tasks of communists in the national movement.

Today Chicanos are in the forefront of national struggles as well as struggles in the workplace, especially in the canneries and in the fields. Only Communists can provide the most staunch and consistent revolutionary leadership to the spontaneous struggles of oppressed nationalities, national minorities and the working class. Communists, in the course of putting forth communist propaganda and winning over the advanced must consolidate and raise these spontaneous struggles to the fight for socialism.

Chairman Mao said in his statement in support of the Afro-American peoples' struggle against violent repression that "The struggle of the black people in the U.S. is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class." (Statement by Comrade Mao Tse-tung In Support of the Afro-American Struggle Against Violent Repression, April 16, 1968.) This applies to the Chicano and all other national movements.

Under the correct leadership of our vanguard communist party, steered in struggle and guided by the science of MLMTTT, communists must help carry out this task of fusion and lead the great U.S. multinational working class in its historic mission of overthrowing U.S. monopoly capitalism, establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and marching on to communism!

DYING SCREAMS... CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

Wash. D.C. African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) chapters and purged those who held WVO's party building position and even members who they suspected held WVO's party building position. Trying to be "consistent," the "left" clique attempted to force RWL's party building position as a principle of unity on the entire ALSC, and thus liquidating ALSC and its proletarian internationalist duty of supporting liberation struggles in southern Africa, which is objectively a social chauvinist position! The forced Oztovist mood and panic continued as similar purges took place in the February First Movement (FFM) and the Puerto Rican Student Union (PRSU). When the Wash. D.C. WVO forum was scheduled, the Wash. D.C. RWL chapter cancelled the African Liberation Day events "in order not to bow to spontaneity." For the WVO forum in Durham, N.C., the RWL leadership panicked for fear of their local leadership's inability to defend their "left" line and flew in national leadership to defend their hopeless, raggedy line! Due to internal and external opposition against the rapidly consolidating Trot line, PRRWO/RWL leadership unleashed waves of purges of their own cadre and leadership, in an attempt to intimidate and force immature elements in line. With each wave of purges, the remaining PRRWO/RWL leadership became more and more frenzied. Because purged cadre and leadership from both organizations have internal documents which reveal the untold careerist Menshevik line on the organizational question and the degree of opportunism and ideological and political degeneration of the line and leadership, the PRRWO/RWL clique resorted to the cry of being infiltrated by paid bourgeois agents to cover their maneuvering and opportunism; thus, the physical intimidation of their former cadres and leaders.

It was clear that these internal documents would reveal PRRWO/RWL's lying, double-dealing and opportunist ideological and political lines. This accusation of police agents and infiltrations then could be used to cover up this cesspool of opportunism. Now PRRWO/RWL could disclaim these documents as CIA/FBI lies. This is the result of opportunist panic in an attempt to cover their tracks.

The accusation of infiltrators from the state is a very serious question, and attempts at infiltration should be expected. We should have no bourgeois democratic illusions on this point. Are paid agents in PRRWO/RWL? We do not know for a fact. But the Trotskyite line and petty bourgeois frenzied panic of the "left" clique is objectively accomplishing similar results - splitting and wrecking - that a paid agent would instigate and carry out.

Every issue of the past Palante reveals internal opposition to the PRRWO/RWL leadership. The latest Palante (vol. 6, #7) unfolds a bizarre "polemic" on "Mensheviks, Right Opportunist Conciliators and paid bourgeois agents." What is clear is that some PRRWO/RWL cadre are challenging the neo-Trotskyite line of their leadership ("The Bolshevik line is up for question", p. 7) and are attempting to halt the further degeneration of both organizations into an even more isolated sect ("Bolsheviks are isolated from the Proletariat", p. 7). The cadre have raised the question of their leadership being "hegemones" ("Bolsheviks are hegemones", p. 7). This was a major accusation that the careerists in the PRRWO/RWL leadership raised against WVO around the merger to cover their petty bourgeois proprietor world outlook. Now those PRRWO/RWL cadre who were hoodwinked to believe the philistine "hegemonic" explanation of the split are raising the same charges against their leadership. In fact, the hypocritical PRRWO/RWL leadership has practically appointed themselves as the leading circle when issues of Palante state that PRRWO/RWL are "the quintessence of Marxism" and that "the international proletariat has bestowed upon us (PRRWO/RWL) the name of Bolshevik"! Comrades, dialectics is like a two-edged knife, mercilessly cutting the "left" as it attempts to cut the genuine communists!

Another effect of the rapid degeneration is the "left" clique's inability to wage polemics. The recent WVO National Tour (May 28 - June 18) provided a

clear example. In the Wash. D.C., Durham N.C., and San Francisco forums, the "left" opportunist RWL started off with a super-revolutionary posture. Yet when the "left" sloganeering, sophistry, and phrasemongering were penetrated to its opportunist essence, the RWL began to crumble. This is an important lesson for us in how to struggle with "left" opportunists. First, you have to expose their attempt to strike a posture. Second, cut through the generalizing and sloganeering. Third, pin them on the essences and concretes. And fourth, they crumble! On the character of the party, building the party on the proletarian ideological plane, RWL laughed at the fact that bourgeois ideology has a conscious and unconscious aspect and said it was an unimportant question. On the contrary, the character of the party is a fundamental question of studying Marxism and criticizing revisionism. If we do not grasp this crucial question tightly, we will inevitably degenerate. The failure to seek out and combat bourgeois trends of thought in their method of thinking in their own organizations was precisely a major cause of the degeneration of PRRWO/RWL.



On the international situation, in order to draw a line of demarcation with the WVO, the RWL had to backslide and in the course of this had to distort Chairman Mao's 1970 May 20th statement, written when the principal contradiction in the world was clearly one between imperialism and oppressed countries. The line was exposed for failure to point out the danger of world war and belittling the relative rise of the Soviet Union, the main source of war in the world today, and the rising of the inter-imperialist contradiction (see the 6/76 WV newspaper, "Expose RWL's 'Left' Opportunism on the International Situation").

The RWL's line totally distorts Chairman's Mao's May 20, 1970, statement and follows the "example" of opportunists such as the MLOC and IWK who up until late 1975 still claimed that the principal contradiction in the world was between oppressed nations and imperialism. They held to this even after the CPC had already laid out to the world that it just wasn't possible to tell which one of the 4 fundamental contradictions is principal, due to the rapid rise and sharpening of the inter-imperialist contradiction in this period of transition and instability, this period of "storms on the horizon."

RWL, MLOC and IWK try to substitute their understanding of the excellent situation today, in the context of the larger historical motion in the world, for the necessity to understand the two immediate different paths to revolution -- that either world war will lead to revolution, or revolution will prevent world war.

The RWL and MLOC opportunists take out of context their half slogan "revolution is the main trend." Doing so concretely belittles the inter-imperialist contradiction, sees it as the secondary contradiction in the world, and thus belittles the danger of world war and the need for the proletariat to get prepared to take the path of turning imperialist war into civil war.

When pinned down on their application of this general line to the situation in Angola, the RWL had to admit that Angola showed a situation where revolution was clearly the main trend. The WVO exposed this position by pointing out the logic of their "revolution is the main trend" leads to supporting the MPLA, seeing the intervention into revolutionary struggles by Cuban troops and Soviet social-imperialist support as being genuine internationalism and not seeing the contention of the 2 super-powers in Angola which can lead to world war. Concretely, the RWL/PRRWO line on the international situation as applied to Angola unites them with the Trotskyites and revisionists.

The harder the "left" line was hit and exposed, the more the RWL would draw sharper lines of demarcation and sink deeper into the swamp, because unlike the indefinite OL right opportunists, the "left" opportunists try to be "consistent." This is why a "left" deviation if not checked rapidly leads to Trotskyism, like the Progressive Labor Party. The WVO's position was that party-building being the principal task meant that it was related to other tasks and that communists must have a plan based on Marxist-Leninist theory to win advanced workers in the thick of class struggle. The RWL further deepened its boycottist line by saying that party-building is the only task and communists should not give Marxist-Leninist leadership to spontaneous mass struggles because that means "bowing to spontaneity!"

Another exposure of the "left" line took place on united front tactics. The WVO put forth the Leninist position on this question which holds that communists enter these "forbidden premises" under two conditions: (1) maintaining initiative and independence and (2) having an ability to win over some workers from misleaders. The WVO raised to the RWL that one of their leaders (Owusu Sadaukai) had participated in the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day event on October 27, sat in the section with revisionists, maintained independence and initiative and won away some of the over 17,000 people in the audience from the revisionist PSP and "C" PUSA. The RWL repudiated his participation and said that he was incorrect and operating under a right opportunist line!

Over the polemic on the political level of advanced workers today in relation to the spontaneous movement of the 60's, RWL said that the working class movement is completely fused with the communist movement historically and this cannot go backward, despite the degeneration of the CPUSA. This way they claim that advanced workers are the same as in 1899 Russia, where most of them were already communists. The "proof" they give are some workers from the national movements. This is nothing but sheer sophistry, a total confusion of advanced elements (some of whom are workers) from the past two movements, the national and student movements, and the advanced from the multinational working class movement since 1974. The polemic is around advanced workers. This is the methodology of the demagogue that hustles its cadre into place based on distortion and appeals to narrow nationalist retrograde trends of thought. This is why the "Bolshevik" (RWL's journal) whips up the RWL cadre by referring to them as advanced elements who turned themselves into Marxist-Leninists.

The "left" line of distortion and confusion continued around an analysis of party-building periods. WVO showed how in Bolshevik, the RWL first states that it is polemicalising on the question of party building periods (which Lenin explains in the conclusion of WITBD?) but uses Stalin's quote from "The Party Before and After" to substantiate their line. RWL's opportunist misleadership consciously distorts the question of periods of party building with the two general steps toward revolutionary insurrection (which Stalin refers to as periods) as laid out by Lenin in "Left Wing Communism". The question of concrete periods in party building is not a polemic over whether we are in the first general step of winning the vanguard. The question is what is the analysis of each past and present period of party building, i.e. the eclectic period, the period of fighting for the leading role of ML theory and the present period, where political line is key; what is the principal obstacle that we must overcome to "put an end to the third period;" it is a question of the way Lenin would analyze the communist movement and periods of party building.

Line by line, aspect by aspect, each forum showed that the oztovist RWL could only shout revolutionary generalities and could not apply the science to the concrete. Along with the WVO, local communists in these areas, ex-RWL cadre who resigned from RWL and FFM chapters waged ideological and political struggle against the RWL "left" line.

The "left" opportunists are true die-hards. The harder their line was exposed

and hit, the tighter and more fully developed their neo-Trotskyite line became. Failing to heed Lenin's teachings on differences and deviations, the RWL clung more tightly to their otzovist rag.

"Any difference, even an insignificant one, may become politically dangerous if it has a chance to grow into a split, and I mean the kind of split that will shake and destroy the whole political edifice, or lead, to use Comrade Bukharin's simile, to a crash."

("Once Again on the Trade Unions," Collected Works, v.32)

Initially they strike a super-revolutionary pose. Though they appear to struggle, in essence they do not. The "left" are philistines at heart. All around the country, they were called out, but they fear real engagement, point by point. They obscure principled line struggle by dodging questions and raising up generalities. When members of their mass organizations or their own cadre ask questions or present opposition, they are purged and ideological struggle is squashed. Lately, the WVO and comrades from other organizations have attempted to struggle with the RWL cadre when we see them, but the "left" opportunist leadership has ordered them not to take documents or struggle over line, unless the leadership knows first! Under the cover of security and democratic centralism, this is philistinism to the bone! In essence, cadre are ordered to put loyalty to the organization above ideological and political line struggle. In addition, under the cloak of security and democratic centralism, the RWL cadre have gone into hiding, so that they won't be forced to defend their raggedy line!

Relative to the right opportunist OL, however, the "left" fights back and forces all genuine communists to seek more clarity theoretically and practically. In fact, our struggle with the "left" clique has brought more clarity to the communist movement on party building, the international and various domestic situations around which the OL and RU have misled the communist movement all these years!

But the right opportunist OL does not fightback in polemics; they squirm in polemics and mutate their line to whatever is the current dominant mood of the day in the communist movement, whatever is "in fashion." During the first WVO forum held in Washington, D.C., we offered the OL cadre as much time as they wanted to lay out their polemics on major questions facing the communist movement. The OL liberals refused to speak! During the entire forum the OL refused to raise their hands to put forth their line. Similarly, at the Atlanta forum, the WVO asked the OL to come on the stage and make a presentation on the WVO's criticism of OL's call for a party and position on the international and domestic situations. The OL asked, could they go into the hallway to get their line together! When they did return, three cadre gave a combined ten minute(!) general response on "Black people have struggled for so many years for integration" and "OL is building a new party 'cause we are the unity trend!" etc. The OL refused to come on the stage and did not deal with one polemic! After the quick response, the OL cadre deepened their philistine attitude toward polemics by trying to run from the forum. As the Atlanta OL leadership tried to run away, a local comrade from Atlanta criticized OL for running from principled polemics and commented: "OL, after this forum, WVO will be leaving Atlanta, but we are here to stay; we work in Atlanta everyday. You will have to face us!" Comrades, even when the right opportunist OL is offered the stage, they cannot submit their polemics to the communist movement. Instead, the liberals can only fake at polemics in the Call and Class Struggle, where they can print all kinds of slander and anti-communist accusations that they do not have to defend from their "cozy, sheltered" newsroom.



Two Views on the Disintegration of the Revolutionary Wing and Two Views on Unity

Though the existence of the Revolutionary Wing was an important development in the party building motion in the U.S. communist movement, the disintegration of the Wing and the degeneration of the "left" opportunists is not a bad thing but a good thing. It represents a sorting out process, a necessary and revolutionary motion of grouping and regrouping. In the entire struggle with the otzovist RWL/PRRWO, the best elements have come forth, first breaking with right opportunism and now struggling against the "left." The experience of the rapid disintegration strengthens us even more in carrying out our central task of party building. The struggle to build the party continues despite "given persons, groups or institutions." In defeating the otzovists and liquidators of his time to further unify and develop the party, Lenin emphasized:

"From this point of view the process of unification does not necessarily take place among given persons, groups or institutions," but irrespective of given persons, subordinating them, rejecting those of them who do not understand or who do not want to understand the requirements of objective development, promoting and enlisting new persons not belonging to those 'given,' effective changes, reshuffling and regrouping within the old faction, trends and divisions." ("Notes of a Publicist," Collected Works, vol.16, p.214.)

Besides the echoes of the assorted opportunists OL, MLOC, Resistencia, there are some honest comrades who hold an objectively opportunist line on this question. This second view on the disintegration of the Revolutionary Wing is the petty bourgeois pessimistic view that the communist movement is falling apart.

This view fails to understand how opportunism in matters of organization (e.g., opportunism of PRRWO/RWL on the merger) opened a floodgate of opportunism on every other major line held by the "left" clique, and turned PRRWO's former "left" deviations into a "left" trend, and RWL's former right deviation into centrism, and then into a full-blown "left" opportunist trend. Based on the halting of the merger and the Revolutionary Wing's demise, this pessimistic view now poses the question of guarantee and insurance. To cover for an objective petty bourgeois fear of sharp turns and a new form of circle spirit, the "guarantee view" of unity now raises, "How can we insure that sufficient ideological and political unity will be built to guarantee lasting unity? The "guarantee view of unity" tendency stands above making a concrete analysis of the split, on the one hand stating disagreements with the "left" opportunist PRRWO/RWL, but on the other hand also having some disagreements with the WVO. This is a refusal to see the polemics in the framework of the struggle against an entire ideological trend represented by the present-day otzovists. In fact, this view removes the struggle out of time, place, and conditions. Comrades, we must examine the stages of the development of the question very closely and take a stand on which trend was fundamentally correct. We have no problems with comrades disagreeing with the line and practice of the WVO and we see the necessity in struggling out disagreements and arriving at the correct line. But we do disagree with comrades who refuse to see the class struggle in its concrete circumstances and attempt to stand above it and fail to state clearly their summation of a struggle which is as important as this with the "left" opportunists -- from the Marxist-Leninist stand, method and viewpoint. Lenin said: "In each of these stages the circumstances of the struggle and the immediate object of the attack are materially different; each stage is, as it were, a separate battle in one general military campaign. Our struggle cannot be understood at all unless the concrete circumstances of each battle are studied."

(One Step Forward, Two Steps Back. Progress Publishers, p208.)

The guarantee unity view refuses to grasp that a major factor in defeating the trot line of PRRWO/RWL has been externally the line struggle with WVO and internally the genuine Marxist-Leninists who struggled for this correct line.

After PRRWO's Menshevik line on the organization question, RWL first took a centrist position. The WVO pointed out that RWL's centrism was objectively shielding and aiding PRRWO's rapidly consolidating "left" opportunism. In fact, we pointed out that the RWL had become a "faction of supporters" of PRRWO's otzovism. (WV Journal #4, p.93.) Now RWL's centrism has tailed the path of PRRWO's consolidated neo-Trotskyite lines and RWL proudly carries the banner of otzovism.

The guarantee-unity view has objectively stepped into the former shoes of the RWL "faction of supporters of PRRWO's otzovism." By not fulfilling their communist duty to make a concrete analysis of the split, the guarantee-unity view shields the Otzovist PRRWO/RWL and objectively has become the new faction of supporters of otzovism.

Yet they claim:

"We are not Otzovists, we disagree with RWL/PRRWO too!"

"We are not Otzovists," cry the members of this clique. But make any of them say a few words about the contemporary political situation and the tasks of the Party and you will hear in full all the Otzovist arguments, slightly watered down (as we have seen in the case of Maximov) by Jesuitical reservations, additional suppressions, mitigation, confusion, etc."

(Lenin, "The Faction of Supporters of Otzovism and God-Building," Collected Works, vol.16, p.40.)

Comrades, though you claim you are not shielding the otzovist PRRWO/RWL and that you are not otzovists yourselves, why is it that the guarantee-unity view cannot answer the question: Why has the "left" degenerated? Which trend was fundamentally and overall correct? Comrades, your idealism which made you flip to PRRWO/RWL is the same idealism which prevents you from answering this fundamental question.

Lenin pointed out:

"Genuine dialectics does not justify the errors of individuals, but studies the inevitable turns, proving that they were inevitable by a detailed study of the process of development in all its concreteness. One of the basic principles of dialectics is that there is no such thing as abstract truth, truth is always concrete...." (One Step..Two Steps, p.207.)

Just like the OL, the guarantee-unity view is made of the same stuff, holds no side is correct in the split which feeds the right opportunism of the OL who, after the split and disintegration, jumps out and says, "I told you so." Both are guilty of eclecticism, just like Bukharin: "The gist of his theoretical mistake in this case is substitution of eclecticism for the dialectical interplay of politics and economics (which we find in Marxism). His theoretical attitude is: 'on the one hand, and on the other,' 'the one and the other.' That is eclecticism. Dialectics requires an all-round consideration of relationships in their concrete development but not a patchwork of bits and pieces.

"Why is Bukharin's reasoning no more than inert and empty eclecticism? It is because he does not even try to make independent analysis, from his own standpoint, either of the whole course of the current controversy (as Marxism, that is, dialectical logic, unconditionally demands) or of the whole approach to the question, the whole presentation -- the whole trend of the presentation, if you will -- of the question at the present time and in these concrete circumstances. You do not see Bukharin doing that at all! His approach is one of pure abstraction: he makes no attempt at concrete study, and takes bits and pieces from Zinoviev and Trotsky. That is eclecticism." (Lenin, "Once Again on the Trade Unions," Collected Works, vol.32, p.446; pp.450-451.)

Comrades of the "guarantee" line: check this out and thoroughly repudiate your line!

the workers' movement has fused. There is nothing about the development of the workers movement and the communist movement historically in the U.S.: nothing about the influence and role of the "C" P-USA; the McCarthy period; the anti-theoretical orientation of U.S. society, which Engels, Marx and Lenin spoke of; very little is said about the character of the current communist movement. Indeed, nothing really about fusion as it relates to the U.S. in particular is put forth. This is a complete failure to use theory to analyze a concrete situation, a failure to unite the general with the particular.

In the very next section, the Bolshevik fails to connect its discussion of fusion to its discussion of advanced workers except on a very superficial basis. All it really says is that opportunists "fail to understand that there has been fusion between the two great movements of socialism and the working class, that these two movements strive towards one another, and the advanced workers are the key connectors between the two." (Bolshevik, p.30.) Surely RWL you don't mean fusion in the same sense as Lenin did in Russia in the 1890's. What is the relationship of your advanced worker definition to the level of fusion (whatever you conceive it to be)? Comrades, what kind of theoretical guidance is this you are offering?

Bolshevik reflects no understanding of what it means to build the party on the ideological plane. After stating its usual truisms, it proceeds to reduce the whole matter to hunting for conscious bourgeois agents:

"...during the period up to the seizure of power, and during the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Socialism, we will have to constantly fight the bourgeoisie's agents within the party, who use the signboard of Marxism as a cover for their class collaborationist lines."

Bolshevik, p.41.

There it is! But, the RWL further exposes the profundity of its ignorance on this question by demonstrating its lack of understanding of the slogan: "study Marxism, criticize revisionism." The RWL in polemicizing against the WVO says, "...it /ideology --BOC/ results in diverting the struggle for Party, by belittling the struggle over political line, the key link, and substituting for it the task of studying bourgeois ideology, like reading books on pragmatism by Dewey; reading Thomas Jefferson 'Bourgeois Democracy,' in order to 'deepen the premises.'" (Bolshevik, p.43.)

Doesn't RWL realize that revisionism is bourgeois ideology; doesn't the RWL understand the relationship between grasping and practicing Marxism and the criticism of revisionism in its particularly concrete form as it shows itself in our struggle? What nonsense the RWL puts forth. The RWL goes on thinking that build the party on an ideological plane means running down bourgeois agents. Comrades it is clear that the representatives of the bourgeoisie within the party must be identified and expelled, but is this the essence of building the party on an ideological plane? We think not. It is clear that the RWL has not grasped what building the party on an ideological plane really means. Can the RWL approach of "agent-hunting" explain fundamentally why the Chinese have developed the campaign to study and root out Confucianism? Does the RWL view this as "diverting the struggle"?

The RWL in putting forth the line on build the party on an ideological plane actually absolutizes political line as key and liquidates the task of building the party on an ideological plane. The RWL absolutizes generality. The RWL does not recognize that generality is a product of the particularity and that truth is reflected in the general only because it exists in the particular. We know for sure that the local Mensheviks are given to generalizing about everything, but cannot get down to the particulars of anything. (The most they do is make a laundry list.) They do not grasp that the general is useful only to the degree it is united with and further develops our understanding of the particulars. In point of fact, this bourgeois outlook reduces itself to dogmas and platitudes. RWL seeks to parachute

these general truths down on reality and completely fails to grasp the stand, viewpoint, and method of the proletariat. There is no thoroughgoing analysis of concrete conditions.

In this district the Mensheviks have adopted and faithfully adhered to the national mode. If these general truths do not fit the situation, they change the facts, revise history, piecemeal it together, for it to fit. Is this not what S's paper does? Is this not the essence of W's lengthy paper in defense of the vulgar, mechanical proletarianization line? Is this not the stand, method and viewpoint of the bourgeoisie?

We got a good view of how the national RWL defends its line at the WVO forum. The cadre from the leading body put on a screaming act of Black Liberation Movement styling, while avoiding all the sharp questions raised. The comrade read straight from Bolshevik, screaming between every other sentence, "check it out." The comrade actually got into pretending she was going to respond to some specific questions, talking about "point for point," "line by line," "aspect by aspect." After this bit of theatrics, the local comrade U, who is well respected by the masses, opportunistically got up and attempted to score some points by reading from another document from the FFM. It was quickly revealed that the comrade had no idea what he was talking about. Sophistry, deception, stagecraft, opportunism to the max.

To be more specific, the WVO drew out and polemicized against concrete specific points and challenged the RWL to respond. When the WVO asked the RWL to respond specifically to whether there was unconscious as well as conscious opportunism, the RWL national rep started to shout that the "C" PUSA, "C" PSU, etc. were conscious revisionists. And so they are; but this does not answer the question. WVO charged that PRRWO held that the majority of workers were backward. The RWL national rep said that U would read a passage from Lenin to prove PRRWO was correct. WVO said that the quote the RWL would read would use the term masses and that RWL would employ sophistry to try to convince everyone that in the context of Lenin's quote masses meant majority; RWL never read the quote, nor did they further argue the point. The WVO challenged the RWL to state clearly whether in the discussion of the international situation whether "factors" and "trends" as used by the Chinese were identical; the RWL never gave a clear response, but went on babbling its generalities. It was clear to all open-minded people at the forum that the RWL was failing miserably to make good its declaration of "tit-for-tat," "line-by-line," "aspect-by-aspect." It is clear to us that the RWL is degenerating rapidly.

The comrade from the RWL national leadership kept shouting, "check it out, check it out." Well, we checked out many of the references we found in the Bolshevik. On the international situation, all of the references stand in opposition to the trotskyite line of the RWL that equates the inevitability of proletarian revolution with revolution is the main trend throughout the epoch of imperialism. The RWL in pushing the line that revolution is the main trend throughout the epoch of imperialism quoted part of a sentence from the article "Great Benefits Derive From A Good Analysis" in the booklet Study Philosophy.

The RWL states:

"In looking at main trends we must look to see if the tide of the people's revolution is the main trend, or whether the counter-revolutionary adverse current is dominant." (Study Philosophy, p.36.) To say that revolution is no longer the main trend in the world is to elevate the counter-revolutionary adverse current to the same or higher level that revolution. It is to equate world war with counter-revolution as though the development of motion toward war retards the motion toward revolution as opposed to intensifying and accelerating that motion."

Bolshevik, p.90.

The complete sentence which the RWL quoted from in Study Philosophy reads:

"In analyzing the international situation, too, one must make clear whether the tide of the people's revolution is the main trend, at present /BOC emphasis/, or whether the counter-revolutionary adverse trend is dominant." (p.36.)

Comrades, notice that the two words "at present" are left out of the middle of the sentence RWL quoted from; there is no indication of omission by the RWL! Comrades, the "at present" leaves no doubt that the Chinese are not talking about the entire epoch of imperialism. What is this except distortion, dishonesty, get-over techniques. Moreover, the article itself is about the absolute necessity for M-L analysis based on the concrete; yet these comrades are content with gross generalizations which negate the concrete.

A correct analysis of the international situation is vitally important because of the implications on strategy and tactical questions. But the RWL in order to "win the day" leads us down the incorrect road. We have here another example of the methodology of the RWL; comrades, one's methodology and world outlook are identical. The RWL national leadership has shown itself to be thoroughly opportunist in both matters of organization and politics.

THE RWL IN PUTTING FORTH THE LINE ON BUILD THE PARTY ON AN IDEOLOGICAL PLANE ACTUALLY ABSOLUTIZES POLITICAL LINE AS KEY AND LIQUIDATES THE TASK OF BUILDING THE PARTY ON AN IDEOLOGICAL PLANE. THE RWL ABSOLUTIZES GENERALITY...WE KNOW FOR SURE THAT THE LOCAL MENSHEVIKS ARE GIVEN TO GENERALIZING ABOUT EVERYTHING, BUT CANNOT GET DOWN TO THE PARTICULARS OF ANYTHING.

VIEW AND CRITICISM OF A DISTRICT OF RWL:

Our view of a district is perceptual and suffers from a lack of close contact over the last two years. However, given the limited contact we did have over the past period, combined with some historical knowledge of many of the comrades, we do have basis for a view. Perceptually, we see a district as having a solid class stand. We have seen the comrades take this stand in fighting against the class enemy. We have seen the comrades do bold self-criticism and we (this is based on historical knowledge) know many of the comrades have demonstrated in practice the orientation and strength to go against the tide. Although we see a strong class stand, we do not think that there has been a fundamental transformation of the viewpoint and method though progress has undoubtedly been made. The last point is based principally on our limited recent contact with district members (principally leadership). We will draw this point out further later. We also see the deviations of male chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism in the district. Comrades from Communist Workers Collective have expressed this and we have observed this in the development of our past liaison work. In addition, we view the district to still be under the dominance of the right line, though it has the potential of quickly uniting with the left line of the national leadership. We want to emphasize, comrades, that a strong class stand is necessary, but we must also work resolutely to develop the viewpoint and method of the proletariat:

"Wang Hung-wen said that even if one has a good stand and dares go against the tide, but cannot differentiate lines, discern genuine Marxism from sham, then one can still make mistakes and cause damage. This shows that a good stand, though most fundamental and most necessary, is by itself insufficient."

WVO Journal #4, pp.113-114.

Comrades, we want to raise some criticisms of a district around two occasions. First, the meeting BOC members had with U and secondly your role in the recent WVO forum.

A. Meeting with U.

We have summed up that U placed organizational unity over political and ideological unity and belittled the struggle for political unity. When BOC members met with U, before our discussion began, U raised the point that he viewed the break with RWL as an error. This was as U stated, based on the most scanty and general view about the character of the struggle, the lines, the conditions in our district. We stated to U that this must be a "perceptual view," as he did not have the basis to establish such a firm view. Our point is that U's position reflected a static view of organizational unity, divorced from the concrete particularities of ideological and political line. We gave U seven documents on the struggle that went down here and made approximately an hour's presentation. At the conclusion of our presentation, we asked U if he had any questions. He said he did not but he might have some after he read the documents. He then proceeded to explain to BOC comrades his situation, being a member of a democratic centralist organization, and how he would organizationally handle the matter. He explained that he would call the national office and inform them that a meeting had gone down and secondly he would share our report with this district. He expressed shock and general concern that one BOC comrade with whom he had worked relatively closely for the past ten years was no longer a member of RWL. Comrades, we united with U's view on how he would organizationally handle the matter. Our criticism is that not one political question or point of substance was raised. No struggle took place. We view this as incorrect; it belittles the task to get into the essence of matters and, in this case, we think because of incorrect view of organizational line which places organizational unity over political and ideological unity. This is true whether the comrade was sharply aware of his actions or not.

B. Participation in the WVO Forum.

We have summed up a district's participation in the WVO forum as being principally opportunistic. The specific forms were sophistry, belittlement of the struggle for political and ideological clarity, and a high degree of organizational "patriotism." We think U played the leading role but was complemented by other RWL cadre in the form particularly of the response to the "get over" style exhibitions in the presentation of the cadre from the RWL center. The following are specific points in U's presentation in which opportunism reflected itself:

Mass Organizations and Adoption of RWL/PRRWO Political Line:

The representative of the FFM charged that PRRWO and the RWL were expelling or causing to be expelled from the FFM and ALSC all comrades who did not adopt the line of PRRWO and RWL on party building. The FFM comrade generalized and stated that the RWL and PRRWO were requiring as a condition to be a member of mass organizations unity with this line. U forcefully charged that the FFM comrade was incorrect because the mass organizations he worked with (the local trade union of which he is the leading local bureaucrat) did not make such a requirement.

Comrades what kind of evasive maneuver is this? The question quite clearly is whether the PRRWO and RWL is enforcing such a policy on the FFM and ALSC, two specific mass organizations mentioned by name at the forum. To this question U gave no response nor did anyone else from the RWL. With this kind of opportunism and maneuvering, the Bolshevik continues to prate about criticism and self-criticism. Is it not clear beyond a doubt that U's response was evasive opportunism?

Advanced Worker: The WVO charged the RWL in Journal #4 and in the polemic at the forum of taking an opportunistic centrist position on the question of advanced worker. WVO struggled for a distinction between the definition of advanced worker as we find them and what advanced workers would do under communist leadership. We quote from WVO Journal #4, p.5:

"Now the RWL is taking a centrist opportunistic position. We see them slipping and sliding on the definition,

saying that 'under the guidance of communists, advanced workers will study, study, study...' Now we think that under the guidance and training of communists advanced workers will do much more than that! Under communist leadership, they will overthrow the bourgeoisie!"

Comrade U read the last part of the above quotation and seized on the fact that the WVO did not mention the party. Comrades, we think that was very opportunistic. What this sophistry amounts to is the RWL did not speak to the specific criticism. If U in fact held the position that the WVO belittled the role of the party, he should have drawn the point out in relationship to the overall line of the WVO (both in the Journal and in the polemic). But even then, the RWL had and still has the responsibility to speak to the criticism of centrist opportunism. U engaged in sophistry, stagecraft, and evasion.

WE ARE GOING TO GO HEAD-TO-HEAD, AND TO BORROW YOUR MISUSED PHRASES, TIT FOR TAT, LINE BY LINE, ASPECT BY ASPECT, TO EXPOSE THE OPPORTUNIST LINE OF THE RWL.

Letter from February First Movement Comrade:

U publicly criticized the comrade from FFM Boston for sending him a letter laying out his view of the developments in the RWL national leadership. U's criticism was based on the fact that he (U) is in a democratic centralist organization. Comrades, it appears that U liquidates everything but the organizational question. What about the conditions, the ideological and political line? We think it was correct for the comrade to wage political and ideological struggle in forms available to him (as we are doing), we disunite that organizational unity should be upheld to the exclusion of all other considerations. In our case, we don't think you would get this letter if we went through the RWL national leadership. We should do a concrete analysis of concrete conditions. To unconditionally put forth that the comrade should not have sent you a letter based on you being in the RWL and under democratic centralism is opportunistic. It continues to isolate and uphold organizational unity over the consideration of specific conditions, including ideological and organizational line.

Participation of RWL in Mass Work: U charge the FFM comrade with lying because he essentially stated that the RWL was not engaged in mass work. U used the activity in his district and the FFM comrades knowledge of these activities on which to base his charge. We think there was a correct aspect, the pointing out the example of activity in your particular area. We think however, that to in effect generalize your own experience and to represent it as the experience of the RWL as a whole distorts the question and is in fact opportunism. The question, comrades, is whether the RWL line on spontaneity and propaganda in practice leads to a withdrawal from mass work. This is a good struggle question and an important one! It must be struggled out and answered. / By the way we think your district is somewhat of an exception in the character of its ties to the national leadership; you seem to have had very little and operated quite autonomously in the past. There was also a more conscious selection process involved in the makeup of the cadre there. U has played a special role there historically and in this area; also U's stature nationally and the opportunistic use the RWL national leadership has and continues to put him to. We think you should be very careful in generalizing your district as typical of the RWL. Your district has in fact been more autonomous than most. /

Reading the FFM Statement on the Purge of the Boston Chapter:

Comrades, why was U who has not been a college student for years and who is in a district where there is no FFM chapter reading the statement? We think it was because the RWL was trying to exploit both U's oratorical ability and the respect he has amongst the masses. It was evident that U did not know what he was talking about and could not and did not engage in struggle when comrades from FFM and the BOC in Greensboro laid out a different view. We think the role U played in being used was opportunistic.

BOC CRITICISM OF WVO IN THE POLEMIC

On the question of WVO, we felt the WVO was incorrect for attempting to block U from speaking at the time he was approaching the speakers podium. In a subsequent meeting with WVO, we raised that criticism and to others. The WVO united with the criticism and went on to explain that the conditions at the forum were related to previous experiences in which the RWL used up all the time generalizing and avoiding responses to the particular questions.

SUM-UP

Comrades, we have presented our view on the RWL national leadership and raised some criticism of your district. We call on the genuine Marxist-Leninists within RWL to push the struggle forward. Bring to a halt the conciliation with opportunism. Recently the comrade who historically and most resolutely pushed the correct line in the RWL on party-building, Comrade V, has been purged because he "upheld ideology as the key link." Comrade V has written a lengthy document which the RWL is withholding from the base of the RWL and the communist movement. Comrades, it is your duty to raise the struggle sharply around the V question, secure the document, study it, go to the essence of the questions.

Chairman Mao teaches us that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." It is important to grasp, to work hard at grasping fundamentally what this profound statement means. We ask the comrades of a district to assess this statement in relationship to overemphasizing organizational line.

We call on the comrades in a district to take the scientific attitude down to the specific concrete questions. Dare to struggle; dare to investigate; dare to win. Again Chairman Mao teaches us that we should study specific actual conditions:

"We should proceed from the actual conditions inside and outside the country, the province, county, or district, and derive from them, as our guide to action, laws which are inherent in them and not imaginary, that is we should find the internal relations of the events occurring around us / BOC emphasis / and in order to do that we must rely not on subjective imagination, not on momentary enthusiasm, not on lifeless books, but on facts that exist objectively; / BOC emphasis / we must appropriate the materials in detail and, guided by the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, draw correct conclusions from it."

Mao Tse-tung, "Reform Our Study," Selected Works.

Comrades, can it be put any clearer? We must study the concrete conditions. In studying Bolshevik and other journals in the communist movement of today, it is not enough to look at quotes thrown together but to grasp the method and depth of investigation of actual conditions and to correctly unite the theories of MLMTT with concrete practice. We have attempted to do this in our study of the main questions in the communist movement today. Comrades, grasp and compare how Bolshevik approaches important questions such as:

- party-building on an ideological plane
- political line is the key link
- advanced worker
- fusion
- periods
- organizational line, etc.

Our struggle is not to save or protect the opportunist leadership of the RWL; that is not the stand of the proletariat. It is the working class and the masses of people we seek to serve. It is the stand of the proletariat which causes serious communists to break with retrograde trends, opportunist organizations, etc. Chairman Mao teaches us that:

"When confronted with issues that concern the line and the overall situation, a true communist must act without any selfish consideration and dare to go against the tide, fearing neither removal from his post, expulsion from the party, imprisonment, divorce nor guillotine. / BOC emphasis /

D.C. 37 cont'd from page 1

TRADE UNION MISLEADERS EXPOSED FOR AIDING CAPITAL LIST PLUNDER OF WORKERS

The strike is significant as the first major municipal workers' offensive against the monopoly capitalists in New York City, who are ruling the city directly through the open dictatorship of the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB).

The Local 420 workers posed a direct challenge to the sell-out trade union misleaders of D.C. 37 headed by Victor Gotbaum, who was forced to call the strike after he had exhausted all of his stalling tactics. This strike has significant lessons for communists and the working class because of New York City's role as a model of the decay of capitalism in the cities and the sell-out of the trade union misleaders (TUMs) in public workers unions, who are casting away their disguises and collaborating most blatantly with the monopoly capitalists and their state agents.

Under a city-wide three year "austerity" plan, the monopoly capitalists viciously launched a full scale attack on the standard of living of the working class, especially oppressed national minorities in the city. According to the plan, the city government will cut the budget by at least \$800,000,000 in the next three years. Since July 1975, when the plan began, all essential services have been severely cut back or closed down, hospitals, clinics, daycare centers, sanitation, libraries, public and higher education. Personal taxes will go up an average of 25% over the next three years. A new



LOCAL 420 WORKERS AT LINCOLN HOSPITAL spontaneously flooded the sinks in an effort to shut down the hospital.

state tax has also been passed. Public workers bear the brunt of the attack through layoffs by the thousands. Those who remain suffer speedups, cuts in fringe benefits, and constant harassment on their right to organize on the job.

Local 420 represents the majority of the city hospital workers (dietary, nursing, laundry and housekeeping aides), who are mostly women and oppressed nationalities and national minorities. The strike erupted after over a year of angry rank and file actions: taking control, away from the misleaders, of the hundreds of demonstrations at City Hall, the

Governor's office, the office of EFCB, and the April 26th demonstration in Wash. D.C. The rumblings mounted as sick-outs and slow-downs broke out throughout the 18 municipal hospitals in spite of the sabotage by the TUMs from within the ranks of the workers.

When Local 420 workers voted to strike in May, we demanded no more lay-offs, no more hospital closings and no more cuts in services, thus directly confronting the EFCB's three year plan.

Instead of calling the strike, Gotbaum went into "arbitration" with a "neutral" panel, representing the same monopoly capitalist interests as the EFCB - a corporate president, a college dean, and a Democratic Party boss, without consulting the rank and file. The panel's recommendations were to delay some Local 420 lay-offs and hospital closings, to shift the cuts around, but to maintain the over-all \$109 million cut. The TUMs sold out and accepted the budget limit and opposed only the most recent lay-offs.

But the panel's bogus recommendations didn't cool the workers at all. When the Local 420 workers heard the recommendations, plus received pink slips for 2,000 workers and the threat of 4,000 more, we reached the boiling point! Therefore, Gotbaum's stalling tactic, to allow the bourgeoisie to make up its mind on where to make the cuts, gave way to a new push for a strike.

Last July, Gotbaum sold out the workers by signing a so-called "no cost" contract with the agents of the monopoly capitalists on behalf of his 160,000 union members. This package cost the workers plenty and allowed the monopoly capitalists to cut labor cost by \$26 million in each of the next two years with speed ups or cuts in fringe benefits. Union pension funds were used first piece meal to give to the city to pay the workers. Then it was used wholesale to buy bonds from big MAC "to save the city." Workers were threatened with layoffs anytime, deferred wage increase, attacks by speed ups and further squeezed of their pension money. In the Local 420 strike, Gotbaum even sold out the workers' meagre 6% cost of living adjustment.

The latest settlement in the strike was a total sell-out. The layoffs were only deferred until the end of the year while workers were forced to give up the 6% cost of living increase backdated from July 1st this year. Gotbaum has helped the monopoly capitalists to reap a windfall profit of \$10 million!

Our determination to put an end to the trade union bureaucrat's nonsense made the strike vote inevitable.

As we've said before in our article (July 1976) on the District 1199 hospital workers' strike, the role of the trade union bureaucrats like Leon Davis and Gotbaum in this period of capitalist decay is to disorganize the proletariat and proletarian struggle and make us more vulnerable to capitalist attacks. As Dutt stated:

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

WORKERS UNITE TO STRUGGLE AGAINST BUDGET CUTS, PUSH ASIDE MISLEADERS

Gotbaums and his cronies were forced to call a halt to the strike on the fourth day and push a fast sell-out. It was clear that the militancy and consciousness demonstrated by the workers during the strike was a potent threat to the monopoly capitalists and their sell-out leadership.

In spite of the pacifying tactics of the TUMs, rank and file workers confronted the cops on the line and openly criti-

cized the disorganization and disunity purposely engineered by the TUMs.

At Gouverneur Hospital, which has a long history of militant struggle and communist influence, the workers surrounded Gotbaum chanting, "Either the scabs out, or you're out!" Disbelieving his "promise" that he'd come back later with the plans, the workers forced him to retreat to his car. Hemmed in by the rank and file, Gotbaum signaled for the police to free him and exposed to the workers even more clearly how he is a traitor to the working class.

Workers on line were battling the cops to stop ambulances and scabs from entering the hospitals. As a result on the third day of the strike, the hospital bosses were forced to order all the ambulances to stop taking patients to municipal hospitals which provide 90% of the emergency rooms in the city. The private hospitals were forced to take up the load. In a clear show of class solidarity, many clerical workers in the hospital honored the picket line; and the ambulance drivers and aides began preparations for a sympathy strike on the fourth day of the strike. Interns and residents in the hospitals refused to admit non-emergency cases and joined the lines. It was clear to other workers that the Local 420 strike represents the struggles of the entire working class in New York City against the attacks of the capitalists, in the form of budget cuts and attacks on our standard of living.

The EFCB is a crystallized example of the parasitic, decaying and moribund system of imperialism. It was set up by the bourgeoisie at the end of 1975 when New York City plunged deeper into the economic crisis that hit the whole country in 1974. The EFCB is a scheme of the monopoly capitalists to reap still greater profits and to forestall their doom.

The EFCB is now the highest authority to make decisions on all City expenses. All items of the City budget and the contracts of public workers are subject to the approval of the EFCB. Previously, the monopoly capitalists exerted their rule indirectly through all the politicians and bureaucrats they control in the state and city government. The establishment of the EFCB means that in a crisis, the monopoly capitalists were forced to begin to cast away their "democratic" mask and take direct open control of the city. This is a sure sign of the desperation of the monopoly capitalists.

The parasitic nature of imperialism is most clearly shown by the composition of the EFCB and the Big MAC (Municipal Assistance Corporation) which was set up around the same time as the EFCB and complements the EFCB in directly controlling the economic and political affairs of the city. All the members on the Board and the Big MAC are direct appointees of the three giant monopoly banks: the Chase Manhattan, First National and Morgan Guaranty. These giant financial monopolies are also the three of the largest multinational banks that control the largest capital in this country and in the world, ruthlessly plundering the working class and oppressed people around the world.

Lenin, the great revolutionary, in his analysis of imperialism, explained that the parasitic or decaying nature of capitalism is "manifested in the creation of a huge stratum of rentiers, capitalists who live by 'clipping coupons.'"

In the past decades, these monopoly capitalists have stepped up their exploitation of the working class in New York City, principally through "deficit financing." Pushed by the capitalist-controlled politicians, every year the state and the city governments spend more money than they take in from tax revenues and federal and state subsidies. This excess spending is financed by borrowing heavily from the giant monopoly banks. This is done both directly by having Mr. Monopoly Rockefeller in power and through the politicians controlled by the monopoly capitalists in the state and city governments. During the 12 years that Rockefeller was

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the governor of New York State, he actively promoted this policy. The banks are reaping heavy profits from the interest payments from the city.



UNION GOONS SPENT MORE TIME keeping out communists and non-union members than in keeping out scabs. Here, union goons separate WVO propagandist from the picket line.

Deficit financing has pushed the city into the red for the last 15 years and the amount of deficit has increased every year. Increasingly the city has had to rely on borrowing by issuing bonds to meet the expenses. The funded debt of the city government has steadily increased since 1910, and greatly accelerated since the economic crisis of 1969. The public debt of the city government jumped from \$3 billion in the 1960s to \$7.7 billion by 1975. The banks have been forcing the city to pay higher and higher interest on the borrowed money, hitting 9.6% during the peak of the budgetary crisis in 1975. Interest payments further deepened the budgetary crisis.

It has become a vicious cycle -- the city has to borrow just to meet the interest payments. The amount of interest payments of the city increased to the point where 1 dollar of every five in the budget pays back the banks.

In the name of "providing more services and jobs," the monopoly capitalists have been making tons of money out of these debts. This is the more reactionary and crafty nature of the "liberal" policies. As Marx pointed out:

"The accumulation of the capital of the national debt has been revealed to mean merely an increase in a class of state creditors, who have the privilege of a firm claim upon a certain portion of the tax revenue."
(Capital, III, p. 476)

This parasitic mode of acquisition of finance capital has led to the compound crisis of recession and inflation, and has brought home the inevitable result: the city was no longer able to pay the interest from its revenues and the banks were forced to step up their attack on the working class to maintain their profits.

This is part and parcel of the economic crisis that hit almost all state and local governments. Deficit financing is one of the causes of the inflationary crisis. The current budgetary crisis shows the collapse of the inflationary policies and deficit financing as a way to postpone the total collapse of capitalism.

Under imperialism, the banks have lost their original function as middlemen in the making of payments. "As banking develops and becomes concentrated in a small number of establishments, the banks grow from humble middlemen into powerful monopolies having at their command almost the whole of the money capital and small businessmen and also the larger part of the means of production and of the sources of raw materials of the given countries."
(Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, Lenin, Peking edition, p. 31)

The EFCB in New York City is a most blatant example of the predominance of the rule of the financial monopoly capitalists under imperialism. The money capital possessed by this financial oligarchy is increasingly separated from the capital production. This rentier stratum lives solely by interest.

CONCLUSION

The strike of the Local 420 workers in New York City is only an opening page of the coming waves of wildcats, strikes and street demonstrations. What is happening in New York foreshadows what is to sweep through the cities across the country. Already the budget crisis is hitting most cities in the country like a plague. The monopoly capitalists will be forced to dig their own graves as they are doing in New York.

Imperialism is parasitic, decaying and moribund capitalism. Imperialism is the eve of proletarian revolution!



DC 37 WORKERS SOON LEARNED NOT TO LET GOTBAUM SLIP THRU THE POLICE LINE.

BOLSHEVIK ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

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(Documents of the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, 1973, p.48.)

Going against the tide is a hallmark of genuine communists! We take the teachings of Mao seriously; we are prepared and fully intend to go against the tide, to thoroughly expose the Menshevik clique in this district and the opportunist RWL national leadership. We call on the local Mensheviks here to make good their declaration in the statement of our so-called purge to "Expose and Isolate all Opportunists." We call on the Menshevik comrades, with the aid of the screaming opportunist national leadership to plan a public polemic, present their line to the advanced and the masses and other Marxist-Leninists. We are going to go head-to-head, and to borrow your misused phrases tit for tat, line by line, aspect by aspect, to expose the opportunist line of the RWL.

GENUINE COMMUNISTS IN THE RWL DARE TO STRUGGLE, DARE TO WIN!
We welcome your response to this letter.

STUDY MARXISM, CRITICIZE REVISIONISM.
UNITE MARXIST-LENINISTS, WIN THE ADVANCED TO COMMUNISM.
EXPOSE AND ISOLATE ALL OPPORTUNISTS.
BUILD THE PARTY ON THE IDEOLOGICAL PLANE,
GRASP THE KEY LINK OF POLITICAL LINE.

Signed,
The Bolshevik Organizing Committee
Greensboro, N.C.

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



Olympic Arena: Oppressed Peoples Wage Political Struggle

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and reflect the politics of a particular class. (See "Sports and Class Struggle", p. 4 in Vol. 1, No. 1 of Workers Viewpoint newspaper, March 1976)

In 1968, for example, when 2 Afro-American athletes raised their fists in the "Black Power" salute at Mexico City, focusing world attention on the Afro-American Liberation struggle raging at that time, it shattered the illusion that sports can exist isolated from the real world of class struggle. For years, as we have seen, the IOC--through superpower domination--has legitimized the Chiang gangsters. But the world is undergoing tremendous changes, and this is true for the sports world also. Such is the case with the stand Canada has taken toward the Taiwan regime. Although inconsistent, as shown in the compromise deal, Canada has refused to jump at superpower bidding. Rejecting the hegemonic stance of the IOC, Canada maintained that it has the right to decide who can and cannot enter her borders. This action reveals, in one aspect, the contradiction between a Second World country, like Canada, and the U.S., part of the First World, and the growing trend of the Second World to resist superpower control and interference, and to safeguard its own independence and state sovereignty. In addition, it reflects the fact that only the masses of the Canadian people, who widely supported their government's resistance, can stand firm in opposing the two superpowers.

It was not until two Olympics ago, in '68 and '72, that the actions of the African and Third World countries brought about the expulsions of the racist white minority settler regimes of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Azania (South Africa). At Montreal it was many of the same nations that led the protest against the "open approval by New Zealand of the murderous acts" at Soweto. The anger of the boycotting nations was perhaps best expressed by an official of the Supreme Council for Sports in Africa. "Just deploring apartheid is not enough," he said. "When the crocodile is hitting you, it's crying at the same time. You need acts and action, not only declarations." This was repeated by many others who stated that principles are more important than gold medals. And it was echoed in the words of the delegation from Guyana which declared: "To merely pay lip service...is not sufficient"

SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS: LIPS OF HONEY, HEART OF TREACHERY

But this is precisely the stand of the Soviet social-imperialists. While paying lip service to supporting Canada's exclusion of "Republic of China" athletes, hoping to cash in on the contradictions between Canada and the U.S., they openly supported the Chiang clique's participation in the Games. In fact, the Soviet Olympic Committee has pledged that in the 1980 Games in Moscow, it will allow all participants recommended by the IOC to enter the Soviet Union and compete. This proves that the Soviet revisionists in action oppose the just stand of China, the boycotting Third World nations, and peoples the world over.

The Soviet revisionist collusion with the Chiang clique is nothing new. To further their own social-imperialist designs and to concoct "two Chinas" they have promoted ties of all kinds with the Chiang regime, and repeatedly referred to China's Taiwan Province as a separate "state".

Similarly, the Soviet ruling class has promoted the Pak Jung Hi clique of southern Korea, repeatedly inviting sportsmen to Moscow to compete, much to the delight and squeals of lavish praise of the Pak clique. This recognition of the fascist clique, whose delegation waved their

"national flag" and sang their so-called "national anthem", is a direct affront to the Korean people's burning aspiration for independent and peaceful reunification. It is further proof of the New Tsar's hegemonic lusts in Asia. The record of the Soviet revisionists show that as they follow and promote the imperialist illusion of divorcing politics from sports, they are all the while pushing their brand of social-imperialist politics.

Sports in the Soviet Union have all the hallmarks of sports in capitalist countries: cut-throat competition and violence, material incentives and bonuses, the glorification of individual "heroes", and unbridled self-seeking careerist ambitions. These features of rampant individualism, "winning is everything", and separating politics from sports--"leave politics to the politicians"--reflect the capitalist ideology which has permeated all of Soviet society. And like the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists use the Olympics to whip up national chauvinism to the hilt, and serve their feverish preparations for world war.

THE OCTOBER LEAGUE'S EDITORIAL ON THE OLYMPICS: NOT A WHISPER ABOUT SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

While the Soviet revisionists' ugly features are becoming clearer to people the world over, the vision of the October League is still as cloudy as ever. In a Call editorial entitled "Expel Taiwan Clique from Olympics" (July 19), the October League makes no mention at all of the treacherous role of the Soviet social-imperialists in pushing "one China, one Taiwan". And in a front page article on July 26, the OL, in typical muddled fashion, claims that U.S. pressure on Canada to "compromise" "must be seen in the context of its efforts to strike up 'detente'". But not one word on the vicious two-faced stand of the Soviet revisionists who, supporting Canada in name only to exploit the contradiction between Canada and U.S. imperialism for its own ends, in deeds attack China and the Third World nations.

Instead of seeing the role of the masses --and the patriotic masses in Taiwan province in particular--in making history, and, in that light, the success of the socialist diplomacy of the PRC, the OL treats the withdrawal of the Chiang clique as simply a diplomatic move, as the result of "pressure of the host Canadians and other countries". No mention is made of the crucial role of the patriotic masses in Taiwan and their desire for liberation and unification in forcing Chiang's hand. And while the Call states that sports cannot "go on in some dreamland", by not exposing the class nature of sports--which class does it serve, whose politics are reflected?--the OL doesn't go far beyond bourgeois commentators who lament that the "Olympics have always been mixed up with politics".

COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES COUNTER HEGEMONISM IN SPORTS

The bourgeois media, wailing that the Olympics be "left to the athletes", shed crocodile tears for those athletes "prevented" from participating in the Games after years of training. But these and other sportsmen can and are turning elsewhere.

Many Third World and other countries in recent years have begun to organize their own regional and international meets in sports of all kinds. Sports federations and exchanges, organized on the basis of equality and mutual respect among all nations, big and small, and democratic consultation, and defying the intimidation and obstruction that declares a country has no right to even choose its own sports partners, have steadily expanded.

China's seat must be restored in the IOC. As long as the Chiang clique is represented in any form, the PRC stand of refusing to participate in the Olympics should be supported. But even if China were excluded from the IOC, the Chinese athletes--including those from Taiwan Province who have always been included and invited to all of China's sports delegations at home and abroad--have plenty of opportunities to compete with and further friendship with sportsmen from other countries. Especially since the Cultural Revolution, sports exchanges have broadened and deepened, guided by the revolutionary political line of "friendship first, competition second".

At the Second Asian-African-Latin American Table Tennis Tournament held in Nigeria last year, for example, an atmosphere of unity and friendship among over 70 countries and regions prevailed, founded on the common experience of oppression by imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, Zionism, and racism. Good thinking, good sportsmanship, and good playing style marked the entire meet, as countless examples abounded of mutual learning, treasuring friendship to promote competition, wider popularization and improvement of skills, and pledges of mutual support in the struggles to come.



INSTEAD OF PROMOTING imperialist and social-imperialist politics, the Olympics are changing to serve the politics of the oppressed. Here Palestinian, Libyan, and Chinese athletes use table tennis to build the revolutionary will, unity, and friendship of the world's people.

Thus, as the 21st Olympic Games draw to a close, and bourgeois sportscasters ponder over the "dying" Olympic flame, the fires of the struggles against the hegemonism of the superpowers; against the settler states of South Africa and Rhodesia and the Zionist settler state of Israel; against colonialism, neo-colonialism, and racism; and for the unification of the Chinese people, are burning brighter than ever before.

The Olympics, which in modern history have always served to glorify the imperialists and to promote the national chauvinism of the oppressor countries, have been confronted with the strongest challenge in its history to serve the oppressed countries and peoples, who are determined to rebuild the unity between peoples of different countries based on genuine equality. As part of this struggle, international sports are being transformed, for the first time in modern history, from a tool of the rich and the privileged into a weapon to promote the revolutionary will, unity and friendship between the oppressed peoples of all countries.

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DYING SCREAMS....

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CONCLUSION

The new communist movement has undergone a fierce sorting out process in each particular period of party building, from the mid-sixties in the struggle against eclecticism until today, when political line is the key link. The struggle to move the communist movement forward, into a new period, has also added to the strengthening of the foundation of the party we are building step-by-step in each period. We must apply Marxist-Leninist theory to the particular key link and raise it to the proletarian ideological plane, and have these lines and traditions sink deeply into comrades' minds and souls.

The split in the Revolutionary Wing and the fast degeneration of the PRRWO/RWL into a "left" sect is a rich negative example from which all genuine Marxist-Leninists must learn. We must grasp its historical development, in each particular stage, its conditions, ideological, social, and class basis and its effects. The PRRWO/RWL nosedive into the marsh from the "left" is a clear example of the dialectics and swift thoroughgoingness of the sorting out process.

The WVO has, in the last three years, waged fierce ideological struggle with both main representatives of right and "left" opportunism. In waging the struggle on two fronts, WVO line has been firm and consistent. We have been true to the proletariat and its science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. In the course of struggle, negation of opportunism has given rise to the "negation of the negation," a higher synthesis of the correct line. Its resilience and strength has been tested in the fiery heat and deepest freeze of right and "left" opportunism. Today, the WVO's line is clearly the most correct and consistent line that has turned into a material force pushing both the communist and workers movements forward. In the course of these struggles, Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers are coming forward wave upon wave. Comrades, presently the state of the U.S. communist movement is excellent. The situation is better than ever before!

We must build the Party on the proletarian ideological plane and grasp firmly the key link of political line, struggle for a genuine program to form the Bolshevik Party in the period ahead. This is our task!!

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

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EXPOSE SUPERPOWERS CONTENTION....

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MARCH INTO THE RHINE DEMILITARIZED ZONE

After the conclusion of the "Act of National Defense Force" and the conclusion of a naval accord with Britain, restrictions imposed by the peace treaty of Versailles on the German army, air force and navy were all broken. Yet the treaty further stipulated that the West Rhine district of Germany be made a demilitarized zone, and the treaty of Locarno reiterated this stipulation. If German forces were to enter the demilitarized zone, France was entitled to take military actions against Germany, and Britain had the obligation to assist France with its own armed forces. In order to eliminate the last restraint on German armed forces imposed by the treaty of Versailles, Hitler started preparations for marching into the Rhine Demilitarized Zone.

In his speech of May 21, 1935, Hitler put forth the lie that Germany would "unconditionally respect" articles of the peace treaty of Versailles regarding the Rhine Demilitarized Zone, and would "support and implement all obligations arising out of the treaty of Locarno." As a matter of fact, before Hitler made this sham guarantee, the German armed forces had already received orders on May 2 to prepare for the occupation of the Rhine Demilitarized Zone. After the concluding of the Anglo-German naval accord, Hitler knew Britain had swallowed his bait and was in no position to support any French military action against Germany; and without Britain's support, it would be quite unlikely that France would take military action against Germany singlehandedly. As a result, Germany continued to play its strategy of "feinting to the east while attacking in the west," towards a march into the Rhine Demilitarized Zone. On November 11, when receiving the French ambassador to Germany, Francois-Poncet,

Hitler expressed his dissatisfaction with the fact that France had signed a treaty of mutual assistance with the Soviet Union in March, and he engaged in attacks against the Soviet Union. In early 1936 Hitler deemed the time ripe to openly tear up the treaty of Locarno and break down the last remaining restriction on Germany imposed by the peace treaty of Versailles. On March 2, he ordered three battalions of his troops to cross the Rhine and advance in the direction of Aachen, Trier, and Saarbrücken. Subsequently, with a reserve of only one division, he completed the occupation of the Rhine area.

Two hours after the sudden German military advance, Hitler made a speech in the Reichstag, saying that in order to deal with "the Bolshevik threat," "the German government starting today has reestablished unrestricted absolute German sovereignty in the demilitarized zone." In the same breath, Hitler also falsely "guaranteed" that Germany would try harder than ever to seek "understanding from our western neighbors."

At that time the military strength of Germany was far inferior to that of Britain and France, and Germany could not meet Britain and France in a trial of strength. For this reason, when Hitler ordered the march into the Rhine area, the fascist clique was thrown into a panic. Along with the march order the German occupation force also received sealed orders from the German high command, "to be opened only on encounter with the French army." The sealed order said: if confronted with French resistance, the German army was to retreat to their starting positions without engaging the French. Later Hitler also admitted that "the 48 hours after the march into the Rhine area began was the most anxious moment in my life. If the French really took us on and marched into the Rhine area, we could only accept the humiliation and retreat. There was no other way out, because our force was not enough even for a token defense."

But the governments of Britain and France took no counteraction. Britain openly declared that "the Germans were merely entering their own backyard." In a press conference the British Foreign Office claimed: "This German act is redundant and unnecessary, for it opened a door that would have been opened anyway." The march into the Rhine area and the stationing of troops along the Franco-German border was a direct threat to France. For this reason, France deployed thirteen more divisions along the border area to beef up their Maginot line. But France did not enter the Rhine zone to expel the three German battalions, as the treaties had stipulated. It was apparent that the capitalist governments of Britain and France blindly believed Hitler's march into the Rhine Area to be merely a step to consolidate his rear against the Soviet Union. In order to win Hitler's confidence, not only did they not take any counter-measures, but they encouraged him to rebuild defenses in the Rhine Demilitarized Zone to eliminate Hitler's worries about his rear, so that Germany could boldly attack the Soviet Union in the east.

With the support and encouragement of the Western powers, fascist Germany speedily rearmed on a big scale, and the so-called Versailles system established after the First World War disintegrated. All treaties and conventions to impose military restrictions on Germany were reduced to so much waste paper.

The tour of duty in the German armed forces was originally fixed at one year. In August of 1936 it was changed to two years. On the eve of the Second World War, the standing army of Germany had reached 60 divisions numbering 850,000 men. On the basis of the 1935 Anglo-German naval accord, shipyards and steel mills in Germany went full steam ahead to build all kinds of naval vessels. In 1939 the German navy was in possession of two battleships, three 10,000-ton class steel-plated warships, two heavy cruisers, six light cruisers, 22 destroyers, twenty torpedo boats, 32 minesweepers, 35 coastal submarines, 27 ocean-going submarines and 17 speedboats. All these were the most modern equipment at that time. By 1933, its air force had 2,500 trained pilots, and in 1934 several air groups were formed. By 1938 the air force numbered 338,000 servicemen. By 1939 it had 9,000 aircraft of various kinds, and a monthly production rate of about 600. In addition, the anti-aircraft force had 2,600 heavy anti-aircraft guns and 6,700 light anti-aircraft guns, all of it the latest equipment. When the Second World War erupted, the German armed forces had become one of the most powerful among countries of the capitalist world.

Under the slogan "guns instead of butter," the German fascists forced the people to tighten their belts so that the entire national economy was streamlined for war preparation. The military expenditure of Germany jumped from one billion marks in 1932 to 27 billion marks in 1938, amounting to one-third of the German national income. Hitler once boasted that, from his assumption of power to 1939, he had spent ninety billion marks on military expansion.

With the expansion of the military strength of fascist Germany, Hitler started on his path of external expansion and aggression.

CORRECTIONS

On p.S-1, col.3 of *WV* vol.I, no.3 (June, 1976), the quotation from Chairman Mao should have read:

"A new upsurge in the struggle against U.S. imperialism is now emerging throughout the world. Ever since World War II, U.S. imperialism and its followers have been continuously launching wars of aggression and the people in various countries have been continuously waging revolutionary wars to defeat the aggressors. The danger of a new world war still exists, and the people of all countries must get prepared. But revolution is the main trend in the world today. (Mao Tse-tung, "People of the World, Unite and Defeat the U.S. Aggressors and All Their Running Dogs!" Statement of May 20, 1970. Peking edn.)

There was an error, concerning the history of the developments leading up to World War II which is found in the introductions to the historical reprints translated from the Chinese, "Luring to the East the Waters That Bring Disaster," in *WV* vol. I, no. 3, p. 5, and also in *WV*, vol. I, no. 4, p. 8, titled "Historical Lessons of Munich: Expose the Superpowers' Contention for World Hegemony." The error is also found in the polemics "Expose RWL's 'Left' Opportunist Line on the International Situation" in *WV*, vol. I, no. 3, p. S-6. The incorrect sentence read: "...the Munich Pact was an example of appeasement of the German fascists, of encouraging Hitler into war by first attacking the West and then the Soviet Union." The sentence is corrected in this issue, on p. 16, and reads, "...the Munich Pact was an example of luring Hitler to the East, trying to encourage him into starting a war against the Soviet Union."

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