

# WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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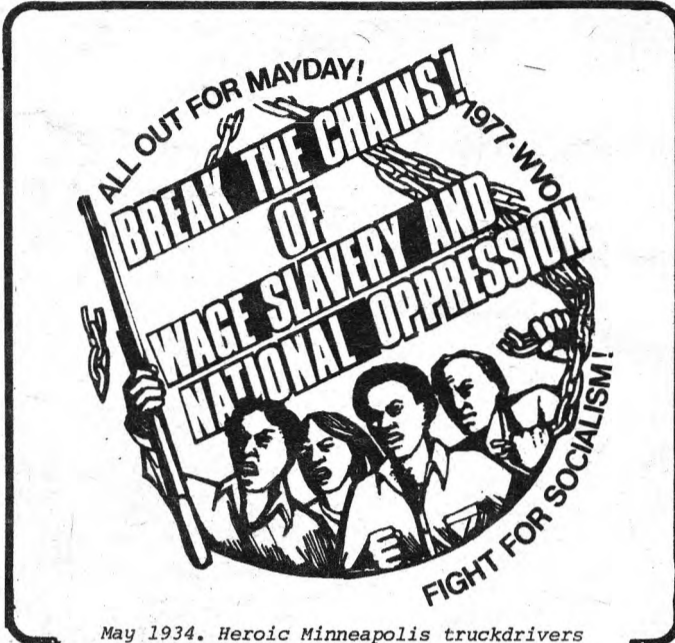
MARCH-APRIL 1977

25 CENTS

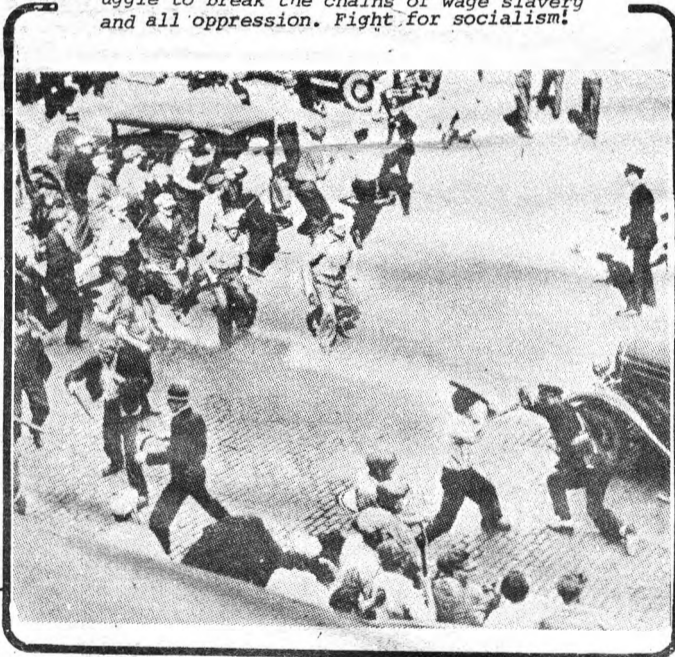
End the Criminal Rule  
of the U.S. Monopoly Capitalist Class,  
Fight for Socialism!

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

## CARRY ON THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION OF MAY DAY!



May 1934. Heroic Minneapolis truckdrivers show US workers' glorious history of struggle to break the chains of wage slavery and all oppression. Fight for socialism!



May Day 1977 has a special character for the working class of this country. The Party of the U.S. proletariat is nearer than ever before as the WVO has laid its foundation.

It's been 20 years since the Communist Party, U.S.A. abandoned Marxism-Leninism, the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism, and now the WVO is rallying all genuine Marxist-Leninists and advance workers to build the new anti-revisionist Communist Party. Only by adhering most firmly to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and integrating it with the best experiences of the workers' and national movements in the US, has this been able to come about. This is the significance of May Day 1977!

Once again, the revolutionary tradition of May Day is being rekindled into a blazing social force, breathing life into our mass struggles against capitalism. This is the tradition that we rightly reclaim. This is the tradition that we must revive and uphold.

The revolutionary tradition of May Day, our working class holiday, is inseparably linked to the Party and the cause of communism. Like an iron bond, this link runs through 100 years of continual class struggle. The history of May Day is part of the history of the international working class's struggles to abolish the capitalist system from the face of the earth, establish socialism, and march triumphantly toward communism.

### May Day - Born Out of Struggle

Capitalism is a criminal system. The greed of capitalism for profits knows no limits! In the 1880's, to plunder even more surplus value from children, the capitalists ran murderous around-the-clock shifts for bone-weary, ragged children and boasted that the beds for the children were never cold! They shot down miners who had the courage to fight back against dangerous, hazardous conditions, the black lung disease, and starvation wages. They locked seamstresses into hideous sweatshops to work 12-14 hours a day, 7 days a week,

abandoning them to the streets when they eventually went blind doing needle work in atrocious conditions.

Capitalism is a criminal system, but it is also a dying system! And the working class will surely bury capitalism. The groundswell of resistance to naked capitalist oppression culminated in the May Day General Strike of 1886 in the United States. 350,000 workers marched triumphantly through the streets of Chicago, and throughout the country for the 8 hour day and trade unions

The capitalists, like sewer rats, scurried back and forth in the shadows, issuing frantic orders to their puppets, the police, the goons, and the labor misleaders. They finally hatched a plot to fire directly into the crowd, and planted a bomb in order to frame up the organizers of the march and send them to the gallows. This was part of the capitalists' use of repression tactics ( reform being the other aspect of their counter-revolutionary dual tactics ) to disintegrate the mass working class movement for the 8 hour day and for socialism.

The heroes of the Haymarket Square Massacre ( the name given to the bourgeoisie's bomb plot ) became true martyrs for the American working class. Parsons, Spies, Lingg, Engel, Fielden, and Schwab - for years, working class children knew their names by heart. Every worker cherished their memory and heroism, and burned for revenge.

Realizing that the fight for the 8 hour day and the trade unions, symbolized in the Haymarket demonstration on May Day 1886, represented the best qualities and finest interests of the international proletariat, workers around the world began to unfold the banners of May Day. Soon, millions of workers were marching on May Day, which became a hated and feared symbol to all reactionaries.

On the 100th anniversary of Bastille Day, July 14, 1889, the Paris Congress (later renamed the Second International, led by Engels ) officially adopted May Day as the International Workers Day. This concrete step furthered the fusion of the spontaneous mass

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## Hanafi Terrorism, Offspring of Rotting Capitalism!

What is behind the Hanafi incident in Washington DC? What is its relation to the recent rash of hostage situations all over the country and its relation to the crisis of the bourgeoisie? These questions on the minds and lips of workers and oppressed nationalities demand communist analysis and answers. The recent acts of terrorism that have captured the bourgeois headlines speak to the continuing, worsening crisis of monopoly capitalism. These acts, portrayed by the bourgeois press as isolated, "disconnected" actions of demented individuals, are neither isolated nor disconnected in the sense that they all have a common root- the degeneration of monopoly capitalism- the increasing unemployment, inflation, decay, corruption, in short the general intensification of all aspects of class and national oppression. These events jumping out are concrete evidence of the decay of capitalism in all spheres- economic, political, cultural,

and military. These terroristic acts are an indication of the anger and frustration of the masses against the real terror of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie:

- the constant attacks by the police, courts, and prisons of the state on the working class and oppressed nationalities
- the grinding poverty and wage slavery
- the disregard for the safety and health of workers and their families on the job and in the home
- the denial of education and brutalization of children in the public schools
- the inadequate housing, heating, clothing, food, facilities and services for the working class and oppressed nationalities

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SECCION EN ESPAÑOL

# "HUMAN RIGHTS" -- COVER

President Carter, the representative of the US imperialist bourgeoisie, is making political hay out of the "human rights" issue. He is doing this primarily to prepare public opinion for war (to whip up anti-communism and reactionary patriotism) as a step towards intensifying contention with the other imperialist power, the Soviet Union. That is why the US imperialists promote the more petty-bourgeois aspects of the dissident movements in the Soviet Union, but play down or even hush up genuine resistance against Soviet social-imperialism such as the Polish workers uprising last June. With the second European summit conference coming up in June (to check up on compliance of the Helsinki Agreement), both superpowers are anxious to put their best foot forward and to embarrass each other.

## SUPERPOWERS ARE JOCKEYING OVER CERTAIN SECTIONS OF THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT

The Helsinki Agreement, signed by 35 nations in 1975 (all of Europe -- except socialist Albania -- plus Canada, and the 2 superpowers, US imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism), is the final pact of the 2-year Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The 2 superpowers are using it to give the appearance of stability and tranquility in Europe so as to better cover up their growing contention and fiercer preparation for war of which Europe is the focus of contention. Each wants to use the different provisions and sections of the agreement to weaken and penetrate their rival. For example: -- The Soviet social-imperialists are most interested in the principle of "inviolability of frontiers". This would force the US imperialists and its western allies to recognize their domination over E. Europe. They also seek to legitimize the "Brezhnev Doctrine" ("limited sovereignty" for Eastern European countries, "international division of labor, economic integration, specialization of production", i.e., making the economies of E. Europe and the other neo-colonies dependent on and serve the imperialist interests of Soviet Union). This doctrine was put into practice during the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. -- In the section "On Cooperation in the Field of Economics, of Science and Technology and of the Environment", the Soviet social-imperialists hope to gain economic benefits to overcome their economic troubles and relative technological backwardness. The US imperialists, however, want to gain penetration into Soviet Union and E. Europe for markets and resources. -- Trying to maintain its image of "protector of human rights", the US imperialists pushed for the section "On Cooperation in Humanitarian and other Fields". Its real purpose is to exploit the growing discontent within the Soviet Union; the popular resentment in E. Europe against Soviet domination; and the discontent within the East European countries themselves against their own bourgeoisie, to penetrate into the Soviet social-imperialists' spheres of influence by "peaceful means".

The current "human rights" controversy is the deliberate attempt of the US imperialists to use this provision against its rival. The question of "human rights" has been a sensitive issue and a sore spot for the Soviet social-imperialists. That is why the US imperialists are milking it for all it's worth.

## ATTEMPT TO DISCREDIT AND UNDERMINE GROWING UNITY AND STRUGGLE OF THIRD WORLD PEOPLES

But the US imperialists are also using this against the growing unity of the third world countries against the hegemonic schemes of the two superpowers. While the slogan of the third world countries is "unite in struggle against the two superpowers", the slogan of the US and Soviet social-imperialist bourgeoisie is "break this unity at all costs". The most blatant example is the outrageously chauvinist and racist slanders hurled at Idi Amin of Uganda. Amin has been a consistent supporter of the armed struggle of the southern African peoples, and current chairman of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). By portraying Amin as "The Wild Man of Africa"



Both the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists have to evoke the "good old days" to continue their criminal rule. The former calls on the bourgeois revolution, with its catchwords of "freedom, equality, and inalienable rights..." The latter tries to hide its fascist dictatorship under the banner of the proletarian revolution, led by Lenin and Stalin. The stepped up demagoguery means stepped up contention.

(cover page of both Time and Newsweek magazine) and a fanatic dictator who totally ignores "human rights" (such as detaining 200 Americans without apparent reason; and supposedly killing thousands of people at whim), the US imperialists hope to discredit the liberation struggles in southern Africa, promote disunity amongst the African countries and to divert attention away from the rising storm of resistance in all of Africa. The cowardly imperialists fear these heroic struggles which are a component part of the revolutionary trend which alone can prevent the outbreak of world war. The developing armed struggle in southern Africa, the unity of the African countries are a roadblock to the two superpowers' attempts to meddle, undermine and sabotage the African peoples' struggles.

## HISTORY OF US IMPERIALISTS' USE OF "HUMAN RIGHTS" TO JUSTIFY THEIR AGGRESSION

This is not the first time US imperialists have exploited the issue of "human rights" to serve their imperialist aims. Historically, the most developed ideologists and advanced representatives of the bourgeoisie have covered their aggressive tactics by raising "concern for human rights" and the responsibility to safekeep "democracy and freedom".

Woodrow Wilson described World War I as "the war to end all wars" and justified the US's imperialist aggression as "making the world safe for democracy". Franklin D. Roosevelt, after behind-the-scenes maneuvers to encourage the German fascists to attack the then socialist Soviet Union under Stalin, finally entered in the imperialist World War II directly after Pearl Harbor with the excuse of "quarantine the aggressors" and "strengthening international morality"; but in fact to ensure that US imperialists' interests were not disturbed. Kennedy, in the name of "the watchman on the walls of world freedom" and "Alliance for Progress" ordered the armed invasion of Cuba in 1961 and the military blockade and war provocations against Cuba in 1962; carried on the inhuman "special warfare" in southern Vietnam; and used the "UN forces" to suppress the national liberation movement in the Congo. Now Carter is trodding the same path by calling on the UN Human Rights Commission "to be more active" and to move its headquarters from Geneva to New York, so that the

"human rights issue will be at the forefront of our attention". In other words, the UN Human Rights Commission should better serve the interests of US imperialism and the best way to do this is to be more closely supervised and controlled by US imperialism. "Human rights" is nothing but a cover for the imperialists' naked aggression.

## BOURGEOISIE'S CRIES FOR "HUMAN RIGHTS" IS NO REAL CONCERN FOR WORKERS' RIGHTS

There can never be "human rights", "freedom", "democracy", etc. in the abstract, without talking about rights and freedom and democracy for whom, for which class. Under different systems, the class which owns and controls the means of production and holds state power will have the rights, the freedom. For example, under the slave system of ancient Greece, which bourgeois historians everywhere trumpet as the "cradle of democracy", there was "democracy" only for the slave-owning class. Under feudalism, there were only "rights" and "democracy" for the feudal lords, but terror, exploitation, and degradation for the peasants, and serfs. Under the rule of capital, the masses of working people have only the "right" to sell their labor power for a wage to the highest capitalist bidder. Through their day-to-day struggle, the working class and broad masses have become clear, that the capitalist "Bill of Rights" means nothing when we challenge the bourgeoisie's exploitation and oppression. Plundering the colonies, persecuting nationalities, using the courts and police to break strikes, etc. are the daily examples of "human rights" under the capitalist system. The "democracy" they exercise means only "democracy" for the few capitalists and dictatorship for the majority of the people, the workers. So under bourgeois rule, whether it takes the form of bourgeois democracy (like US imperialism) or outright fascist dictatorship (like Soviet social-imperialism), the essence is dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat.

## CATCHWORDS HIDE TRUE NATURE OF BOURGEOIS RULE

In the 18th century, when the rising

# FOR WAR PREPARATIONS

US bourgeoisie was fighting the falling British colonialists, they used the catch-words of "freedom, equality and inalienable rights" to draw the masses into battle for bourgeois democracy and to hide the true nature of their rule. But even in its progressive epoch, the bloody essence of capitalism already revealed itself. There was no freedom, equality or inalienable rights for the millions of slaves brought here from Africa, for the Native Americans whose land was stolen and who were almost completely wiped out, for the millions more immigrant workers who were forced to slave at low wages.

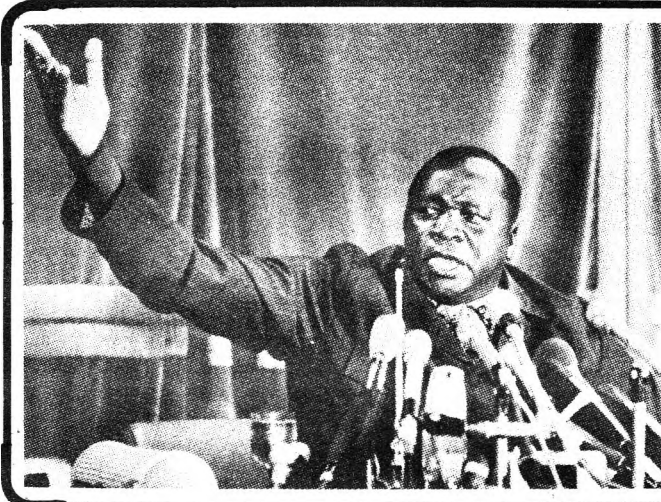
Today, we are in the epoch of imperialism, the last, decaying stage of capitalism when bourgeois democracy is totally reactionary. In their struggle against the new, rising bourgeoisie of the Soviet Union, the old, falling bourgeoisie of the US is trying to "bring back the good old days" of 18th century bourgeois democracy. The masses of workers and oppressed nationalities will not be fooled.

The Soviet social-imperialists are trying to use more sophisticated catch-words, like "socialist democratic system" to hide their similarly bloody oppressive rule. But this is also becoming exposed. Proletarian democracy can only be achieved under the dictatorship of the proletariat when the working class holds state power and exercises democracy for the majority of the people and dictatorship over the few (the bourgeoisie).

## DISSIDENTS CALLING FOR BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY

Under the fascist dictatorship of the Soviet social-imperialists and its satellites, antagonistic contradictions abound and are sharpening. Even the petty bourgeoisie (intermediate stratum who neither own the means of production nor sell their labor power for subsistence wage, but who in the main make a living by selling their services, such as doctors, professors, intellectuals, etc.) experience such contradictions that they organize and resist. But they, as a class, are calling for bourgeois democracy as the alternative to the Hitler-type fascist dictatorship now existing there. The Charter 77 document (a petition signed by Czechoslovak intellectuals demanding more "freedom") is an example of such petty bourgeois democratic prejudices.

Some of these "dissidents" are recruited to be agents of US imperialism. The Soviet social-imperialists employ the same tactics. They also recruit certain "dissidents" as agents to make trouble, particularly in the E. European countries which resist Soviet social-imperialist hegemonism, like Rumania. Solzhenitsyn and Sakharov, the 2 Soviet "dissidents" given the most publicity by the US imperialists are reactionary anti-communists, out-and-out running dogs of US imperialism. They carried out the wishes of their masters -- trying to discredit the great Marxist-Leninist Stalin by either slanderously equating the present fascist dictatorship, a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie



*The dis-unity of the Third World countries is only in the interest of the two superpowers, as it allows them to "fish in troubled waters" and carry out there hegemonic interference and meddling in the internal affairs of the Third World peoples, jockeying and contending for influence. Carter's latest trick is branding some countries violators of human rights, and thereby hoping to sow discord amongst the African countries who are daily getting more united against the two superpowers. This was the thrust of Carter's accusations against Idi Amin of Uganda. Is this any different from the Soviet social-imperialists calling some countries reactionary and some progressive, in an attempt to split the unity of the OAU and meddle in the internal affairs of the Angolan people?*

with, or even preferring it to, the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat under the correct line and leadership of Stalin; and calling for bourgeois democracy as the alternative.

## RISE OF PROLETARIAN STRUGGLES WILL DEFEAT BOTH SUPERPOWERS

But these lies are becoming more and more exposed, both here in the US and also in the Soviet Union and E. Europe. Workers and oppressed nationalities are gaining a clearer and clearer understanding that the real alternative to fascist dictatorship as well as bourgeois democracy (both are dictatorships of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat), that the only way to achieve true liberation and freedom, that the only way to really prevent a world war is to overthrow the monopoly capitalist system, and to fight for proletarian democracy, for the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism. This growing consciousness is clearly shown in examples of popular resistance which have broken through the Soviet news blackout:

- workers at a Leningrad telecommunications plant of more than 20,000 workers angrily went on strike in defiance of suppression by troops and police;
- a number of Soviet youths in Leningrad distributed leaflets calling for a "new revolution";
- Letters sent to the Moscow Central Television Studio denounced the "policy of raising labor productivity" which the Soviet social-imperialists adopted at the 25th Congress as "intensified exploitation of the workers through the sweatshop system";
- A Soviet armyman wrote that: "In the last 10 years, the forces of the movement fighting against the existing system in the Soviet army have become ever stronger." Armymen "do not want to train their guns on their fellow countrymen or the people of other countries";
- in Nov. '75, the crew of a Soviet missile-carrying destroyer mutinied. The Soviet authorities immediately sent aircraft and warships to put down the mutiny. The armed intervention in Czechoslovakia had

left its stamp on all of the Soviet armed forces, just as the US aggression in Indochina had left its marks on many of the vets. Both have learned from their negative experiences of serving in the imperialist army.

In Poland, workers rose in a wave of strikes last June in protest over the ever increasing inflation, especially the hike in foodstuff prices. The workers downed their tools, disrupted the railway line between Warsaw and Pruszkow, cut off the supply of electricity and placed barriers on the tracks, bringing railway traffic to a halt. Many women and children joined the ranks of strikers. They put forward explicit political slogans such as "All power to the working class" and "Oppose exploitation by the Soviet Union". The spearhead of their struggle was clearly



*Carter is attempting to pattern himself after the sly "liberal" bourgeois fox, F.D. Roosevelt. With "honeyed" words he also stepped up aggression against the people of the world, particularly hoping to eliminate the first socialist state, under the leadership of the great Stalin.*

directed at the Polish ruling clique and its behind-the-scene boss, the Soviet social-imperialists.

These are the genuine struggles of the proletariat and oppressed nationalities against imperialist domination and oppression that the bourgeoisie in the US dare not speak about. In contrast to movements like Charter 77, which oppose the fascist dictatorship, but are more petty bourgeois in character, these acts of mass resistance are dealing fatal blows at the source of world war. In the same way, the fusion of the spontaneous working class and national struggles with scientific socialism (Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought) in this country is mounting. With the formation of the true, anti-revisionist Communist Party of the US proletariat nearer than ever before (founded on the correct line of the Workers Viewpoint Organization), the struggle for socialist revolution is moving forward that much more stronger. The future is indeed bright: either world war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent world war. ■



*Although Carter's latest wave of "human rights" demagoguery clearly affirms that reform is the main tactic of bourgeois rule, the people cannot let down their defenses. The "human rights" squawking is nothing but a cover for stepped-up repression and aggression. With the growing crisis of capitalism, and the developing fusion between the communists and revolutionary mass movements, the bourgeoisie will inevitably step up its tactic of repression.*

# PONCE MASSACRE: SHINING

March 21st will be the 40th anniversary of the Ponce Massacre, one of many examples of the heroic revolutionary struggles of the Puerto Rican people against colonialism and imperialism. In keeping with this revolutionary tradition the Puerto Rican people are today continuing the struggle against U.S. imperialism and the rising Social-Imperialist power, the Soviet Union.

## PONCE MASSACRE COMMEMORATED ANNUALLY

In 1937, the United States was in a severe economic crisis which affected U.S. finance capital in Europe and its colony in the Caribbean -- Puerto Rico. This economic crisis brought untold suffering to the masses of Puerto Rican people who were thrown into unemployment, forced to abandon their farms and were subjected to starvation. Rising up against colonial exploitation and aggression, the Puerto Rican people, in particular the "Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico" demanded that the U.S. imperialists end their domination of industries and agriculture of the nation and that they be nationalized immediately. Also the Puerto Rican people demanded that trade agreements forced upon them be revoked and that the tax burden fall on non-residents of the island. The Nationalist Party reaffirmed along with the masses of Puerto Rican people, their resistance to colonialism and the need for armed struggle to win independence. The response of the criminal U.S. imperialists was to mount repression against the people and in particular to jail, brutally torture, and assassinate members of the Nationalist Party. It was at this time that a U.S. Federal Court found the great Puerto Rican revolutionary leader, Albizu Campos and several other members of the Nationalist Party guilty of "Conspiracy to overthrow the government of the United States by force and violence" and sentenced them to 15 years imprisonment in Atlanta, Georgia. In March of 1937 the patriotic forces of Puerto Rico planned for a march to be held on the 21st, protesting U.S. imperialists' campaign of brutal repression. The governor at that time, Blanton Winship, revoked the permit for the march declaring it "a defiance of all authority on this island". The patriotic forces taking a firm stand decided to go ahead with the march anyway. On the day of the 21st, at the start of the march the Nationalist band played "La Borinquena", the national anthem of the patriotic Puerto Ricans and sounded the call to begin the march. As soon as the march began, the colonial police fired into the crowd, killing 21 and wounding over 100 people. A young Puerto Rican, Bolivar Marquez, who was mortally wounded, determined to fight against imperialism 'til the end, dragged his body onto the sidewalk and dipping his fingers into his wound, wrote in blood "Long live the Republic, down with the murderers". Every year patriotic Puerto Ricans commemorate March 21st as "The Ponce Massacre" and reaffirm their determination to fight until victory against imperialist domination.

## FIGHTING UNTIL VICTORY

This spirit of "fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again 'til their victory..." has been shown throughout the history of the Puerto Rican people's struggle, first against the Spanish colonizers, and now against U.S. imperialism. In the-1800's a Puerto Rican revolutionary patriot Ramon Emeterio Betances, led the people in the fight for the abolition of slavery and for the freedom of the Puerto Rican nation from the Spanish imperialists. In 1867 the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Committee was founded which had many branches in several towns such as Mayaguez, Lares, and Ponce, and had planned for an armed uprising. The plans for the uprising were found out early through the arrest of a member who had on him a list of names of other

revolutionaries and by the betrayal of a member relative who went to the Spanish colonialists. Despite these great set-backs, the Revolutionary Committee was determined to go ahead with the rebellion, earlier than had been planned. On September 23, 1868, 1,000 revolutionary fighters armed with guns, machetes, canons and a small ship, "El Telegunfo" began to wage a war for independence. The revolutionary fighters took over the town of Lares, arresting the mayor and other collaborators with the Spanish, and raised the banner of "Liberty or Death. Long Live a Free Puerto Rico". During the next month although unable to overthrow Spanish imperialism, the revolutionaries persistently fought in the mountain regions of Puerto Rico.

brought on by the economic crisis and linked it to the need to strike a blow at U.S. Imperialism by fighting for Puerto Rico's independence. In 1935 the colonial police getting their orders straight from F.D. Roosevelt attacked the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico at the University of Rio Piedras killing 4 and wounding 40. The Nationalists fired back at them, killing one policeman. The following year on Feb. 23 two young members of the Nationalist Party executed the colonial chief of police Francis Riggs on the streets of San Juan as he was on his way to church. In 1937 the Puerto Rican people defiantly and determined to struggle against U.S. Imperialism till victory marched in Ponce. In the 1940's, because of the resistance of the Puerto



PUERTO RICAN MASSES HAVE REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION of heroically struggling against colonialism and imperialism, especially the hegemonism of the 2 superpowers. "The Ponce Massacre" is commemorated annually to reaffirm their determination to fight until victory against imperialist domination.

In the 1890's the Puerto Rican people were again rising up and, following the example of the Cuban people, demanded independence from the Spanish imperialists. The Spanish imperialists in an effort to try to pacify the Puerto Rican people granted the reform of allowing for representation in the Spanish Cortes (parliament) while it was actually a move towards the annexation of Puerto Rico. In April the Spanish-American War was declared and the U.S. Imperialists protecting their interests and investments in Puerto Rico went ahead and invaded the island under the guise of "Defending the Puerto Rican people's freedom." The U.S. Imperialists clearly had "honey on their lips, and murder in their hearts." Betances who was in exile at the time said of the invasion "Surely, let the Americans help us gain Liberty, but not push the country into annexation. If Puerto Rico doesn't act fast, it will be an American colony forever."

## PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE DRAW IMPORTANT HISTORICAL LESSON

The Puerto Rican people and international proletariat and oppressed nations and people of the world can draw lessons from this and beware that when kicking out the tiger at the front door -U.S. Imperialism, the wolf- the rising imperialist power, Soviet Social-Imperialism, doesn't get in through the back door.

## TIRELESS STRUGGLE AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM

For the next fifty years, the Puerto Rican people waged a tireless struggle against U.S. Imperialism which during that time chose to rule through a military governor. In the early 1900's Puerto Rican workers fought for the right to unionize. In the thirties the masses struggled against the conditions

Rican people and as the rising imperialist power, their need to better exploit the national resources, cheap labor and captive market of Puerto Rico, the U.S. Imperialists changed their tactics. In 1943, the Governor of Puerto Rico Tugwell recommended that Congress "permit the people of Puerto Rico to elect their own governor". In 1948 Luis Muñoz Marín of the Popular Democratic Party, who had once declared himself to be anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist and had said in the thirties that "independence was just around the corner", sold out the just cause of independence for Puerto Rico by being elected the first "Native" colonial Governor and by his repudiation of independence and adoption of the collaborationist position of "Free Associated State". The Puerto Rican masses responded with a University Strike and in 1950 when Public Law 600 was passed (establishing commonwealth status) the Jayuya uprising took place. In this rebellion the Puerto Rican people attacked the Governor's mansion in Old San Juan killing one colonial policeman and spreading the revolutionary resistance to several cities like Ponce, Jayuya, Utuado, Arecibo and Naranjito. Many women like Blanca Canales as well as men stood side by side in defense of the right for Puerto Rico to be free from all colonial domination. Showing the cowardness of U.S. Imperialism and their lackey Muñoz Marín, the paper tigers called out the National Guard, close to 4,500 soldiers and four planes to pursue the heroic 300 or more men and women who dared to struggle, dared to win. Along with this, Muñoz Marín ordered the arrest of all suspected Nationalists and Communists.

## IRREVERSIBLE HISTORICAL TREND

The history of the heroic Puerto Rican people is rich with determination

# EXAMPLE OF HEROIC STRUGGLE

to resist colonialism and imperialism; nothing can stop this irreversible historical trend for as Chairman Mao said, "Countries want independence, Nations want Liberation, People want Revolution."

There are numerous other examples of this determination to struggle against imperialism such as the attempted assassination of President Truman in 1950, the demonstration at the U.S. House of Representatives in which Lolita Lebron and 3 other people rang out shots and declared "Que Viva Puerto Rico Libre!" In 1969 the protests of thousands of students at the University of Rio Piedras demanding an end to the R.O.T.C. program and the military draft, the general strikes of workers in the principal cities, and recently the strike of campus workers at Rio Piedras in which the students shut down the campus in a show of solidarity with the Puerto Rican working class.

## STRUGGLE AIMED AT BOTH SUPERPOWERS

Presently the continuing domination of Puerto Rico by U.S. Imperialism has meant nothing more to the Puerto Rican people than being used as a dumping ground for high priced U.S. goods and only being allowed to produce those goods and agricultural products which meet the needs and interests of the monopoly capitalists, like sugar cane. The Puerto Rican people are being subjected to mass unemployment, high prices (71% of the people are on Food Stamps), subsistence salaries, exploitation of their nation's mineral and natural resources (military bases like in Culebra, the Superport and cheap source of copper) and denial of the right of Puerto Ricans to their culture (English as a second language is mandatory in the schools). All this while the U.S. monopoly corporations like the petro-chemical plants, oil refineries and pharmaceutical companies are making record profits!

Puerto Ricans here in the U.S. as part of the multinational working class have the duty to support the just struggles of the Puerto Rican nation against U.S. Imperialism and the rising imperialist power Soviet Social Imperialism. This struggle is a revolutionary struggle which aims at the common enemy of both the U.S. multinational working class and the Puerto Rican nation - the two superpowers.

The Soviet-Social imperialists are particularly dangerous because they are more aggressive in their efforts to win hegemonism over Latin America and other oppressed nations and peoples of the world and they can hide behind the banner of socialism in carrying out their imperialist deeds. We have seen recently how the Soviet Social imperialists have used their neo-colony Cuba to invade Angola under the guise of supporting its national liberation only to promote divisions among the liberation forces and the Angolan people so that it can "fish in troubled waters". The Puerto Rican people are clearly opposed to the imperialist deeds and intentions of the Soviet Union, its colonization of the Cuban people and its smokescreen policy of "detente" while in actuality it steps up its contention with the other superpower, the U.S. imperialists and makes preparations for a new world war. This contention particularly in the Caribbean poses a threat to the U.S. imperialists who have over six billion dollars invested in the region. In order to try to hold on to their position in Latin America, the U.S. imperialists have been pumping in more investments to further gain control of the economies such as in Mexico where they've lent over \$600 million and in the Dominican Republic where Gulf & Western industries is increasing tourist trade, agricultural and industrial investments. The U.S. imperialists are trying to cover over their imperialist policies by talking of "strengthening cooperation" and "improving relations". Recently Carter with his "liberal" front called on



Mexico to "work closely with him on an official basis to tie our countries together in an unprecedented and continual demonstration of common purpose, common hope, common confidence and common friendship". Also in a move to be slicker than the former representative of the U.S. bourgeoisie, Carter has said that the question of statehood for Puerto Rico should be decided by the Puerto Rican people themselves meaning that the colonial lackeys of U.S. imperialism such as Governor Romero Barceló should collaborate with them on the plan to annex Puerto Rico. Romero Barceló exposing his falsehood that "the status of Puerto Rico will not be an issue in this election" has already parroted the U.S. imperialists' call for annexation by asking President Carter to set up a committee to study the "economic viability of converting Puerto Rico into a state" and by pushing for a referendum on the question five years after the committee's report has been completed. But despite their efforts, the U.S. imperialists' liberal cover cannot hide the fact that they are plotting to annex Puerto Rico because of their fear of the rising revolutionary struggles of the Puerto Rican people. The Puerto Rican people have a long and heroic history of struggle against imperialist domination and just as in the Ponce Massacre are determined to struggle 'til victory for the independence and national liberation of their nation against all efforts of domination such as colonialism and hegemonism on the part of the two superpowers -- U.S. imperialists and Soviet Social imperialists. ■



# REMEMBER

# SHARPEVILLE!

On March 21 in 1960, thousands of Azanians demonstrated at local police stations throughout the country to protest the criminal rule of the racist South African regime, particularly the despicable passcard law. This law requires all Azanians to carry identification cards with them at all times, or risk arrest and indefinite detention in the event of a "routine" search. The organizers of the demonstration called on all Azanians, in a show of massive resistance to leave their pass cards at home that day and then peacefully submit to arrest at their local police stations.

## PASS LAWS: HIDEOUS FEATURE OF APARTHEID

How did the pass laws affect the oppressed masses? "They show no respect for the sanctity of marriage--men are forcibly separated from their wives or vice-versa because one of them cannot obtain the permit to reside in the same area. They tear away children from their parents; a child above the age of 16 needs a special permit to live with his parents outside the Bantustan reservation, otherwise the child must find accommodation in one of the location barracks they call hostels in South Africa. They deny men and women the universal right to sell their labour to whom they choose; every African man or woman seeking employment has to obtain a special permit to look for work--within a limited period, usually 14 days; otherwise they face deportation to the "homeland" (Bantustan reservation they most likely have never known). The indignities are legion, and falling foul with any of the pass law regulations leaves an African open to arrest and imprisonment. Sentences are most frequently served out on prison farms, under the most primitive conditions." (PAC)

## SOUTH AFRICAN REACTIONARIES CARRIED OUT COLD-BLOODED MURDER

PAC (Pan African Congress) organized a door-to-door campaign in every township to bring out the masses in a non-violent campaign to attack the apartheid regime. The "Principal aim of the campaign is to get enough of the black labour force behind bars." (Robert Sobukwe, president of PAC). People were mobilized not to carry their pass books, walk up to the police stations to get arrested for this.

PAC was effectively able to mobilize the masses around this issue. On March 21, buses stood still unable to take passengers to work. Marchers lined the streets, chanting freedom songs and slogans such as "Izwe Iethu" (Our Land), "I Africa": "Avaphela ampasti" (Down with passes), etc. The mood was jubilant rather than angry. They marched to the police station ready to give themselves up to the police for not carrying their pass books. The PAC leaders marched in the front lines to the police station.

In Sharpeville, the police of the fascist South African Vorster regime panicked when thousands of Azanians began advancing on the police station, and they desperately attacked the unarmed demonstrators with jet aircraft, armored cars, machine guns and tear gas, brutally murdering 72 and injuring hundreds more. The cold-blooded massacre such as that in Sharpeville was a deliberate tactic by the imperialists and colonialists to crush political opposition to their rule. The exploiters know and fear the force of the masses standing shoulder to shoulder--and they take no chances on losing their privileges as blood-suckers and parasites.

The suppression was repeated elsewhere in Azania. For example, in Langa, 10,000 unarmed protesters were brazenly attacked with clubs and machine gun fire, leaving 5 dead and 49 wounded.

Progressive and revolutionary-minded people the world over immediately protested the atrocities, and the pass laws were suspended for a mere few days. Then they were reinforced more heavily than before, with the



Vorster regime using the uprising as an excuse to declare a state of emergency throughout the country and conducting mass arrests of African leaders.

## REPRESSION STEPPED UP

The apartheid regime began a full scale campaign to suppress the revolutionary organizations--both PAC and ANC (African National Congress) were declared illegal. More tight and repressive measures were also passed to stop the growing militance and consciousness of the Azanian masses. They declared a "state of emergency" in April 1960, arresting 10,000 people. Meetings were banned, a curfew instituted, the press censored. In 1962, the Vorster regime passed the General Laws Amendment Act (also known as the Sabotage Act) which made simple offenses such as painting anti-government slogans punishable as treason offenses with a minimum of 5 years without trial. The SOBUKWE Clause of this act allowed them to imprison the PAC leader whenever they wanted to. They made massive arrests of suspected PAC members, detaining and convicting them.

## ONLY ARMED STRUGGLE CAN LIFT THE SOUTH AFRICAN RACISTS OFF THE BACKS OF THE AZANIAN MASSES

Sharpeville, a concentrated expression of the resistance to the South African racist regime's criminal rule, was a turning point in the history of Azania, and strengthened the resistance of the millions of Africans in their determination to carry through to the end their centuries-long just struggle against imperialism, colonialism, feudalism, and racism, and for national liberation and independence.

Though PAC recognized the apartheid system needed to be done away with and that African masses had to take political power, the main tactic was to use peaceful means of struggle. "In this nonviolent campaign there is none that could have been more concerned to avoid the shedding of even an ounce of blood than the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress." Sobukwe told PAC leaders and cadres; "my instructions, therefore are that our people must be taught now and continuously, that in this campaign we are going to observe absolute non-violence." Sobukwe also wrote to the Commissioner of Police in South Africa informing him that the campaign would be a nonviolent one and asking him not to use violence to put down the demonstrations. But the March 21, 1960,

massacre brought home to PAC and other revolutionaries that the colonialists and imperialists ruling over Azania would not give up their power willingly, that they will not grant the people of Azania their just demands. The struggle had to take on a new character. Both PAC and ANC chose to adopt armed struggle as the way to achieve political independence for the Azanian masses. The Sharpeville massacre clearly exposed the bankruptcy of militant nonviolent action and engraved on the hearts and minds of the African masses the absolute necessity to meet the vicious suppression of the racist regime, and the U.S. imperialists, upon whom they depend, head on with a barrel of a gun, and rely mainly on self-reliance and armed struggle.

## STRUGGLE HEIGHTENS DAILY, ADVANCING WAVE UPON WAVE

Since Sharpeville, the resistance among the Azanian masses has broadened and deepened. It reached another peak last June with the Soweto uprising, and is continuing to this day in Capetown, Johannesburg, and elsewhere throughout Azania with the almost daily spontaneous strikes, work boycotts, book burnings, exam boycotts, and burnings of government buildings which have been led and supported by both workers and students.

Just as country after country in Africa and the rest of the Third World has thrown off the oppressive yokes of imperialism, colonialism, and racism and has stood up on their own, so, too, are the struggles of the Azanian, Namibian, and Zimbabwean peoples surging ahead at an unprecedented pace and reached a revolutionary situation.

The valiant struggles of the southern African peoples have won the support of progressive people the world over, and it is only a matter of time before the tricks of the U.S. imperialists, in their new guise of supporting majority rule and national liberation, and the Soviet social imperialists, in their even more sinister and dangerous guise of being revolutionary and themselves anti-imperialist, are thoroughly exposed and defeated. The African peoples are daily seeing through these schemes of the two superpowers and their brazen interference in the internal affairs of the African peoples. They are advancing wave upon wave in a mighty storm that, with the victories of all other oppressed peoples in the world, will inevitably sweep the reactionary apartheid regimes and the two superpowers down the gutter once and for all!

# FROM OUR READERS

## WVO Newspaper - Guiding Light Continue to Criticize Roots

March 6, 1977

Dear Comrades,

Please send me 2 copies of the Declaration of the WVO: The Formation of the Party is a Settled Question. I am enclosing \$1.00.

Your newspaper is a guiding light and a great inspiration. It is so rich in study materials I can't get caught up in my reading, but I'm never disappointed, even after going over an article several times, about how sharp and true are the analyses of the concrete issues facing us. Recently, I sold several WVO papers (and gave a few away) and I was really proud to sell them and get the line out to people.

I hope you keep up the struggle and the good work.

Yours in the struggle for socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat,

M.B.  
Greensboro, N.C.

## Honest Marxists Follow WVO Leadership

March 16, 1977

Dear WVO Comrades,

I am writing this letter first of all to order a couple of your documents. Enclosed is \$3.00 for two copies of the pamphlet "Fight for the Real Emancipation of Women" and two copies of "The Formation of the Party is a Settled Question." The second reason is to explain somewhat my situation.

I am a student at the University of Oklahoma and about to graduate. This is schematic, but I became political in 1974 when a chapter of the RSB was begun here. Myself and my comrades were very naive at the time. During the summer of 1975 a split developed in our chapter over the RU's proposal to become the "Revolutionary Communist Party." I and about half the chapter quit the organization after the ensuing "struggle." This was a difficult time for all of us since we all lived together in two houses and none of us had a very clear orientation to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, owing to RU's line of belittling theory. The RSB has since disintegrated here in Norman, some diehards going to RU centers elsewhere.

Due to any clear orientation towards socialism, many good comrades became pessimistic. This is the worst crime RU committed here in Norman. I became highly pessimistic at the time. Since then I began to do serious theoretical study, despite RU guilt tripping, and came across your Journal II with the article "RU: Marxism or American Pragmatism." It spoke truth to me. I have worked to develop a disciplined approach to studying theory, grasping it as the main link. I have also studied your journals and subscribed to your newspaper.

Last fall the good remnants of the remaining RSB began to break with that organization and recognize the WVO as the leading circle. We are now drawing together again to study and sum up our past experiences, simultaneously dispelling old antagonisms.

My own future right now is to graduate at the end of the summer and as soon as I have the money, move. My purpose in telling this is simply that I have wanted to for a long time; to thank you for increasing mine and my comrades political awareness and hopefully to establish a closer contact with WVO.

Comradely greetings,

A Friend  
Norman, Oklahoma

Dear Comrades:

The Workers Viewpoint Organization's article on Roots was correct for exposing Roots for what it was -- a piece of counter-revolutionary propaganda that the bourgeoisie uses to split Afro-American movement apart from the proletarian revolution. The article displayed a deep and specific analysis of Roots which we will not try to repeat. What we would like to do is considering Roots from this perspective: what effect did Roots have on the masses? Speaking to this aspect of Roots we feel that the title of the WVO article, "No Triumph For Roots", best describes our findings on the influence Roots had on the masses.

Roots didn't fool the masses. Keeping in mind the limitations of our own investigations, all persons we conferred with about Roots were in the main very critical of this "version" of American slave society. We found a variety of criticisms, but their were some consistent charges among those we talked to; these were: Roots represented an attempt by the bourgeoisie to pimp off of the history of the Afro-American national movement (as one worker put it "an attempt to make a fast buck off an untapped resource"). Showing Roots seemed to have ulterior motives. Questions like why is the bourgeoisie suddenly trying to portray slavery after either distorting or altogether leaving out this period of American history. To some workers there was clearly a strategy behind the presentation of Roots. Roots was a distortion of American history.

The ABC t.v. special Roots is reactionary, there is no question about this. But what does Roots actually represent in terms of the working class movement? Why did the idea of Roots come forth? This clever trick sprouted from the minds of the bourgeoisie. In an attempt to keep the multinational working class divided, and overall to head off the proletarian revolution. Roots is purely the brainchild of the ruling class and is not a result of a mass movement. This gives an indication of what purposes Roots was intended to serve (although if Roots had been the result of a mass movement it would not have changed the reactionary nature of Roots, and would remain nothing but a trick by the bourgeoisie).

In our view Roots was a sign of the times, the time of crisis in the U.S. monopoly capitalist system, thus a sign of weakness of the bourgeoisie. In this time of crisis the bourgeoisie will stoop to all levels in an attempt to smother the fusion of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought with the Afro-American national movement. Under the 'see-through' cover of portraying the history of an Afro-American family, Roots became a most advanced and crafty scheme by the ruling class to weaken the U.S. proletariat. But the proletariat under the guidance of the genuine Communist Party will shoot down all attempts by the bourgeoisie and company to hold us back from moving the revolutionary process forward.

Aspects of rejecting the bourgeoisie's manoeuvre by the proletariat were evident in our investigation of Roots' effect. One worker spoke of recent events highlighted in the bourgeoisie press that attempted to stir up, as he put it, "racial hate". He went further by pointing to the fact an unconscious viewer of Roots could be left with a 'hate whitey' attitude or a 'white guilt' impression; either effect would divert the unconscious viewers' anger or frustration away from the crisis and the capitalist system. For Roots to appear on the scene in this time of crisis is no mistake. All of us should further the criticism of Roots.

To help deepen our understanding of Roots and its effect, we raised the question: how do the opportunists view Roots?

Take the October League, they view Roots from one side -- how Roots portrayed Afro-Americans as peaceful, non-rebellious, docile and complacent. True, Roots was filled with this garbage. But not once did the O.L. point to the bourgeoisie-democratic liberalism that saturated Roots. The O.L. also leaves their analysis of Roots dangling in the air by not giving any concrete present-

day significance of Roots. This method lends to leaving workers with the view that Roots is just another ordinary capitalist endeavor, and is independent of the present crisis and preparation for world war. The O.L. turns its back on another aspect of Roots when they fail to expose the importance of bourgeoisie literature and bourgeoisie class rule. The O.L. doesn't bring to light how the bourgeoisie uses art and literature to further their exploitation and oppression of the working class. Nor do they (O.L.) explain how all art and literature expresses a definite class outlook. Roots did express a definite class outlook -- the outlook of the bourgeoisie. The O.L. in their analysis of Roots fails to uphold a proletarian stand, method and viewpoint, thus their analysis sinks to opportunism.

But if this isn't enough check out the R'C'P (Revolutionary "Communist" Party) interpretation of Roots.

The R'C'P praises Roots for its "contribution to the fight against a history which until now has been written largely from the point of view of the oppressors" (as if Roots was written from the point of view of the oppressed). In the N.Y.-N.J. Worker, the R'C'P goes on and on about how Roots actually portrays the truth about American slave society. As we stated before, we need not point to the specific inaccuracies of Roots in this letter, for the WVO article does this very well. What is necessary is to depict a portrayal of slavery and American history. Roots did not do this. Consequently, the R'C'P's applause of Roots constitutes a chauvinist insult to the Afro-American masses, and further highlights their lack of understanding of the Afro-American national question.

Objectively the O.L. and R.C.P. act as "partners-in-crime" with the bourgeoisie in the attempt to disorient the proletarian revolution. After all the bourgeoisie did not show Roots to strengthen the proletariat, only to weaken it.

Necessity to expose Roots. One thing the proletariat must keep in mind is while we (the proletariat) are conscientiously working out a plan to overthrow the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie also has a plan to attempt to stay in power. Roots is part of such a plan. Communists on all fronts must consistently expose the bourgeoisie plan, thus exposing Roots thoroughly is a task genuine communists must take on. If we fail to take on this task, then we open the door to the bourgeoisie's plan for preparation of world war and fascism.

Friends of WVO

## 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.  
GPO Box 2256  
New York, N.Y. 10001

# I W W D: MASSES DEMAND

## SERVANTS OF BOURGEOISIE TRY IN

The Communist Workers Committee/Bolshevik Organizing Collective in the Durham-Greensboro (N.C.) area recently celebrated International Working Women's Day, as part of a nationwide celebration under the leadership of the Workers Viewpoint Organization. This was despite the desperate attempts of local trade union misleaders to hold back the fusion between scientific socialism (Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought) and the working class movement.

More than a week before the event, a representative of the CWC/BOC finalized arrangements to rent the Central Labor Union Hall in Durham for the IWWD celebration. Leaflets were prepared and distributed. Two days before the event, in a clear act of attempted sabotage, a major article in the local "Durham Morning Herald" carried an interview with local trade union misleaders William Hobby and Richard Ray in which they denied that any such arrangements had ever been made! In a barrage of the lowest anti-communist slander, they exposed clearly for all the masses to see their reasons for such barefaced lies -- their fears of a communist takeover of the union hall and of the union itself!

Undaunted, and in tit-for-tat struggle with the misleaders, the CWC/BOC comrades redoubled their efforts to build for the event. They immediately made other arrangements, put out a leaflet around the misleaders' vain attempt at sabotage, and held a spirited celebration on March 13. It consisted of labor songs, a slideshow on the historical development of women's oppression, and speeches by an Afro-American woman hospital worker on a recent organizing drive; a young white woman on degenerate culture and women's oppression; an African Liberation Support Committee representative on the participation of African women in the struggle against imperialism and racism; a male worker on the necessity for men to actively participate in the fight against women's oppression; and a presentation by the CWC/BOC on the relation between the fight against women's oppression and for proletarian revolution (this speech is reprinted below). The misleaders' futile attempts to stop the celebration didn't scare anyone away. In fact, it heightened interest on the part of workers to check out what the program was really about. This shows that the trade union misleaders only picked up a rock to drop it on their own feet.

The party of the U.S. proletariat is nearer than ever before, and Workers Viewpoint Organization is the basis for this party! This is bringing nearer than ever before the inevitable day when, organized and led by our vanguard Communist Party, the U.S. multinational proletariat will overthrow the blood-sucking monopoly capitalist class, trample underfoot faithful servants of the bourgeoisie like misleaders Hobby and Ray and others of their stripe, and will take back our unions -- union halls, leadership, and all!

Working women of the world arise! Smash the chains of capitalism and domestic slavery! This is our call to all working women, enslaved by the imperialist system. Arise, working women! Break free from the double yoke of capitalism and domestic slavery!

The declaration of International Working Women's Day by communists like Clara Zetkin was a tremendous blow against working women's oppression. It heightens our resistance to the slave-like oppression of working women, who not only face the brutality of the bosses on the job, but also face the added oppression of domestic slavery, isolated in the home and cut off from full participation in the rest of society.

But more importantly International Working Women's Day also brings to us the power of the working women in struggle, a view of our full potential as fighters for the whole working class and all oppressed people the world over.

### WORKING WOMEN HAVE A GREAT TRADITION OF STRUGGLE

In the U.S., working women have spearheaded struggles against child labor -- a common practice by the bourgeoisie

during the rise and consolidation of capitalism. Women led many strikes for shorter working hours, fighting side-by-side with men workers for the 8-hour day. Women protested sweatshop conditions from the mills of Lawrence, Mass. to the tenement factories of the Lower East Side of NYC. International Working Women's Day commemorated these heroic struggles, particularly the deaths of 147 women garment workers trapped in a sweatshop in the Lower East Side - 147 women - burned to death. Burned to death because capitalists had locked them up inside so they could extract every ounce of their labor power. Burned up for capitalist profits. This is the infamous Triangle Shirtwaist Fire.

But working women from throughout the country have struggled courageously against this oppression and brutality. And today, working women are the inheritors of a great tradition of struggle which merges with the entire working class and strikes decisive blows at the capitalists' imperialist system.

It is from this fighting tradition, not only in the U.S. but throughout the world, that we gain inspiration and push forward. It is this story which the bourgeoisie and their servants, such as Wilbur Hobby, do not want to be told. They fear the truth. But it will be told. We'll tell it on the streets, in the plants, in the hospitals, wherever people are being exploited by this system.

This is why they kicked us out of the Union Hall. But the growing consciousness of working women and men is on the rise. We are having IWWD today in spite of their shenanigans. And we will go from here more resolute and more

clear to carry out the struggle of working women and the entire working class and oppressed nationalities and national minorities. Their maneuvers will not stop the indomitable force of working women and men on the rise.

In fighting the brutality of national oppression, working women have also played a revolutionary role. Such heroines as Harriet Tubman, a former slave who led and organized underground railroads, took up armed struggle against the slaveowners and brought many slaves their freedom. In Montgomery, Alabama, when Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on the bus for a white person, she set the spark that unleashed the hundreds of years of oppression felt by the Afro-American people into a mass revolutionary upsurge that shook the very foundations of capitalism.

I recognize many of you seated right here tonight who participated in these struggles in the 60's and have continued to struggle. And now our struggle is guided correctly by the Workers Viewpoint Organization which is guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought

The women in the Farah garment plant in El Paso, Texas, who were mainly Chicanas, struck in order to organize themselves into trade unions. Women garment workers were in the forefront of the protests against police brutality in the streets of Chinatown in 1975, women also demonstrated for more workers of oppressed nationalities in the construction industry at New York's Confucius Plaza site. In 1971 in Greensboro, women cafeteria workers organized in spite of anti-union laws to protest low wages and no benefits. Hospital workers, the majority of whom are women of oppressed nationalities and national minorities, just as they are at Duke Hospital in Durham, N.C. Cone in Greensboro, N.C. and Memorial in Chapel Hill, N.C., have staged militant strikes recently such as the 1199 strike in New York this past summer. The women workers of Duke Hospital and the larger campus have

struggled relentlessly against Duke's exploitation, which Duke tries to justify because they are a so-called non-profit institution. This is pure trash. The textile workers at J.P. Stevens, a major corporation exploiting the labor of the people of North and South Carolina, have organized persistently for the past 20 years for union recognition. It has been and still is a difficult struggle, but the working women and men in these sweatshops continue to struggle wave upon wave, demanding that the working class in textiles be given the right to their most basic form of organization, the trade union. Workers at Cone Mill have also begun to step up their struggle, building off the tradition of the historic textile strikes of 1934.



STRUGGLE FOR WOMEN'S EMANCIPATION IS PART OF STRUGGLE AGAINST 2 SUPERPOWERS AND DANGER OF A NEW WORLD WAR

This year we celebrate International Working Women's Day at a time when the world is in great disorder. Both the factors for a new world war and for revolution are on the rise. In the years ahead either world war will give rise to revolution, or revolution will prevent world war. In this situation working women must dare to take their place on the front lines in the battle against US Imperialism and Soviet Social Imperialism. These two superpowers are the two main enemies of the people of the world. There is a fierce dog-eat-dog contention between the two superpowers for world hegemony--that is, for total domination of the world, and apparently the moon too the way they are battling over it. Because of this, there is the growing danger of world war. Of the two superpowers, Soviet Social-imperialism is the more dangerous, and more aggressive superpower, and is the main source of world war today.

In the face of the growing danger of world war, working women throughout the world have taken a revolutionary stand. A stand which reflects the bright future of working women and the international proletariat. Li Su-wen, head of the Chinese delegation to the International Women's Year Conference in 1975, laid out the tasks for women around the world. She said, "Clearly, the primary task at the present in the struggle for women's emancipation is to fight imperialism, colonialism, and particularly hegemonism of the two superpowers. Only when this international struggle is carried out successfully, while giving due attention to solving the special demands and problems of women, can the cause for women's emancipation be pushed ahead steadily."

In the national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa and Latin America, women have taken up arms and fought for in-



# COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP

## VAIN TO SABOTAGE CELEBRATION

dependence from U.S. imperialist and Soviet social-imperialist domination. But the struggle for women to take part in the armed struggle of their nation necessitated a struggle against feudal traditions, customs and ideas about women's role in society.

If we look at the history of Vietnam, a history of struggle against imperialism, colonialism and feudalism, we can see the role women have played in the national liberation struggles, and how they have laid the basis for their own emancipation.

There were Trung Trac and Trung Nhi, who in the year 40 A.D. fought against Chinese feudal warlords; Hui Thi Xuan was one of the leaders of the great Tayson Rebellion in the late 18th century, which led to the reunification of Vietnam. In the more recent struggles against French colonialism, Japanese imperialism, and then U.S. imperialism, Vietnamese women have carried forward this proud heritage of struggle and sacrifice for the liberation of Vietnam. Taking part not only in the front ranks of the battle lines, but stationed also in the rear, women carried out the essential tasks of cultivating the fields in order to provide food for the revolutionaries; women were messengers between guerrilla bases; women repaired roads when the enemy bombers destroyed them; women transported supplies and ammunition to the front lines; women did propaganda work among the puppet forces, causing them to cross over from the armies of the reactionary imperialist-front army to the liberation army of the people of Vietnam. Now that's carrying out correct propaganda work!

Today, the women in Palestine, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and other Third World countries face many similar conditions, being oppressed by feudalism, colonialism and U.S. and Soviet social-imperialism.

The women of Africa, Asia and Latin America stand up as their Vietnamese sisters did to fight off colonial plunder, imperialist domination, and the feudal traditions and customs that forced women into an inferior role. Women of the Third World recognize that in order to achieve their own liberation, their nation must be liberated first.

Chairman Mao tse-Tung, in saying "When women all over the country rise up, that will be the day of victory for the revolution!"

### THE MAIN ENEMY OF THE ENTIRE WORKING CLASS IS MONOPOLY CAPITALISM

We also recognize that for women to gain true equality with men, we must wipe away the basis for women's oppression. In the U.S., this means overthrowing monopoly capitalism, the main enemy of all working women as well as the working class and oppressed people as a whole!

Cuts in pregnancy benefits, increased workloads, layoffs, speedups -- this is what we are increasingly faced with. All these things point to only one thing--the anarchy and oppression of the capitalist system we live under. Under capitalism, nothing is done according to the needs of the vast majority of people. Everything is done only to make profits for the small minority of exploiters--the bosses or the monopoly capitalist class. We, the working class, or proletariat, produce everything. We produce absolutely everything that is made. We are the class that makes all of society run. But it's the capitalist class, the bourgeoisie, who gets everything. They own the banks, the factories, the mines --the means of production for the whole society.

Take General Motors, for example.



General Motors announced it had record-making profits for 1976, topping even Exxon and AT&T. The company did this by "improved operating efficiencies" through "cost reduction programs," it said. In real life, what do these words mean? Now, I know you'll know already but I'm going to explain it to you anyway. For General Motors, these words spell p-r-o-f-i-t-s. For us workers, "improved operating efficiencies" means speedups and more harassment on the job! "Cost reduction programs" means more layoffs! What's good for General Motors you can be sure, is not good for the workers! What's good for the monopoly capitalist is done at the expense of us workers. Workers here in North Carolina will remember the surge of efficiency experts hired at Duke, Cone Mills and other places which resulted in us losing jobs, having heavier work loads, etc. The bourgeoisie's class interests are the direct opposite of our working class interests.

The capitalist system means dog-eat-dog competition between the giant corporations, with the working class getting rolled over in the scramble. That's what the whole gas "shortage" fake was about. We all know there is plenty of gas lying around in different parts of the country. The monopoly oil companies were just holding out or refusing to develop the gas until prices were jacked up. Along the way, the smaller oil companies got swallowed up. And all we working people got was layoffs, unheated buildings, schools and houses, and bigger fuel and food bills. People froze to death while tons of gas sat unused in tanks or remained undeveloped underground. This is the kind of insane anarchy the capitalist system brings about. You folks know it's true--this happened just a month or so ago in Durham-- 2 old folks died while up under the bed trying to keep warm. After working all their lives for this bankrupt exploitative system, they freeze to death because of lack of heat! They were on fixed incomes which is not at all enough to make it in. Frozed to death! This is outrageous.

All the lies they feed us in the press, in the schools, and on TV about capitalism meaning "free enterprise" and "democracy" are a joke. Capitalism boils down to just one thing: the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat, or the dictatorship of the monopoly capitalist class over the working class.

We have to overthrow this rotten dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and replace it with a just system. This just system is socialism, and communism. Why does the bourgeoisie and its lackeys try so hard to cloud our minds about communism? They fear it because it goes directly against their interests, their

interests of superprofits and superexploitation.

That is why the bourgeoisie tries so hard to keep us from getting together to speak the truth about this system. That's why Hobby and the misleaders who serve the bourgeoisie lied and tried to say we were planning to steal their building, after passing our thousands of leaflets announcing this meeting. So they act like we were going to steal a building after openly announcing our plans and making plans to be there. This is TV stuff-- not real life. They yelled about us being secretive-- of course the working class is not going to show its full hand to the enemy. We've all heard too much about the role of the CIA-- we'd be foolish not to keep parts of our operation secret from THEM. But our task is to speak the truth and it is the truth they fear.

Socialism is the only system that works in the workers' interests. Under this system we as workers can live like human beings, not as slaves of the bourgeoisie. Forced overtime, speedups, layoffs, women's oppression, national oppression, will be a thing of the past! Because socialism is not a system making profits for a few like General Motors and Exxon. But a planned economy in the interests of the workers--planned so that there is no such thing as unemployment and layoffs. We workers as the makers of everything on this earth will be the masters. So how will socialism come about? We must be organized. For organization is what the bourgeoisie fears from us. Organization is a chief weapon of the working class in our fight against the bourgeoisie.

Our organization should not be a sham organization, but a genuine organization which fights for the genuine interests of the working class and the oppressed nationalities. Right here in Durham, Operation Breakthrough was a genuine organization which grew out of the heroic struggles of Afro-Americans. But now it is used to divide the class, breed fascism and serve the bourgeoisie. We should fight to make OBT a genuine organization which will again serve the struggle. But in order to do this the masses must take control of OBT. Fred McNeil, the fanatical, anti-communist director of OBT, is firing the genuine fighters, attempting to frighten the others into place, and has gone beyond the limits of sanity to serve the bourgeoisie. Fred and the business representatives on the board must go! The masses will once again rise up to seize control of our organizations such as OBT and the trade unions. The bour-

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# RCP: REVERSING VERDICT ON IS TOTAL

War and Revolution, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) pamphlet on the international situation, reveals the RCP's treacherous backsliding on Soviet social-imperialism, as the main danger to the people of the world, and the main source of war in the world today. In their article on Southern Africa, "Can a Leopard Change Its Spots? U.S. Tries 'New Policy' in Africa," p. 34, the RCP never once mentions that the Soviet social-imperialists are the main danger to the struggle of the Southern African peoples. What they do say is "Because of their socialist cover, the New Tsars of the U.S.S.R. have an easier time extending their influence, but their motives are becoming more exposed" (p. 35). This is nothing but treachery to the liberation movements of the Southern African people, and to the U.S. proletariat. This is nothing but an attempt to prettify and weakly point a finger at the Soviet social-imperialists. This backsliding on the superpower which has "honey on its lips and murder in its heart," is RCP's attempt to "reverse the verdict" on Soviet social-imperialism, betray the national liberation movements and mislead the U.S. proletariat.

## CRUCIAL QUESTIONS FACING THE US PROLETARIAT

Who are the main enemies of the peoples of the world? Is Soviet social-imperialism the main danger and main source of war? Is there a difference between the immediate enemy and the main danger? These are crucial questions concerning the present international situation, which a correct understanding of and a correct line on, are essential in order to correctly prepare the U.S. proletariat to carry out its task of overthrowing the U.S. bourgeoisie (itself the most fundamental act of proletarian internationalism) while at the same time giving concrete ideological, political, and material aid to the just struggles of the revolutionary peoples of the world against imperialism, colonialism (old and new), hegemonism, zionism, racism and all reaction. An understanding of these questions is essential to carrying out the correct propaganda and agitation amongst the U.S. proletariat, educating them

to the nature of the present international situation, and in correctly doing support work for national liberation struggles.

## OL AND RCP CAUSING NOTHING BUT CONFUSION: "ABBOTT AND COSTELLO" TREACHERY

The October League (OL) and the RCP in their recent polemics on these questions are causing confusion and misleading the proletariat and progressive people in the U.S., as they continue to carry on their "Abbot and Costello" act in front of the U.S. proletariat and progressive people. Everyone is familiar with the comedy team of Lou Costello, the classic bumbling idiot, and Bud Abbott, also a bumbling idiot, but who in relation to Costello is made to look smart. This has been the history of the line struggles between the OL and the RCP, an "Abbot and Costello" act which is not a comedy, but a treachery to the cause of proletarian revolution. When the OL put forward its completely class collaborationist line on "move the trade unions to the left," the RCP countered with a "seemingly" more militant line of "rolling on and over" the trade union misleaders, liquidating them as social props and direction of the main blow. When the OL supported the Boston forced busing plan, tailing the liberals and social prop NAACP, the RCP came forward with a "seemingly" more militant opposition to the forced busing plan, but which failed to uphold the demands of the oppressed national minorities, objectively uniting with the Hicks, Kerrigan camp. And so it has been on many questions the OL coming forward with a bumbling, eclectic, relatively clear revisionist

line, and the RCP attempting to make itself look more correct with more militant posturing and sophistry. This "Abbott & Costello" act is still going on, concerning the present international situation.

## SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM IS THE MAIN SOURCE OF WAR

The two superpowers, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, are today the biggest international exploiters and oppressors. They are the main enemies of the people of the world, and the main targets of the international united front against imperialism. U.S. imperialism, formerly the single main enemy of the people of the world and main target of the international united front against imperialism, has long since toppled from its pinnacle, but tries desperately to hang on to what it has wrested from the people of the world.

"U.S. imperialism started to go downhill after its defeat in the war of aggression against Korea. It has openly admitted that it is increasingly on the decline; it could not but pull out of Viet Nam." (The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China, p. 25)

With the all-round restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, subject to the same laws of imperialism, the Soviet social-imperialists have embarked on the same road as U.S. imperialism. Relying on its rapid swollen military strength, it has joined the imperialist ranks in an attempt to redivide the world, thereby locking itself in fierce contention with U.S. imperialism; a contention which is bound to lead to world war someday, unless the U.S. or Soviet social-imperialist bourgeoisie is overthrown.

As a new rising imperialist power, the Soviet social-imperialists are more aggressive, ambitious, and are throwing their weight around in their attempt to unseat U.S. imperialism and take their place in those areas where it is on the retreat. More and more people are aware of the danger of "letting the tiger in through the back door while repulsing the wolf at the front gate."

"While one imperialist power has left the scene in defeat, another is taking its place. This is not the first time in the history of Asia and Africa that the tiger arrives when the wolf leaves. In the Middle East, when British and French influence was greatly weakened after World War II, the U.S. imperialists were on hand to fill the so-called 'vacuum'. But even before the U.S. imperialists' force was driven out the Soviet revisionists massively infiltrated the region. Not long after India freed itself from British colonial rule, the United States extended its influence into that country in the name of providing 'aid'. The Soviet revisionists subsequently tried to elbow out the United States, steadily intensifying their plunder and control of India and subjecting the Indian people to Soviet social imperialist ravage." (Renmin Ribao, July 29, 1975)

This wild attempt on the part of Soviet social-imperialism to unseat U.S. imperialism, and find its place in the sun, is what makes Soviet social-imperialism the main source of world war in the world today.

## SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM IS THE MAIN DANGER TO THE WORLD'S PEOPLE

Aggression, interference, bullying, attempts at control and subversion are the counter-revolutionary activities of the Soviet social-imperialists. Under the signboard of socialism, aid, and friend of the liberation movements, the Soviet social-imperialists never miss an attempt to move in where the U.S. is

being kicked out. While the two superpower hegemonists are a real threat to the African continent, "The Kremlin hegemonists are the more dangerous for they pretend to back the African people's struggle but actually carry out infiltration and expansion everywhere." (Peking Review #35, August 29, 1975).

In revealing the imperialists who professed sympathy with China during the war against Japanese aggression, Chairman Mao said,

"Such friends can only be classed with Li Lin-fu, the prime minister in the Tang Dynasty who was notorious as a man with 'honey on his lips and murder in his heart'."



Reversing the verdict on Soviet social-imperialism is pitting the struggle in the US against Third World struggles.

While the U.S. imperialists have long ago been exposed as an imperialist aggressor and an enemy of the people of the world, the Soviet social-imperialists carry out their aggression with "honey on their lips," wear the signboard of socialism, the signboard of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, but are in fact false friends of the people. "They are counter-revolutionary double dealers and as such more dangerous than known enemies." (Peking Review #31, August 1, 1975)

## RCP REVERSING VERDICT ON SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

Hitting October League's outright revisionist line, and using sophistry and word magic, the RCP is step by step reversing the verdict on Soviet social-imperialism as the main danger and main source of war.

In the Feb. 1977 issue of Revolution, the RCP says,

"The OL's initial use of the main blow formulation had nothing to do with Stalin's use of the term. Instead, it made its appearance as one of a group of paraphrases -- also including 'main danger,' 'main source of war' and so on -- which the OL uses to sabotage the Marxist Leninist understanding that on a world scale the people face two main enemies today, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. All the OL's 'main' this and 'main' that is an attempt to peddle the view that the real main enemy is the USSR."

Now, as we have historically shown, the OL certainly understands nothing about Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought, and butchers every Marxist-Leninist teaching to cover its own petty-bourgeois outlook and program. We also have shown how the OL's line on the international situation is bound to lead to a social-chauvinist Kautskyite line of "lesser of two evils," that is, defending one's own bourgeoisie against

# SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM

## TREACHERY

another. We have exposed how the OL's view that the "direction of the main blow" must be aimed at Soviet social-imperialism is nothing but a Kautskyite line of "ultra-imperialism," and once again revealed the unity of the Renegade Kautsky and the Renegade Klonsky. (see Workers Viewpoint newspaper, Vol. 2 #1, Jan. 1977, "Strategy and Tactics: OL and RCP Revise Marxism on the International Situation.") But the RCP takes the OL (Costello) eclecticism and bumbling, and uses it to make a case for backtracking on Soviet social-imperialism. The RCP (Abbott) takes OL's distortion of the "direction of the main blow" to make a case (by distorting Chairman Mao's line) for repudiating Stalin and saying that the "direction of the main blow" does not apply in the U.S. (see WVO newspaper Vol. 2 #1, for a thorough exposure of RCP's sophistry).

Throughout the RCP's entire 36 page pamphlet, War and Revolution, they never once mention that Soviet social-imperialism is the main danger and main source of war in the world today. Pretending to be militant again, the RCP poses the essential question as whether or not we stand on overthrowing our own bourgeoisie, since, saying that Soviet social-imperialism is the "main" anything will lead to collaboration with our own bourgeoisie, à la OL. We certainly think that the OL's use of "main danger" is distorted, incorrect and must be exposed. But the RCP uses OL's incorrectness to liquidate "main danger" and "main source of war" altogether.

NO RCP! You have set up the OL's raggedy line in an attempt to sneak in yours! In fact, the RCP is social chauvinist from the "left," no different than their chauvinist-liquidationist line on the Afro-American National Question. For example, in Boston, the RCP while opposing the forced busing plan, and raising the demand for "quality education for the entire working class", failed to uphold the right of the national minorities to attend the school of their choice. They pitted the democratic-rights struggle against the struggle of the entire working class. It was an act of betrayal. Pitting the task of overthrowing our own bourgeoisie, against carrying out exposure of Soviet social-imperialism as the main danger and main source of war, is an act of betrayal to the national liberation struggles. In all of the RCP's latest agitation and propaganda around the liberation struggles in Southern Africa, they never once mention that the Soviet social-imperialists are the main danger to the peoples' struggle for liberation and independence. Why? Because the RCP thinks that it might "complicate" our task of overthrowing our own bourgeoisie! This is nothing but downright chauvinism and Trotskyism.

### GENUINE MARXISTS DO NOT PIT THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE STRUGGLES IN THE COLONIES AGAINST EACH OTHER

To genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people, the national liberation struggles and struggles of all oppressed and exploited peoples against all imperialism, hegemonism, zionism, racism, colonialism and all reaction, are concretely an aid to our struggle in the U.S. against the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie. As Lenin and Stalin have pointed out, in the era of imperialism, the national liberation struggles themselves become part of the world-wide proletarian revolution, because they weaken imperialism and consequently aid proletarian revolution in the advanced capitalist countries. And as Chairman Mao has pointed out, "The just struggles of all peoples support each other." Genuine Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries do not pit one struggle against another. But to the RCP, doing support work for national

liberation movements must be "qualified" by not exposing Soviet social-imperialism as the main danger. This is chauvinism toward the national liberation movements, because to the RCP the real struggle is in the U.S., which must not be "complicated." This is Trotskyism because it reflects a view that belittles the role of the national liberation struggles and does not see them as a component part of the world revolution. Is this line of the RCP's of not exposing Soviet social-imperialism as the main danger, under the cover of "our main task is to overthrow our own bourgeoisie," any different than their line of not raising up the national demands of the oppressed nationalities and national minorities in the U.S. because it might obscure the "class-wide" demands? Of course not.

### BASED ON COMMUNIST EXPOSURE AND THEIR OWN EXPOSURE, THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE WILL REJECT RCP'S "SOFT" LINE ON SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM

In the world today, there is no way that genuine communists can carry out genuine support work for the national liberation struggles without exposing Soviet social-imperialism as the main danger, and caution the revolutionary peoples to beware of the tiger at the back door while repulsing the wolf through the front gate. The lessons of Angola burn deep in the heart of the revolutionary people the world over, where the Soviet social-imperialists instigated a civil war, called on brothers to fight brothers, sent in Cuban mercenaries, attempted to split and weaken the unity of the (OAU) Organization of African Unity, all in the name of "proletarian internationalism". The RCP's "soft line", which is in essence reversing the verdict on Soviet social-imperialism, will only serve to drop people's vigilance on the neo-colonialist strivings of the Soviet social-imperialists, its exploitation under the signboard of "aid," the danger of world war, and dis-arm the U.S. proletariat as to the treachery of Modern Revisionism. But the world's revolutionary people, drawing more lessons from the Soviet social-imperialist maneuvering and treachery in the Middle East which

helped cause the criminal murder of the heroic Palestinian people in the Tel Al Zatar camps, will reject this attempt by the RCP to sell them out, and help set them up for the kill, by not consistently exposing Soviet social-imperialism as the main danger and main source of war -- all under the cover of overthrowing our own bourgeoisie.

### TO THE RCP, THE PEOPLE ARE STUPID

The RCP's line on its reverse side belittles the consciousness of the U.S. proletariat and revolutionary peoples. To the RCP, to carry out ideological and political work in preparing the U.S. proletariat to turn the imperialist war into a civil war against our own bourgeoisie, and exposing the Soviet social-imperialists as the main danger and main source of war, might "confuse" the U.S. proletariat as to its task. This is nothing but a continuation of the RCP's catering to the lower stratum of the proletariat, belittling the consciousness of the advanced workers and progressive people. To the RCP, in Puerto Rico the Puerto Rican people do not know that their immediate enemy is U.S. imperialism, despite the fact that the masses have shed rivers of blood for decades in their attempt to kick out this monster. To the RCP, the Puerto Rican people cannot possibly grasp the concept and reality, that while kicking out the U.S. imperialists, the immediate enemy, they should be vigilant that the main danger to their liberation struggle is the other superpower who has "honey on his lips and murder in his heart." No, to the RCP, this is simply too much for the Puerto Rican people to grasp, and might "complicate" their struggle. To the RCP, Malcolm X's advice to the Afro-American people to not only pay attention to the wolf (George Wallace types), but also to the fox (Kennedy types) who is more dangerous because he pats you on the back while at the same time oppressing and exploiting you, is simply too much for the U.S. proletariat to grasp.

This is nothing but the RCP's highly opportunist pragmatism. Since the U.S. proletariat is not fighting the Soviet social-imperialist bourgeoisie directly, then why raise that

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The RCP thinks that the US working class is incapable of seeing US imperialism as their immediate enemy, and carry out the fundamental task of overthrowing our own bourgeoisie, while exposing Soviet social-imperialism as the main danger to revolutionary struggles around the world.

# ALSC: RWC PAVES WAY FOR RCP TAKEOVER

Following a series of opportunist maneuvers, the Revolutionary Workers Congress (RWC) "majority bloc" brazenly changed the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) principles of unity at the February Executive Committee meeting. This undoubtedly is an attempt to make the ALSC principles of unity compatible for the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), paving the way for an RCP takeover.

Prior to the February Executive Committee meeting, the RWC:

(1) sent out a draft call for a proposed conference on the international situation, which contained not a word concerning Soviet Social Imperialism as the main danger and main source of war in the world today.

(2) sent out the following list of the ALSC principles of unity that were completely different from those adopted by the ALSC National Conference: (a) oppose the two superpowers, U.S. and U.S.S.R (b) support for the national liberation struggles of the Third World, with special focus on southern Africa (c) actively expose our own bourgeoisie (d) support the just struggles of oppressed nationalities and national minorities.

(3) in the name of the national ALSC, the Atlanta chapter (RWC) endorsed the Revolutionary Student Brigade's (RSB) South-wide mobilization, "March for Freedom for Southern Africa," in which RSB said nothing about Soviet social-imperialism as the main danger to the struggles of the African peoples, and as the main source of war in the world today.

(4) the Atlanta ALSC chapter itself published a leaflet in support of the RSB mobilization which also reversed the verdict on Soviet social-imperialism.

In the February Executive Committee meeting, the Workers Viewpoint Organization and others accused the RWC of underhanded line maneuvering, reversing the verdict on Soviet social-imperialism in order to pave the way for the RCP to appropriate the ALSC banner, and promoting its reactionary influence in the Afro-American national movement.

In classic elusive maneuvering, the RWC, in response to the charges, first raised that their omissions in the Atlanta ALSC leaflet were an oversight! The RWC raised that it also held the view that the Soviet social-imperialists are the main danger to the struggles of the African peoples and are the main source of war in the world today. But, when pressed to affirm its unity with the ALSC principles of unity as presented by the WVO and adopted at the September ALSC National Conference, the RWC changed its tactic, and stated that the September Conference only united with the thrust of the WVO position, and not its exact wording. Producing the minutes of the September meeting (kept by the RWC chairperson), the RWC said that the minutes only affirmed unity against the 2 superpowers, not the exact wording of the principles of unity presented by the WVO.

Then, in a vote to affirm what was the thrust of the September Conference, the RWC changed its tactic again and put forward that the current principles of unity should not condemn Soviet social-imperialism as the main danger to the struggles of the African peoples and main source of war in the world today, because that might keep certain forces out of ALSC, and prevent ALSC from being built as broadly as possible. This was clear and treacherous opportunism, designed to open ALSC to the RWC's right opportunist cousins, the RCP. The RWC "majority bloc" then proceeded to strip and change the original principles of unity.

## ALSC PRINCIPLES OF UNITY CANNOT BE REVERSED BY THE RWC MAJORITY BLOC

In the September ALSC national meeting, the Conference adopted the principles of unity as put forward by the WVO. They were:

"1. Resolutely support the national liberation movements in Africa against imperialism, colonialism, hegemonism, zionism, racism, and against all reaction.

2. Oppose the two superpowers. Expose the Soviet social-imperialists as the main danger to the independence of the Third World peoples and the peoples of the world, and as the main source of war in the world today. (emphasis - Ed.)

3. Forge militant solidarity with the struggles of the working class and oppressed nationalities of the U.S. with the oppressed nations, countries, and peoples of the entire world.

4. ALSC should be a multi-national organization, focused in the working class and oppressed nationality and minority communities and workplaces." (Reprinted from WVO Newspaper, Vol. I, No. 6, p. 9)

The entire body adopted the principles of unity put forward by the WVO, since they were in unity with the various other positions advanced at the Conference. Nearly every group at the Conference condemned Soviet social-imperialism as the main danger and main source of war! As was reported in the WVO newspaper sump of the Conference ("Build ALSC Into a Mass Fighting Organization," Vol. I, No. 6, Sept/Oct 1976), the main struggle concerned whether "revolution is the main trend" or "two contending trends" (either world war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent world war) characterizes the present international situation, because it was around this question that major differences existed. In addition, the ALSC National Conference adopted as a principle of unity "support the democratic rights of oppressed nationalities and national minorities in the U.S."

The Conference's adoption of the principles of unity put forward by the WVO, including the condemnation of Soviet social-imperialism, is something no honest person that attended the Conference can deny.

## IN ORDER TO APPROPRIATE THE ALSC BANNER, THE RCP MUST REVISE ALSC PRINCIPLES OF UNITY

The current ALSC principles of unity are an important line of demarcation with opportunist forces like the RCP, who are betraying the U.S. proletariat and revolutionary people the world over by reversing the verdict on Soviet social-imperialism (see "RCP: Reversing Verdict on SSI is Total Treachery" in this issue).

The RWC, thoroughly right opportunist, kith and kin of the RCP driven into a frenzy by the WVO's supposed "leftism," and lately more "chummy" with the RCP, is attempting to make the ALSC banner compatible for the RCP. NO! The RCP has once again picked up a rock only to drop it on its own toes. The RCP, running dry from lack of theory, has recently flipped to making overt appeals to all types of retrograde elements under the guise of "now its the period to organize the petty bourgeoisie." This was the essence of the RCP's call to the masses to debate the international situation. Running on the same track, the RCP praised and trumpeted Roots to the skies in hopes that it would lull the masses into forgetting their historically chauvinist line on the Afro-American national movement and give the RCP new life. Surely the revolutionary and progressive people will reject this latest maneuver by the RCP, and RWC's "running interference" for them.

## RWC'S OPPORTUNISM AND RUNNING INTERFERENCE FOR THE RCP HAS NO BOUNDS

The arrogant RWC "Majority bloc" did not stop at changing the prin-

ciples of unity on the Soviet social-imperialists, but also changed the principles of unity from supporting the liberation struggles in Africa to supporting the Third World struggles in general, with special focus on Africa. RWC advanced the position that southern Africa was a current hotspot, which could change anytime. This line was opposed on the basis that ALSC is a manifestation of the historical spontaneous proletarian internationalist sentiment of the Afro-American people for the struggles of the African peoples, which should be utilized, broadened, deepened, and raised to a higher level -- proletarian internationalism with the just struggles of peoples all over the world!



THE ALSC HAS HISTORICALLY TAKEN THE LEAD in bringing thousands into the streets in support of the liberation movements in southern Africa, while at the same time consolidating advanced elements and winning them over to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The treacherous line of the RCP can only wreck the current efforts to rebuild the ALSC.

This of course would not restrict ALSC from carrying out support work for other Third World struggles -- which it historically has done. In addition, the principle of unity that said "forge militant solidarity with... the oppressed nations, countries, and peoples of the entire world" covered all other struggles.

The RWC was in fact charged with attempting to sneak in RCP's liquidationist line on the Afro-American national movement. Having no grasp of the Afro-American national movement, the RCP can never understand the progressive and anti-imperialist aspect of why throughout the history of the Afro-American people, the striving to unite with the African peoples continues to manifest itself in numerous forms, from the various Pan-African Conferences called by Dubois, Nkrumah, and others; Back to Africa movements; the African Liberation Support Committee itself, etc. The RCP's chauvinism and liquidationism (all nationalism is nationalism) blind it to grasping how this "revolutionary kernel" can be turned into a powerful force against imperialism in support of the struggles of the revolutionary peoples the world over. No, the RCP has no intention, nor is it capable, of building ALSC into a mass fighting organization that can once again win the advanced elements from the Afro-American national movements, and play an essential role in the struggle against the 2 superpowers. Pragmatists to the bone, and opportunists that they are, the RCP only views ALSC as one of a list of organizations that endorses its opportunist activities. RCP hopes that the ALSC's respect and tradition amongst the masses will promote their influence in the mass movement. Unable to build it up, they certainly can wreck it.

The RWC's opportunism, knowing no bounds, even voted in a proposal that this year's ALSC National Conference, held along with the national African Liberation Day (ALD) demonstration, not be characterized by debate or struggle.

This is clearly a right opportunist, obstructionist line -- under the cover of "propaganda is not ALSC's chief form of activity." The RWC lacks any grasp of how ALSC developed in the course of struggle, in the course stimulating, drawing the advanced and masses into the struggle, raising their level, winning them deeply to the ALSC program. This is the only correct way to rebuild ALSC. Instead, following the RCP, the RWC wants this year's (a most crucial year due to ALSC being in a rebuilding stage and the new life given to Trots, revisionists and bourgeois nationalists of all sorts by the RWL's wrecking of ALSC) Conference to be characterized by dry presentations only. This is obviously an attempt to liquidate line struggle, and not draw the masses into it. For the RWC "majority bloc" wants their opportunist maneuvering to be kept inside the "executive committee meetings." This is pure cowardice, and an opportunist disdain toward the masses.

#### UPHOLD THE FIGHTING TRADITION OF ALSC

From 1972-75, the African Liberation Support Committee, as an outgrowth of the Pan Africanist movement of the late 60's and early 70's, organized demonstrations of tens of thousands in support of the national liberation struggles in southern Africa, against Portuguese colonialism, the racist regimes in Azania and Zimbabwe, and U.S. imperialism's complicity in the oppression and exploitation of the African peoples. The U.S. multinational proletariat, and the Afro-American people in particular, have a great and glorious history of supporting the struggles of the African peoples. In recent years we have seen the boycott of Zimbabwean chrome by dockworkers, the boycott of Azanian coal, demonstrations of Polaroid workers against Polaroid's connection in making pass books for the Vorster regime in Azania. These were all examples of the kernel of proletarian internationalism that were manifested in these movements.

The ALSC developed out of a tradition of struggle against bourgeois nationalist lines in the Black Liberation Movement, "left" and right opportunist lines in the communist movement, and forged militant solidarity between the Afro-American and entire U.S. people and the struggles of Third World and working people the world over. Many advanced elements from the Afro-American national movement were attracted to ALSC's program and tradition of struggle, and came to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought through the developments in the ALSC. (Read or write in for WVO pamphlet "African Peoples' Struggle Will Surely Triumph. Build the Communist Leadership of the African Liberation Support Committee" for a history of the development of the ALSC)

Nearly wrecked by the "left" opportunist line of the Revolutionary Workers League, the ALSC can once again be a vital mass fighting organization which carries out correct support for the national liberation struggles in Africa, and around the world. It once again, under correct leadership, can be a vital formation that can win the hearts, souls and commitment of advanced elements and workers from all movements, particularly the Afro-American national movement. But presently, the ALSC is under serious threat of being wrecked by the RCP and its treacherous chauvinist line toward the national liberation struggles around the world, and chauvinist line on the Afro-American national movement in the U.S.

Running interference for the RCP, the thoroughly right opportunist RWC has embarked on a road that can only lead to smothering the African Liberation Support Committee, preventing it from continuing to play a historic role in support of the revolutionary struggles in southern Africa and elsewhere, preventing it from continuing to be a formation that has attracted and united advanced forces from the Afro-American national movement.

With the defeat of the wrecking activity of the left opportunist RWL which left ALSC in shambles, the RWC emerged as the dominant influence in the national leadership of ALSC. From its position as a "majority bloc," on the National Executive Committee of the ALSC, the RWC has carried out the tho-

roughly right opportunist activity of purging Nelson Johnson from the National Executive Committee, obstructing the dissemination of essential propaganda necessary for rebuilding ALSC, and underhandedly changing the ALSC principles of unity. All of this -- in order to make ALSC compatible for its right opportunist cousins -- the RCP.

Since the September ALSC National Conference, which set itself the task of rebuilding the ALSC, a most important two-line struggle has been raging within the ALSC. As the majority bloc in the national ALSC Steering Committee, the RWC has been employing a thoroughly right opportunist political line and style of work. Characteristic of right opportunism, RWC has not been bold and forthright with its line. Instead the RWC has maneuvered and hid behind the guise of fighting the "left" danger of the WVO. Even though the RWL has been roundly criticized by local ALSC chapters and by other communist organizations, the "majority bloc" has become more arrogant, stepped up its obstructionist activity and has jumped out clearly as a front organization of the RCP.



THE HEROIC STRUGGLES OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLES, like these Azanian youth demonstrating in Soweto, have always drawn the masses of Afro-American people into their support. The RCP, unable to grasp this, will liquidate the ALSC as a vehicle for transforming the spontaneous anti-imperialist sentiment amongst Afro-American people into conscious organized assault on the two superpowers, and in support of the just struggles of all peoples.

This struggle involves the most basic question of what kind of organization ALSC is to be: more precisely, it will determine whether ALSC develops as a mass anti-imperialist organization, accumulating revolutionary forces, pushing forward the consciousness of the national movements, within the U.S., particularly the Afro-American national movement. Whether it unites the national movements and the U.S. multinational working class as we support the liberation struggles in southern Africa, fighting resolutely against imperialism, particularly the superpowers and the danger of world war, or whether ALSC's tremendous potential and rich tradition of struggles becomes prisoner of the thoroughly bankrupt right opportunist line of the RWC which was clearly exposed at the February Executive Committee meeting as a front group for the RCP.

In the Sept/Oct 1976 issue of the WVO newspaper, (Vol. I, No. 6), we said:

"With the defeat of the 'left' opportunists, the work of rebuilding ALSC can go forward, but only in a staunch and resolute struggle against the rightist influence of the RWC and the RCL (the main danger in our movement being right opportunism), which has achieved temporary dominance in the ALSC rebuilding efforts.

"The main points of struggle at the recent national ALSC meeting concerned the international situation, the chief form of work for ALSC (propaganda or agitation), and the principles of unity. The voting and various positions put forward on these issues clearly reveal that in the current effort to rebuild ALSC under communist leadership, the right will be the main danger to accomplishing this task."

#### RCP'S ATTEMPTS WILL SURELY FAIL

The WVO calls on all progressive and revolutionary-minded people, concerned with the direction of ALSC, to step up the struggle and exposure of the RWC's maneuvering, obstructionism, liquidation of line struggle and reversal of the verdict

on Soviet social-imperialism, which will only mean treachery to the revolutionary peoples. All ALSC chapters should soundly expose the RWC "front" for RCP. All progressive people currently not active in ALSC work should join ALSC committees and help to defeat the current right line, so essential to rebuilding ALSC and carrying out correct support work. This struggle must be taken out of the "Executive Committee Meetings" dominated by the RWC "majority bloc," and out to the masses. The RWC's obstructionism and smothering of the ALSC can no longer be tolerated! We call on all progressive and revolutionary-minded people to attend the upcoming ALSC national demonstration and conference, and make the conference a "show-down" to defeat this most reactionary attempt by the RWC to pave the way for an RCP take-over.

Defend the September Conference Principles of Unity! ■

# AFRICAN PEOPLES' STRUGGLE WILL SURELY TRIUMPH!

## Build Communist Leadership of the African Liberation Support Committee!

Order Now: \$1

# THE OCTOBER LEAGUE — TOUCHED TO THEIR SOUL

The world capitalist crisis is heading towards tremendous confrontations and inevitable collapse. Everyone senses it. Revolutionary workers see it clearly, and so do the monopoly capitalists. All classes and all the national movements are in upheaval, preparing their political programs and tactics and gathering their forces for the coming battles. And out of this grouping and regrouping of the country's political forces, two roads are emerging more and more clearly to workers and oppressed nationalities: either socialism or fascism, either the dictatorship of the proletariat or the fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

Only the U.S. workers, backed by the Afro-American and other national movements and guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, can lead the U.S. people onto the road to socialism and out of capitalist oppression. The progress of the workers' and national movements in the last several years -- from the West Virginian miners to the New York and San Francisco city workers, from the steel, auto and rubber workers in the Mid West to the oppressed nationalities' struggles against police repression, deportations and for equal rights -- all this shows the spontaneous striving of these two great movements for socialism. The struggles are still uneven, still just rising, sometimes zig-zagging, but they do advance and steadily go deeper into the masses. The slogan of the revolutionary workers' and national movements is: Break The Chains of Wage-Slavery and National Oppression! Fight for Socialism!

The bourgeoisie answers with its slogans: Anything but socialism! Anything but Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought! That is the bourgeoisie's constant war-cry, raised to a shriek in the present crisis. They know full well that the masses are putting on trial not only certain capitalist policies and politicians, but capitalism itself. Everything the bourgeoisie does today is therefore aimed at trying to pump some credibility back into capitalism. That is their whole political program. Henry Ford III put it bluntly when he left the Ford Foundation a couple of months ago, saying that the people at the Foundation do not sufficiently appreciate the virtues of capitalism! But the whole problem for the bourgeoisie is that while the need for them to fool the masses grows more and more, they have less and less political capital left to do this with. Their efforts therefore become more demagogic, more slick but empty than ever before. The recent airing of the T.V. series *Roots* shows that the bourgeoisie can in no way get over with the old, racist, Shirley Temple portrayal of Afro-Americans, but must try to appeal to the masses' democratic and even revolutionary sentiments, for the sole purpose of distorting them and diverting them from revolution. In the same way, their new man Jimmy Carter spends every moment trying, in his own words, "to restore faith in government," but he has next to nothing to do this with. His gas-price decontrol, his \$50 chump-change tax rebate, his farmboy image, rigged-up town hall meetings and "dial-a-Prez" -- these swindles just won't get over anymore.

The petty bourgeoisie, by and large, falls into line behind the big bourgeoisie's war-cry against socialism. From clerks and professors to shopkeepers, the petty bourgeoisie is squeezed dry under capitalism but has no independent road out. Grumbling but afraid of the monopoly capitalists, grumbling and even more afraid of the proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie gazes back at better times when there was no crisis and no threat of revolution. Its right wing plunges into KKK racism, to pornography and fascism, while its center ties itself up in every variety of Ralph Nader, do-good reformism and social uplifting. Its left wing even goes in for fake socialism and fake communism, which is only another brand of reformism. Every major political issue of the day,

and the trends in the misleaders who arise from the petty bourgeoisie and stratum of bribed workers, shows these political trends -- the Boston busing issue, for example, where the fascist KKK and ROAR as well as the NAACP and every other kind of pro-busing liberal are firmly set. Like the big bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie also tries to influence the working class and divert it from revolution. Like the big bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie's slogan, too, is: Anything but socialism! That is, anything but revolutionary socialism, or Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought.

Representatives of these class trends inevitably appear in the struggle between communist and sham communist organizations. The "WVO movement," (as one of our readers in our Feb. 1977 issue called it), which alone is bringing Marxism to the workers' and national movements, directing our every act in preparation for the proletarian dictatorship, is emerging as the vanguard party of the U.S. working class. The October League (OL), on the other hand, has steadily emerged since its birth as a representative of petty bourgeois revisionism. This organization is simply one of the many varieties of fake communism (and real reformism) that the petty bourgeoisie breeds in its left wing to try to influence the working class, to impose its own program on it and smother the proletarian revolution. The OL's renegade leading clique, headed by its chairman M. Klonsky, has totally betrayed Marxism in politics, organization and philosophy, and totally betrayed all preparations for the proletarian dictatorship.

The Klonsky renegade clique deeply hates the proletariat's real vanguard, the WVO. The sole true love of this renegade clique is the U.S. bourgeoisie. As we will see, the bourgeoisie never fails to touch this clique to its very soul. This clique,

the proletariat, so that when conditions are ripe we will be armed and ready in all ways to smash the capitalist state and establish proletarian rule. In those countries like the U.S., where bourgeois democracy is the form of capitalist rule, the question comes down to this: Should the working class smash or help consolidate bourgeois democracy? Should communists expose it in front of the masses or help build it up?

The OL's answer is that of all dyed-in-the-wool revisionists, which amounts to this: abandon all preparations for the proletarian dictatorship, consolidate and save bourgeois democracy.

From 1973 to early 1975, the OL smuggled this in under the slogan: "Stop the Fascist Tide." Everywhere the OL turned, they saw fascist tides, except coming from the liberal politicians and monopoly capitalists. When they looked at these liberals, the OL saw nothing but democracy and freedom!

The proof? Throughout Watergate, the OL played the role of a loyal opposition to the ruling class, supporting the Congress' moves to impeach Nixon under the slogan, "Dump Nixon, Stop the Fascist Tide." In fact, since the OL's only gripe against Rodino, Ervin, Kennedy and all the rest was their "paralysis" and "vacillation" in impeaching Nixon, the OL made every effort to channel the mass sentiment against the ruling class merely into pressuring Congress to act more resolutely!

As early as Jan. 1974, we warned that communists must not be taken in by the Watergate "revelations" and possible impeachment to expose Nixon and a few other politicians while letting the rest off the hook, but must use Watergate to show the masses that the entire bourgeoisie is unfit to rule and that Nixon's

*The OL's only difference with bourgeois liberals is that they "vacillate, and are not resolute enough about their liberalism. Here the OL celebrates the "March For Freedom" on December 14, 1974, initiated and dominated by the Democratic Party and the NAACP. In their own words, the OL sponsored Fred Hampton contingent is liberalism with a "backbone".*



**HAMPTON CONTINGENT PROVIDES BACKBONE  
20,000 MARCH  
FOR FREEDOM**

(From *The Call*, Jan. 1975, p. 4)

in turn, is devoting its whole life to defending U.S. capitalism.

The WVO has led the struggle over the past two years and more to discredit this petty bourgeois revisionism in the eyes of all genuine Marxists and advanced workers in the U.S., and this struggle has been tremendously successful. And since the OL leaders are now getting ready to make their revisionism official by finalizing their political program and changing their name to "communist party," it is high time that we thoroughly settle accounts with them by summing up their all-round betrayal of Marxism.

## 1. Politics

The theory and practice of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the quintessence of Marxism. Under socialism, the proletariat's task is to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to the abolition of all exploiting classes, to communism. This is what the Communist Party of China has summed up in its basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. In capitalist countries, our task is to make immediate and universal preparations for the dictatorship of

resignation would only give an illusion of change. Isn't it true that through

Watergate and the capitalist crisis, not only the advanced workers but the broad masses were rapidly losing faith in the entire U.S. ruling class? Yet just then, the OL tailed behind the narrower and more backward, purely anti-Nixon sentiment and through their support of impeachment stuck out a helping hand to the liberal Congressmen in their efforts to shore up bourgeois democracy. True to their liberal souls, under cover of "Building the Mass Movement to Dump Nixon," the OL actually resurrected the tired liberal call to "write your Congressman."

It was the same on the shop floors and in the trade unions. "Push the Trade Unions to the Left," which from 1973-76 was the OL's main slogan for their work, translated in real life into attempts to push the trade union misleaders to the left, to connive and get tight with the militant misleaders, to treat them as direct reserves of the socialist revolution and help them fool the masses. The OL fully took the bourgeois class stand, calling unions like the United Mineworkers of America and the United Farmworkers "progressive unions" precisely because they were headed by

# REVISIONIST TO THE BONE

## BY THE BOURGEOISIE

such militants as Arnold Miller and Cesar Chavez. The OL smothered Miller with kisses before, during, and long after the sellout, wildcat-busting contract he pushed through in 1974. Why? Because the OL was still so grateful to Miller for his victory in 1972 over the openly reactionary UMW misleadership of Tony Boyle. Just as in Watergate, the OL whole-heartedly supported the rise of this militant misleader over the company man as the fight to "Stem the Fascist Tide."

But what are these militant misleaders like Miller and Chavez? In struggle against the OL, we showed in 1975 that, just as much as the company men in the unions, like Boyle, George Meany or Frank Fitzsimmons, the militant misleaders are social props of the bourgeoisie, one of the firmest pillars of bourgeois democracy, without which the bourgeoisie could not maintain their rule. They are not, as the OL held, "direct reserves" of the proletarian revolution or the struggle against the danger of fascism, but the most dangerous agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers' ranks. The Industrial Workers of the World and the old Communist Party USA (when it was a revolutionary party) used to call them "labor fakers." In the course of fighting the ruling class, communists must direct their main blows, the fullest and most painstaking exposures against these militant misleaders, for it is just at times like now when the bosses and union reactionaries are losing all grip on the workers that the militants will come to the fore to try to save capitalism. Who but a militant like Miller could have forced the 1974 contract on the miners? Who but a militant like Chavez could support deportations of illegal aliens among the farmworkers without getting run out immediately? To build these militants up, to help strengthen their grip on the masses, to smother them with kisses as the OL did for three full years, is to help strengthen bourgeois democracy and defend capitalist rule.

"Everyone" accepts or pretends to accept this Marxist truth today, including even the OL, who now mouths off against the misleaders and social props. But for three years we had to prove this truth against the OL's wildest accusations of "sectarianism," "dual unionism," "ultra-'leftism'" and even the charge that we supported the right-wing misleaders.

In the very same way, at the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day rally in New York City on Oct. 27, 1974, the OL supported the revisionist Puerto Rican Socialist Party and the "Communist" Party USA, without raising a single exposure either of Soviet Social-Imperialism or of revisionism in the U.S. That, they claimed, would be "sectarian," and "splittist." But only four months later, in International Women's Day 1975, they suddenly came out ranting "on principle" against any work in coalitions or other mass situations where the revisionist "C" PUSA was present. That, they held, was right opportunist, in the process distorting the slogan, "No United Action with Revisionists."

Here we had to take up the struggle against the OL's "left" feint. We showed that communists must uncompromisingly expose the misleaders, and they must do it in front of the masses, to educate them and win them from the misleaders in the course of fighting the bourgeoisie. And to do this, communists must go into the unions, into mass organizations and coalitions, wherever the masses are present.

The OL's totally unprincipled flips and feints are obvious to anyone who knows their history and has the slightest grasp of Marxism. But what caused them? To put it bluntly, besides the WVO's exposures of the OL's revisionism, the OL got their liberal fingers badly burned by the masses. After laying at Arnold Miller's feet for two years while

Miller was constantly betraying the rank and file, the OL suddenly realized that in 1975-6 the miners were now wildcatting by the tens of thousands against the companies and Miller! Frankly, anyone who dares to come out for Miller among the rank and file today is liable to get shot. It is no accident, then, that the OL started coming out against Miller in Aug. 1976, at the height of the miners' latest wave of wildcats. This practical example fully shows the OL's extreme rear-guard role, sacrificing the masses' long-term interests to worship whatever is popular at the moment, tailing miles behind the level of understanding of the middle and even the backward elements among the masses!

If anyone still doesn't believe it, just look: now that Miller is thoroughly discredited, unable to smother the rank and file any longer and thus losing all value to the mine owners and the ruling class, what is the OL's stand on the new militants like Hayes Holstein of Local 1759? Holstein, like Miller, is a dyed-in-the-wool anti-communist misleader, but is even more militant than Miller and is rising rapidly, possibly to take Miller's place just as Miller replaced Tony Boyle. Naturally, you can't find a word against Holstein in the pages of *The Call*. The OL quotes freely from Holstein and even gives him credit for having "initiated" the miners' wildcats last summer (*The Call*, Aug. 2, 1976, p.1). So exactly as we predicted months ago, the OL's "repudiation" of their revisionist worshipping of the militant misleaders was a complete fake. The bourgeoisie is simply bringing up new militants to replace the old, and the unrepentant OL is still trying to "push the trade unions to the left!"

The OL's unlimited service to bourgeois democracy shows itself most flagrantly in the Boston busing issue. In 1975, the New York Times made support for the forced busing plan an essential criterion for being a good liberal Democrat, and the OL fits the bill perfectly. Anyone who supports forced busing as a democratic demand must view the Ted Kennedy's, the Judge Garrity's, the NAACP and even the police and troops these liberals call on to enforce the busing plan, as friends in the struggle, and must go over to liberalism themselves. And this is the whole story of the OL's role in busing.

Is it that the OL doesn't criticize and show their differences with the liberals? No, of course not, but exactly what does the OL criticize them for? The OL's criticism of the liberals has always been that they don't support forced busing hard enough, especially in the face of fascist opposition. The OL does them one better. The OL supports forced busing "to the point of laying down their lives" -- this has always been their cry against the liberals, who according to them, "capitulate inevitably" and "cannot be relied on to stand up to the fascists." The OL's touching devotion to the forced busing plan shows more starkly than anything else that they are just a bunch of small pawns in the ruling class' hands. They would "lay down their lives" for it! Just as Lenin said, the opportunists in the workers' ranks are indeed better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself!

The OL's view that the liberals are the "lesser of the two evils," who help in the struggle against the danger of fascism but just don't go far enough, isn't a Marxist criticism at all. It's a liberal criticism of liberalism. To Marxists, liberalism works as fascism's twin pole, feeding its growth while holding the workers' movement down. The defeat of fascism and the proletarian revolution will not be the result of the consistent application of liberalism, no matter what the OL may think! Tailing after the bourgeoisie's slogans, the OL's only line of demarcation against the bourgeoisie is their challenge: "Are you or are you not resolute and thorough-going liberals?"

Didn't the OL support "federal protection" for the black community, meaning "protection" by the police and federal troops, and even say that "the lack of federal protection has only served to expose the government and especially the liberals, who have refused to send in help"? (*The Call*, Nov. 1974, p. 12) We will set the OL straight: the police and troops have never entered working class and oppressed nationality communities except to hold the people down at gunpoint. It is this oppression by the police that long ago exposed the ruling class "and especially the liberals" to the masses, and not any "refusal to send in help" on the ruling class' part. If the OL doesn't believe this and stubbornly sees it the opposite way, it is only because of their own liberal illusions and isolation from the masses' daily suffering!

At Carson Beach on Aug. 10, 1975, the OL carried their consistent application of liberalism into action. Riding on the masses' outrage against the violent attacks on Afro-Americans on the beach that week, the NAACP called the "peaceful picnic", telling everyone to leave all weapons at home and instead demanding "protection" from the Boston tactical police force and STOP Squad. The "picnic" turned out to be a police slaughter, as genuine communists and a good part of the masses (who came armed despite the NAACP) knew it would. Communists were duty bound to warn the masses before and during the event that the NAACP was leading us into a slaughter, to march with the masses to educate and defend them on the spot, and to sum it up afterwards. But the OL supported this "picnic" throughout, differing only with the NAACP's call to come unarmed, and even celebrated it later under the front-page headline, "Freedom Struggle Erupts!" Once again, the OL out-liberalized the liberals. They are, for sure, better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeoisie itself!

We say: Communists must oppose the forced busing plan, which is a ruling class ploy to split the multinational working class and oppressed nationalities, and must unite the masses around the demands for quality education for all and equal rights, including the right of oppressed nationalities to go to the school of their choice. Communists must isolate and smash both the fascist ROAR and KKK and the liberal NAACP misleaders, winning both the white and oppressed nationality masses from their influence, and must organize armed self-defense of the oppressed nationalities against all attacks from the fascists, the police and troops.

This is inconceivable to the OL. They will always tell you that to oppose forced busing and the liberals is to support segregation and the fascists. The OL is so ensnared in the bounds of bourgeois democracy that they cannot even conceive of any alternative to the fascist and liberal paths -- take one or the other, because there is no other choice! Just as the liberal integrationists in the 1960's accused Malcolm X of "reverse racism," when he opposed liberal integration, the OL today accuses the WVO of supporting segregation and ROAR when we oppose forced busing. We answer: we do support integration because it provides favorable conditions for revolutionary struggle, but it is pure treachery to substitute it for the revolutionary struggle, to abandon that struggle under the call for integration.

Political trends show their true class features in the course of the class struggle. No matter how much the OL may try to hide their "real feelings" today by mouthing fake criticisms and exposures of various misleaders and liberals, their features shine through the fierce struggle in Boston busing, the trade unions, Watergate, and many other issues. Scratch the surface, and you will find, with only slight alterations, all the familiar

(Continue on p. 20)



"WORKINGMEN ARM YOURSELF AND APPEAR IN FULL FORCE!" Armed revolutionary workers gathered at Haymarket to denounce the bourgeoisie's attempt to brutally repress the working class in their struggle for the 8-hour day. May Day became a hated and feared symbol to all reactionaries.



"I know what this Bolshevism means, Bill—it means us!"  
The Liberator, July 1919

—CLIVE WEED

JULY 1919: THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION stirs revolutionary workers in the U.S. Bolshevism was on the lips of all revolutionary-minded workers around the world.

# FORMATION OF THE IS SINGLE GREATEST

May Day is a declaration of war against monopoly capitalism! May Day 1977 holds a special, historic meaning for us, the U.S. working class. There is much reason for celebration on May Day 1977, because the state of fusion of the workers movement and Marxism-Leninism Mao tse-Tung Thought has never been higher! The working class movement and Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-Tung Thought in this country, like two mighty rivers fusing together, will give rise to a raging revolutionary torrent! This fusion is inevitable, unstoppable, and a towering historic force for socialism and communism which represent the desires and aspirations of the U.S. proletariat.

## FUSION AND THE HISTORY OF CLASS STRUGGLE

May Day was born out of struggle. From its birth, in the Haymarket Square Massacre in Chicago, 1886, May Day has symbolized to workers the world over the struggle to break the chains of wage slavery and to fight for socialism! May Day has always represented the class struggle; it has always symbolized the fight against capitalist exploitation and oppression. The 350,000 workers who went on a general strike in the U.S. in 1886 for the eight hour day represented the beginning of a struggle which would shake the very foundations of bourgeois rule! The struggle for the eight hour day reflected the sharpening class contradictions between the rising proletariat class and the rapidly decaying monopoly capitalist class. Attempts by the monopoly capitalists to strangle this movement, such as the firing into the May Day crowds in Chicago, the planting of a bomb, and the hanging of the leaders of the march, only fueled the anger and militancy of the masses!

This spontaneous movement made concrete steps towards adopting Marxism as its own when the Paris Congress of the Second International (led by Friedrich Engels on July 14, 1889, declared May First to be International Workers Day.

In the 1920's, the then revolutionary CPUSA correctly made May Day a part of the lives of all U.S. workers. In 1934, for example, CP led over 500,000 workers to turn out for May Day, under the slogans "Down tools on May First. All out into the streets! Build the mighty united front of the working class on May First! Make every city a union city! For the six hour day, for

the five day week with no deduction in pay! Forward to a Soviet America!"

Guided by the correct line of Stalin and the Third Communist International, the CPUSA was able to achieve a high degree of fusion with the spontaneous movement. Hardly any strike could take place in the country without communists in the leadership. The great struggles in the 1930's - Flint, Michigan, against General Motors, the San Francisco General Strike, the struggle against the Scottsboro Frame-up - all represented the leadership of the communist party!

## FUSION AND THE STATE OF THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT.

May Day 1977 celebrates the great upsurges in the working class movement. Unmistakeable, in countless wildcats and strikes, in advances and setbacks, the working class is demanding communist analysis and communist leadership! As we stated in WVJ #2, September 1974, there are distinct trends in the working class and all trends point to the need for the vanguard party of the proletariat.

### 1) Increasing exposure of misleaders

In the past year, many trade union misleaders ran for cover. Their increasingly sophisticated disguises and sweet talk couldn't stop the hundreds of wildcats that took place this past year:

\*In coal, wildcats were a blistering rejection of the misleadership of Arnold Miller of the United Mineworkers of America, which sent him whimpering back home to his bosses! Business Week wailed and ranted that they were "disappointed" in Miller's performance because he no longer could "control the miners!" Business Week already is beating the drum for a newer, craftier misleader to "control the miners."

\*In auto, misleader Woodcock was totally powerless to stop wildcats by over 9,000 auto workers of the United Auto Workers. All of Woodcock's rubbish about "peaceful settlement" could not stop 170,000 Ford auto workers from striking at 102 plants.

\*In agriculture, workers this month in the United Farm Workers were disgusted to see the traitor Cesar Chavez openly collaborate with the Teamster misleadership and push the sham Agriculture Labor Relations Act (see WVO, July 1976, Vol. 1, #4).

\*In rubber, many workers on strike saw how misleader Bonmarito deliberately failed to prepare the union for the rubber strike, how he engaged in cozy negotiations with his bosses, the monopoly capitalists, and how he criticized "too much democracy" in the union as the reason for the weaknesses in the strike!

### 2) Record Breaking strikes show the deepening and broadening of the class struggle

This past year has been contract year, a year when virtually all the major industries were paralyzed with major strikes. One of the longest strikes of the contract year was carried out by the 70,000 workers of the United Rubber Workers, who paralyzed the entire industry to protest wretched wages and massive layoffs. Learning from the sell-out 1973 Goodyear contract, workers in Goodyear, Firestone, Uniroyal, and Goodrich shut down entire plants, despite court injunctions, police arrests and goon tactics. In a show of solidarity, workers from the United Mine Workers, United Steel Workers, Local 1250 of the United Auto Workers and Teamsters supported this struggle.

The broadening and deepening of the class struggle can be seen in the District 1199 and District Council 37 hospital strikes in New York. The 40,000 strikers in 1199 and the 18,000 strikers in DC 37 joined the thousands of workers in Westinghouse, auto, rubber and coal who downed tools that month and took up the fight against monopoly capitalist attacks on the standard of living. The 143 arrests of 1199 hospital workers is a political statement of open defiance against the state apparatus. After a WVO speech at one rally, in the face of police and goon tactics, one worker said, "If that's what communism is for, and that's the truth, then I'm for it!" And Local 420 took the lead in the DC 37 strike against massive layoffs and budget cuts, ignoring the stalling tactics of misleader Victor Gotbaum, in direct opposition to the Emergency Financial Control Board of the monopoly banks in New York.

### 3) Strikes are increasingly directed at monopoly capitalism itself

Through our struggles against speed-ups, layoffs, budget cuts, no-strike clauses, workers are increasingly realizing that the current trade union misleadership is not enough.





1934 SAN FRANCISCO GENERAL STRIKE, under the leadership of the then revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A., represented a step towards fusion between the working class and scientific socialism.



EFFIGIES OF STOOL PIGEONS AND THE BOSSES are hung outside a liberated General Motors factory in the Flint, Michigan 1937 sit-down strike. For 45 days workers fended off the monopoly capitalists and the police!

# GENUINE COMMUNIST PARTY STEP TOWARDS FUSION!

The rising class consciousness of the U.S. working class clearly demonstrated in the wildcat strike of Local 1759 of the United Mine Workers in Kanawha County, West Virginia. The 213 workers who walked out in direct defiance of the misleaders, the government and police were soon joined by 80,000 miners in Kentucky, Illinois, and Ohio in the third week of the strike. This strike was a political strike directed right at the capitalists! The staunch determination and anger of these miners, in the face of threats of violence, arrests, and trumped up campaigns by the bourgeois media, clearly shows that the miners, as with all workers, with communist leadership can carry the struggle through to the end.

#### 4) Rising Proletarian Internationalism!

The merger of the working class movement with the liberation struggles of the people of Azania, Namibia, and Zimbabwe strengthens the unity of the proletariat and oppressed peoples in smashing the chains of colonialism (old and new), superpower hegemonism, and imperialism, zionism, racism and all reaction. This past year, in hundreds of demonstrations in all major cities, thousands of workers and students marched in solidarity with the struggles of the southern African people! The struggle of the people of Soweto, the guerrilla movements in Zimbabwe, the successes of the SWAPO forces in Namibia - these struggles are gradually being embraced by workers as their very own. The African Liberation Support Committee forum in New York, attended by over 300 workers, students, and communists, demonstrated the correctness of the WVO line in analyzing the international situation and in struggling for proletarian internationalism.

These four trends, which have all deepened, matured, and grown since our earlier analysis in WVJ #2, September 1974, demonstrate once again that the working class is in need of its vanguard, to guide it through the twists and turns toward the breaking of the chains of wage slavery and national oppression and for socialism and communism.

#### THE COMMUNIST PARTY - GREATEST STEP TOWARD FUSION

The deepening of the fusion of the working class movement and Marxism

Leninism-Mao tse-Tung Thought is impossible without a General Staff, a headquarters for our revolution, which can accumulate revolutionary forces, can gather the scattered isolated revolutionary experiences of the working class, concentrate them, formulate the correct strategic and tactical lines of our revolution and lead the working class to socialism and communism. Only a vanguard party, steeled in struggle, can provide Marxist-Leninist leadership to auto strikes in Detroit, wildcats in coal industry, GI revolts in the U.S. Army, nation-wide walk-outs in the clothing industry, shut-downs in rubber, etc. so that these many streamlets become part of one revolutionary river aimed at overthrowing the U.S. bourgeoisie. Only a genuine Communist Party can link up the thousands of spontaneous strikes into one death blow to monopoly capitalism!

The working class, in its mortal struggle with capitalism, must have the weapon of organization in this class war. Though trade unions, caucuses, etc. and many other organizational forms are necessary as weapons of the proletariat, without a vanguard communist party, the highest form of organization of the proletariat, the political party of the working class, its general staff, the struggle against the bourgeoisie cannot be carried through to the end. History over and over has proven, that the masses make revolution and the Party makes them conscious. This is the relationship between the working class and its Party.

Today, May Day 1977 is particularly significant because it celebrates the near founding of such a Party! The WVO has emerged as the foundation of the General Headquarters of the U.S. proletariat! May Day 1977 celebrates this historic step towards fusion, that one leading line, one leading circle has emerged to unite advanced workers and all genuine Marxist-Leninists into one vanguard Party, to lead our struggles for socialism and communism!

The workers movement, in its spontaneous struggles against the capitalist class for a decent standard of living, better conditions for sale of its labor power and to break the chains of wage slavery, continually strives for scientific socialism. Through its many skirmishes and battles with the capitalist class, the workers strive to want to know how to carry the

struggle through to the end. But this scientific understanding can only be brought from without, for such a scientific understanding cannot arise spontaneously from the workers movement itself. Scientific socialism is a science and must be studied as a science! The movement of scientific socialist thought, Marxism-Leninism-Mao tse-Tung Thought, and its representatives, the Marxist-Leninists, strive to fuse itself with the spontaneous workers movement, for it is only when the workers themselves grasp this science that it can be turned into a material force that smashes, ends the criminal rule of the capitalist class. The fusing of these two great movements will spell the doom for the capitalist system of wage slavery and open the bright future of the socialist system, under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The striving of these two great movements has a long history in the U.S. Fusion was at a relatively high level when the "C"USA was carrying out revolutionary work and giving communist leadership to the workers movement, as thousands of workers were won over to communism.

But with the degeneration of the "C"USA into a thoroughly counter-revolutionary reformist Party, the working class was left without its vanguard and the task of fusing scientific socialism with the spontaneous workers movement had to be taken up in the main by a new generation of revolutionary Marxists.

In the late 60's there developed a new anti-revisionist communist movement in the U.S. Since then the fusion of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought with the spontaneous workers movement has un-systematically, but steadily, gone forward, as the new anti-revisionist communist movement has strived to take Marxism-Leninism-Mao tse-Tung Thought to the working class movement. Without a Party this fusion could only be unsystematic and sporadic. That is why Lenin summed up that the formation of the genuine vanguard party of the proletariat is the single biggest step towards fusion. That is why Lenin summed up that first and foremost, immediate and universal preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat consists in uniting the scattered Marxist-Leninists into a single party. By uniting the best Marxist-Leninists under the centralized leadership of the correct ideological and political line, the fusion of

(Continue on p. 19)

# MAY DAY

(Cont'd from p. 1)

movement with Marxism and the cause of communism. This declaration strengthened and made official the bond between the working class movement and Marxists, reflected in their historically marching in the front ranks of May Day celebrations. Engels called May Day a time for the proletariat to "review its forces...mobilized for the first time as one army, under one flag, and fighting for one aim."

Over the years, however, after leading years of revolutionary celebrations on this workers holiday, the Second International began to decay. During a period of the relatively peaceful development of capitalism and before the outbreak of the first imperialist world war (WWI), the Second International began to abandon Marxism, and opportunism, reformism, pacifism, national chauvinism, legalism, bourgeois democratic illusions - all ate away like an acid at the once firm social and ideological basis of the Second International parties. Unable to penetrate to the essence of imperialism, they even began to openly defend their own bourgeoisie during the First Imperialist War instead of calling to turn it into civil war and overthrow their bourgeoisie. They sent millions of working class sons to their deaths in the trenches, condemned millions more to live wretched, wretched lives to satisfy the capitalist hunger for profits. Only the Bolshevik Party, led by Lenin, and a few other Marxist parties refused to embrace imperialism, refused to swim with the imperialist tide, now stained red with the blood of millions of workers.

## MAY DAY AND THE PARTY

The October socialist revolution, led by the great leader Lenin, mushroomed into an explosion of historic, earth-shaking significance. News of the seizing of the Winter Palace, the liberation of Petrograd and Moscow, the routing of the White Russian imperialists, the formation of thousands of Red Army units, like a bolt of lightning electrified the mood of American workers. For the first time in history, May Day was celebrated under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Throughout America, miners, steelworkers, seamstresses, all hotly debated the meaning of the Bolshevik Revolution. Leninism and the Party-of-a-new-type was on the lips of every American worker. Thousands clamored to hear the early reports of John Reed, an American communist, who witnessed the 10 days which shook the world in Russia. Workers devoured the works of Lenin as soon as they could be translated into English.

In 1919, Lenin issued the call to all genuine Marxists to found a Third Communist International, the Comintern, to inherit the mantle and leadership of the international communist movement, to reject the revisionist line of the Second International, and to forge Communist Parties of a new type in all countries. The majority of the world's Communist parties were formed in these turbulent years of 1919-21. Furious two-line struggle broke out in scores of Socialist Parties throughout the world, with Communists splitting off to form CPs and affiliate with the Comintern. In the U.S., led by C. Ruthenburn and J. Reed, and others, U.S. Marxists split from the Socialist Party of America eventually to found the Communist Party in 1919!

Between 1919-1943, the Comintern forged the correct political line for the international communist movement and once again hoisted the banner of May Day! For 20 years, under the correct leadership of Stalin, the Comintern provided the leadership to hundreds of thousands of worker revolts.

In 1929, the bottom fell out of the fool's paradise of capitalist speculation. U.S. capitalism was faced with the greatest crisis of its history - The Great Depression. Thousands of banks closed, whole industries collapsed, and the working class began to pick up rocks, pipes, and guns. Workers were being shot down by the bourgeoisie, but the working class was shooting back! (As was later revealed in public memoirs, FDR admitted that if it weren't for the New Deal, he would have had a full-scale revolution on his hands.)

In the 1930's, May Day celebrations around the country reflected the high degree of fusion between the working class movement and Marxism-Leninism. Slogans like "Down tools on May Day" and "For a Soviet America" were chanted by over a million American workers. Under the leadership of Stalin and the Comin-



May Day 1936. "Build the mighty united front of the working class on May First! Forward to a Soviet America!" shout these working women. Always in the forefront of struggle, working women have played an essential role in the fight for socialism and the struggle to build the chief weapon of the working class--the vanguard communist party.

tern the CPUSA led virtually all the major labor and national struggles of the Depression. So great was the rise of the working class movement that the phone would often ring at CP or union headquarters and an anxious voice would say, "We've taken over the factory. Get your people over here to tell us how to organize this damn place!" In the ten years of the 1930's, the ranks of the communists in this country pledging their lives to the Party and socialist revolution grew 10 times from 7,000 to 70,000. As we said in WVO vol I, no. 2, 1976:

The state of fusion between communism and the working class was relatively high. In that year, 1934, for example, the CP directly mobilized 500,000 workers under revolutionary slogans. The bulk of workers rallied in New York, where the CP held the single largest demonstration in any capitalist country that year with 15,000 workers later rallying at Madison Square Garden that night. All over the country, workers voiced their revolutionary hatred of the capitalist system: Pittsburg (8,000), Philadelphia (30,000), Boston (20,000), Los Angeles (15,000), San Francisco (10,000), Birmingham (5,000), Detroit (10,000), and Milwaukee (10,000) and thousands more. The working class, under communist leadership, rallied under revolutionary slogans:

"Down tools on May First! All out into the streets! Build the mighty united front of the working class on May First! Make every city a union city! For the 6-hour day, for the 5-day week with no reduction in pay! Forward to a Soviet America!"

The CPUSA (at that time) took the leading role in the national movement and the workers movement. The CP's leadership in the Scottsboro defense (9 Afro-American youths who were framed on trumped-up rape charges and sentenced to die in the electric chair) arose directly out of the Comintern's correct line on the Afro-American Nation in the Black Belt South and deepened the fusion of Marxism-Leninism with the national movement. Slogans demanding the release of the Scottsboro Brothers blazed across May Day banners in the 30's. The CP provided leadership to the masses of Afro-Americans who rose up to challenge Jim Crow and KKK terror in the Black Belt South and fight national and class oppression. This was during a period when "Negro phobia" and lynching of Afro-Americans were at its height. The CPUSA faced this terror and heroically carried out work amongst Afro-Americans in the Black Belt South. Thousands of Afro-Americans marched with the Party on May Day in the Black Belt South, joined the Party, and fought for socialism and communism. Over 2,000 Afro-Americans alone were in the Harlem section of the Communist Party.

During the early 30's, general strikes sweeping the country. Sam d'Arcy, Communist Party leader of the "San Francisco General Strike", which totally paralyzed this city in 1934, hailed this victory in the war with capitalism. The CPUSA summed up:

"Events of the past year show the rapid growth of those forms of united struggle toward which it is the whole purpose of our May Day actions to develop. The smug bourgeoisie likes to tell itself that general strikes are un-American, that the 'peculiar nature' of our country is such that general strikes 'cannot happen.' Since May 1, 1934, in seven American cities the question of a general strike has come sharply before the whole working class and the trade unions: Minneapolis, Toledo, Milwaukee, Butte, Portland, Seattle and San Francisco... The great textile strike of September was in itself of a nature partly kin to the San Francisco general strike, reflecting its influence through the sheer magnitude and its complete effectiveness in the huge industry of 500,000 workers. (The Communist, May, 1935, p. 408)

In the late 1930's, the Comintern, armed with the Marxist-Leninist teaching that war is inevitable under imperialism, correctly predicted that the imperialists were making huge war preparations and gearing up for an invasion of the Soviet Union, the bastion of the working class. Defying torture, beatings, arrest, and murder, communists took the leadership of the anti-fascist movement in Spain, France, Germany, and the U.S. The bourgeois apologists in the thoroughly bankrupt Second International cowered before the might of Hitler. But communists like Georgi Dimitroff, leader of the Comintern, arrested and framed by Hitler of setting fire to the Reichstag in Germany, fearlessly turned Hitler's kangaroo court around into an international forum to denounce fascism! May Day's throughout this period correctly exposed the rising danger of a world war, and helped lead the growing revolutionary tide.

Under Comintern's leadership, May Day slogans summed up the mood of the masses, the state of fusion, the trends developing within the mass movement, the rise of revolution, and the danger of war and fascism. Comintern clearly understood what was on the minds of the workers:

"Four points characterize the militant activities on the First of May. First, the stormy development of the strike form of protest against the bourgeoisie and against fascism. These strikes more and more assumed the character of a general political strike. Second, the tremendously sharpened revolutionary character of the actions of the proletariat whose hatred for the regime of exploitation and terror began to be transformed into open armed struggle, into barricade fighting and conflicts with the police and fascist bands everywhere. Third, the growing striving of the proletariat towards unity in the class struggle, which broke down all barriers set in the path of the establishment of the militant unity of action by the social-fascists. And fourth, the overwhelming domination of Communist slogans in the First of May demonstrations, slogans of revolutionary struggle for the dictatorship of the



Thousands of workers show their solidarity in this mass meeting in Detroit for the Flint General Motors strike. May Day 1977, must celebrate this glorious revolutionary tradition.

struggle of the workers' party and the fight for socialism, to break the chains of wage slavery. Workers of all countries, by the millions, have marched to the strains of the Internationale on May Day. May Day is our day, a day to "review our forces," a day to challenge the monopoly capitalists. At the very heart of May Day lies the role of the vanguard Communist Party in leading the masses of working and oppressed people in smashing capitalism and establishing socialism and communism.

May Day 1977 celebrates this great revolutionary tradition, now carried on by the WVO, which is the foundation for the new Communist Party! Under the leadership of the WVO's correct line, based firmly on the granite theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought, the working class will once again fill Union Square, Madison Square Garden, Haymarket, Market St. Let the monopoly capitalists once again cringe and tremble before the might of the working class on May Day!

**BREAK THE CHAINS OF WAGE SLAVERY!  
END ALL NATIONAL OPPRESSION!  
FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM!  
OPPOSE SUPERPOWER WAR PREPARATIONS!  
THE WVO IS THE FOUNDATION OF THE GENUINE  
COMMUNIST PARTY!**

# FUSION

(Cont'd from p. 17)

Marxism-Leninism-Mao tse-Tung Thought with the spontaneous workers movement can now be carried forward in an all around, deep, and systematic way. This is why the struggles for the correct ideological and political line, the struggles to unite the best Marxist-Leninists into one Party, under one leadership - with one center and one line, has been the struggle for the formation of the headquarters of the U.S. proletariat. This is why May Day 1977 has such historic significance for the U.S. proletariat. On this May Day, we must celebrate the emergence of the WVO as the only genuine Marxist-Leninist organization capable of founding the U.S. Party of the Proletariat. Having fought against both right and "left" opportunists for the hegemony of the correct ideological and political lines, united the best Marxist-Leninist from all four corners of the U.S., the founding of the Party by the WVO in the very near future will be an epoch making event in the long, great and glorious history of the U.S. proletariat's struggle to break the chains of wage slavery, end all national oppression, and carry the revolution through to the end - for the noble cause of communism.

**BREAK THE CHAINS OF WAGE SLAVERY - FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM!**

**END ALL NATIONAL OPPRESSION!**

**THE WORKERS VIEWPOINT ORGANIZATION IS THE FOUNDATION FOR THE PARTY!!**

**ALL OUT FOR MAY DAY 1977!!**

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proletariat and for Soviet Power throughout the whole world.  
(The Communist International, 1934,  
vol. 6, p. 307, emphasis in original)

## MAY DAY AND OPPORTUNISM

The history of May Day is not complete without telling the story of the back-stabbing tactics of opportunists, revisionists, and Social Democrats. The treachery of misleaders and opportunists of all stripes will never be forgotten by the working class!

German Social Democrats sabotaged the heroic German Revolution of 1918, undermining the proletarian revolution from within. And Communists and workers will never forget May Day 1929, when German Social Democracy, then in power, tried to outlaw May Day celebrations, and,

the more dangerous they are! As soon as May Day was born, Sam Gompers, the great traitor to the U.S. working class and misleader of the AF of L, tried to sabotage the General Strike movement of the late 1800's by proposing that unions strike only a few at a time, instead of all at once to strike at capitalism! Powderly, misleader of the Knights of Labor, refused to endorse the 8 hour day (calling it "eight hour madness.") Each time, workers went over their heads and marched on May Day anyway!

More recently, union misleaders, in direct response to the hundreds of thousands of American workers who marched against capitalism on May Day in the 1930's, worked hand in hand with the monopoly capitalists to promote "Labor Day." Powerless to halt the march of the proletariat, the best these scabs and traitors could do was to divert May Day into a harmless

## Attention Workingmen!

### MASS MEETING

TO-NIGHT, at 7.30 o'clock,

HAYMARKET, Randolph St., Bet. Desplaines and Halsted.

Good Speakers will be present to denounce the latest atrocious act of the police, the shooting of our fellow-workmen yesterday afternoon.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Counter-revolutionary agents of the bourgeoisie that they are, there are no limits that the CPUSA won't go in order to serve their masters. The poster on the right is the original, reflecting the stand of the working class toward the state during a period of sharp class struggle. Notice how it calls on the workers to arm themselves due to the attacks by the state. The poster on the left is one that is found in the CPUSA's 50th Anniversary Pictorial Highlights, issued in 1969. Notice how the poster has been made up without the call for the workingmen to arm themselves, and passed off as an original leaflet documenting the history of the US worker's movement. Is there any wonder why genuine communists have taken the road of building a new anti-revisionist Communist Party, capable of maintaining the rich tradition of the US working class and leading them onto the road of socialist revolution? Of course not!

## Attention Workingmen!

### MASS-MEETING

TO-NIGHT, at 7.30 o'clock,

HAYMARKET, Randolph St., Bet. Desplaines and Halsted.

Good Speakers will be present to denounce the latest atrocious act of the police, the shooting of our fellow-workmen yesterday afternoon.

Workingmen Arm Yourselves and Appear in Full Force!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

failing in this, shot down in cold blood 33 workers marching on May Day, on direct orders from the Police President of Berlin, the Social Democrat Zoergiebel. They also tried to outlaw the Communist Party while they (the Social Democrats) were in power. And in 1933, they refused to unite with the German Communist Party against the fascists and monopoly capitalists, and instead supported Hindenberg, the "liberal" representative of the monopoly capitalists (who then brought in Hitler as Chancellor into the government). Social Democracy not only sent working class men to their deaths during World War I, but they also tried to smash the Communist Party during the 1930's, and ushered in fascism in Germany. Social Democracy has the blood of the millions of workers who died in World War I and II on their hands! They are social fascists, who fed and nurtured Hitler at every turn.

And in the U.S. the monopoly capitalists have a whole zoo of misleaders, revisionists, Social Democrats, sham "Communists" and opportunists. And the more "militant" they are,

bourgeois holiday. The bourgeoisie, fearing the revolutionary traditions of May Day, which has deep roots and a rich history within the U.S. working class movement, pushes Sunday picnics and empty diversions on Labor Day with the collaboration of the union misleaders. This is treachery! These trade union misleaders are the labor aristocracy, a stratum within our working class movement who have been bribed in a hundred and one different ways by the imperialist superprofits of U.S. monopoly capitalism. Cesar Chavez, Arnold Miller, George Meany, Sadlow-ski, Leonard Woodcock, are representatives of such a stratum. The interests of the working class and the monopoly capitalist class have nothing in common, yet these scabs, who are bribed to sell-out our movement from within, many times posing as "militant", constantly attempt to restrict our struggle and keep it within the boundaries of capitalism.

## THE LESSONS OF MAY DAY

The lessons of May Day are clear. Every inch of the history of May Day is linked up with the

**OL**

(Cont'd from p. 15)

liberal slogans against Marxism and revolution: "write your Congressmen," "reverse racism," "push" the liberals and misleaders into the socialist revolution, defend bourgeois democracy against fascism.

To sum up: the OL's soul is the soul of petty bourgeois liberalism. Their line is nothing less than a complete political program for opposing all preparations for the proletarian dictatorship, a program for consolidating, extending and saving bourgeois democracy.

## 2. Organization

"Immediate and universal preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat" applies in all spheres, including organization. The proletariat is the only class in history with a single interest, the class with the mission of waging the most revolutionary struggle for socialism and communism. Reflecting this single interest and mission, the proletarian party, the vanguard which must lead the struggle, cannot be a debating society or a loose association, but must maintain the highest degree of centralism and discipline. "The workers, united, will never be defeated!" Only with this iron unity and centralism will the proletariat be prepared organizationally, as well as in all other ways, to carry out the revolution and establish its rule.

This is why, in organizational matters, the working class needs democracy but needs centralization even more. The proletarian organizational principle of democratic centralism holds that the individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority to the majority, the lower level to the higher level and the entire Party to the Central Committee. Proletarian centralism cannot exist without democracy, without conflicting opinions, struggle and criticism. Without inner-Party struggle, discipline would be blind and centralism bureaucratic, and the Party's life would come to an end. But inner-Party democracy is not an end in itself, but only a means to consolidate the Party's centralism to higher and higher levels.

The OL's organizational principle, however, is: democracy first, the "freedom" and autonomism of all individuals, minorities and levels against the Central Committee and the Party's unity. The OL's organizational principle is a recipe for a petty bourgeois mass party, for a club of intellectuals, but never for the militant fighting Party of the proletariat.

When the OL first announced their party building drive in Nov. 1975, they actually proposed that their party would go for a full year without a political program to unite and guide it. Instead, it would scrape along on its "principles of unity." During the year, instead of a formal Congress and Central Committee, the OL proposed a "temporary leading body" with no formal authority or democratic centralism to direct the party's work. To top it off, instead of demanding the utmost centralism and discipline, the OL promised all members "full democracy," and later, the "fullest possible democracy." And the OL seriously hoped others would believe that the party emerging from this flying circus of intellectuals would be able to lead the proletariat to overthrow the U.S. monopoly capitalist class!

They hoped, but not for long. When the WVO exposed this revisionist organizational plan, the OL beat a quick retreat, promising to draft a political program and drop their "temporary leading body" scheme. Since then, the OL has been widely advertising their Organizing Committee (OC), which is the center the OL wants to build their party out of, as the successor to Lenin's OC, which prepared the Second Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party in 1902. They've run a fake "study campaign" on Lenin's One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, and -- no joke! -- they've been parading themselves as the champions of proletarian centralism and discipline.

The OL/OC is taken from Lenin... with a few slight alterations. Lenin

always stressed that the real work of party building was done by the Iskra (Spark) newspaper and organization in Russia between 1900 and 1902. Iskra, which he founded, was the collective propagandist, agitator and organizer that served as the real scaffolding on which the party was built. Lenin established Iskra in late 1900, and through tremendous efforts for two years, Iskra developed the correct line for a number of major questions of the Russian revolution, Iskra drew the line of demarcation against the opportunists, Iskra developed the draft Party Program, and Iskra united most of the Russian workers' circles even before the OC was created. The OC, which tried to unite a number of other circles with Iskra, was mainly a commission set up in the final step of party building to convene the Second Congress in 1902. But Iskra had already done the real work of party building before the OC was even formed, so much so that Lenin said that "Iskra became the Party and the Party became Iskra."

Iskra's central role, its role as the leading circle which rallied the Party's forces, is the centralist approach to party building. In Russia in 1900, the RSDLP existed formally, but not in reality. The hundreds of workers' circles were still disunited. Lenin explained that in such a situation where there was no united Central Committee to direct the Party's work, the center and "top" inevitably was one of the circles, the circle with the most influence because of its activity and revolutionary line. In Russia, that leading circle was the Iskra organization. Lenin called this approach of building the Party on the leading circle, the top-down approach. Lenin carried out his democratic centralist outlook consistently, applying its organizational principles to all situations, and in fact it was during the Iskra period that he developed his views on democratic centralism. This centralist, top-down approach, building the party on the leading circle, is the real content of Lenin's organizational plan for party building.

But according to the OL, the OC and not Iskra provided the basis for the RSDLP in 1902, and it is this opportunist, bottom-up approach they are carrying out in their own OC today. The OL never dares to proclaim that the OL is the leading circle (the OL is against leading circles on principle!), that the OL's line will be the party's line, that those circles that agree with the OL should liquidate themselves and join the OL, that the OL is the party. No, the OL would never dream of dominating the OC; it is only one of the OC's many circles, which are all absolutely equal, each with a single vote! The OC, and not the OL, is laying the real basis for the OL's party. The OC writes its principles of unity, the OC is drafting the party program, the OC makes the public tours, the OC calls the circles to join itself, and not the OL.

Even the OC is not "broad" and "democratic" enough for the OL, for they claim that the OC is based on an even broader and vaguer "unity trend" in the U.S., which includes all "honest Marxist-Leninists currently studying the different lines and trends out of a genuine desire" to build a party. And the OL promises they will try to bring this whole "unity trend" into their OC. In One Step Forward, Lenin fought the opportunists (Mensheviks) who wanted to bring "every professor" and "every striker and sympathizer" into the Party membership, because this would have liquidated the Party's vanguard character, making it not the advanced detachment of the working class, but dissolving it into the mass of the proletariat. To be a real vanguard party, Lenin held that its members must not only agree with the Party program and say they support the Party, but must actively work in a Party organization and pay membership dues. But the OL, who is strutting about with their study campaign on One Step Forward, repeats the opportunist arguments almost word-for-word, promising they will try to bring anyone who is "currently studying the different lines and trends" and who simply says he or she wants to build the communist party into the OC and eventually into the OL's party. Democracy first, to the very end!

In reality, the OL's party, as they originally planned it, already exists. There is no program, there has been no

founding Congress, there is no Central Committee, but there is the "fullest possible democracy" for all members, and there is also a "temporary leading body": the OC. The present OC is that "temporary leading body," that loose un-center, with no formal authority or democratic centralism over its parts, out of which the final product will eventually emerge. Just as the unrepentant OL revisionists promised to stop trying to "push the trade unions to the left" but actually continued at policy by supporting Hayes Holstein, these same unrepentant revisionists promised to abandon their "temporary leading body" scheme but smuggled it back in, in the shape of the "temporary leading OC."

The representatives of all exploiting and dying classes are riddled with internal contradictions, with cut-throat maneuvering and career-building. The OL/OC, as a representative of the petty bourgeois marsh, is no exception. The most recent proof of this inner decay is the OL's "purge" of the arch-revisionist M. Nicholas. This "purge" had no principled basis at all. Ask the Klonsky renegade clique who iced Nicholas out, why they had to get rid of him, and they will tell you that Nicholas holds a revisionist view of the liberal bourgeoisie, the trade union misleaders, party building, and so on -- in other words, Nicholas stubbornly holds onto the Klonsky clique's own exposed revisionist line of 1972-75, while the Klonsky clique itself has been trying to dissociate itself from its own line for the past two years to prevent further exposure.

By its own bad example, the OL/OC proves that, in the conditions of the U.S. today, the setting up of an OC is the incorrect approach to rally the Party's forces. The Russian communists used the OC twice in their history, once in 1902 when the Bolsheviki (Leninist) and Menshevik wings formed in the RSDLP, and again in 1912 when the Bolsheviki formally and definitely split from the Mensheviks and formed a separate Party. There were two main conditions that made the OC the necessary and correct way to rally the Bolsheviki's forces. First, there were numerous, literally hundreds, of workers' circles and committees scattered across Russia, all belonging formally to the RSDLP but having little or no actual contact between them. There were many honest communist workers even among those who followed the opportunist Menshevik leaders. Lenin therefore made every effort to establish contact with these workers' circles and win them away from the Mensheviks, and the OC was one form to do this. Second, under Tsarism the RSDLP was illegal and brutally suppressed, which made common work among the circles a matter of survival, even if they had certain differences in their lines and views.

In the conditions of bourgeois democracy in the U.S., the communist movement was not forced to develop into one organization, but on the contrary, any swell-headed intellectual could start his own little circle and trend. The sorting out between Marxists and opportunists has taken place not inside a single party, but between different organizations. The major trends have definite organizational representatives, and there are not hundreds or thousands of workers circles, but only a few genuine Marxist collectives. What's left of the communist movement that emerged from the 1960's movements and is either unable or unwilling to follow leadership of the WVO, is what we call: the marsh. Swell-headed intellectuals trying to start their own little "communist" corporations, a whole layer of petty bourgeois social-democrats and revisionists left over from the old communist movement, many of whom claim they want to build a genuine communist party but who have proven over the years that they are absolutely unable to help and are actually working against the Party's formation -- that slag is the marsh. And that marsh is the secret of the OL's "unity trend", the real social basis of their OC, the real source of most of the "honest Marxist-Leninists" they claim to be attracting.

The WVO is the leading circle in the U.S. today, the core of the genuine Communist Party. We call on all genuine communists to rally to the WVO's correct line and liquidate themselves. We strive to unite with all genuine Marxists on the basis of the WVO's correct line, including those who break from opportunist organizations and thoroughly repudiate the opportunist lines. But we maintain special vigilance

against all careerists and fakes, and unlike the OL, we certainly will not open up the Party's doors to the marsh.

With the struggle to unite Marxist-Leninists largely completed, today our main stress nationwide is on winning the advanced workers to the WVO. We gladly leave the OL to the marsh; the advanced workers and other advanced elements now emerging from spontaneous struggles around the country are our great new source of strength.

The WVO's road is the only road to the genuine Communist Party in the U.S., the only road to the centralized and united Party which alone will be prepared organizationally to establish the proletarian dictatorship.

The OL, who opposes all political preparations for proletarian rule, naturally does the same organizationally. Parties that are trying to reform and save bourgeois democracy have no need whatsoever for centralization and discipline. To support liberal Congressmen, to die for forced busing and unite the marsh, as the OL is trying to do, centralization and discipline are a downright hindrance.

To sum up: here too, the OL's soul is the soul of petty bourgeois liberalism. Their party without a program but with the "fullest possible democracy," their OC un-center and their unbridled call to the marsh, are a complete organizational line for the petty bourgeois mass party, the loose club of intellectuals, that their revisionist politics demand.

### 3. Philosophy

The class struggle in the political, organizational and other spheres is inevitably connected to struggle in philosophy. In Marxism, philosophy is the theory of knowledge, the theory of the relation between thinking and practice, knowing and doing. Marxist philosophy is dialectical materialism. All revisionists inevitably betray dialectical materialism and call into service all kinds of rotten bourgeois philosophies to justify their betrayal of the working class, and the OL is no exception. As the philosophical back-up for their revisionist political and organizational lines, the OL has completely jettisoned dialectical materialism for bourgeois pragmatism and eclecticism, and instead of honestly seeking truth from facts, has resorted to the worst kind of lies and rumor-mongering.

Marxist philosophy holds that the law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. Everything in nature and society moves through contradictions, through the unity and struggle of the two "opposites," the two aspects in contradictions. There are many contradictions in a complex process, and at each point, one and only one of them is the principal contradiction whose existence and development influences and determines the existence and development of all the other contradictions and the advance of the whole process.

Our preparations for the dictatorship of the proletariat are a protracted, difficult and complicated struggle which demands that we carry out many fighting tasks. At each point in this struggle, one of our many tasks must be the principal task which, when we grasp it tightly, will advance our entire struggle towards proletarian revolution. Looking at the task of immediate and universal preparation for the proletarian dictatorship from this side, too, we will see that the OL has again completely betrayed the working class.

Since the mid-1950's, when the "C" PUSA totally betrayed Marxism and became simply a capitalist party with a "communist" label, the principal task of U.S. communists has been party building, the building of the genuine vanguard Communist Party. As long as the working class is without this organized vanguard which is based on revolutionary Marxism and unites the finest members of its class, the socialist revolution cannot advance in the long run. Without this vanguard, all the heroic struggles the working class wages every day inevitably end in reformism and dead-ends.

In 1972, the advanced fighters from the great mass movements of the 1960's had adopted Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and the genuine communist movement definite-

ly took shape. The communist movement had broken with the cruder aspects of revisionism and the petty bourgeois theories of revolution that had flourished in the 1960's, and accepted Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in its cruder aspects. The Revolutionary Union (RU) led the way in making this fundamental break and establishing the communist movement. The First Congress of the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization in 1972 was an important marker of this break, for the RU, the Black Workers Congress and the I Wor Kuen all attended and all came out openly for Mao Tsetung Thought.

## 'WORKERS VIEWPOINT' ATTACKS BUSING

In 1913, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, the great Afro-American leader wrote a sharp criticism of the Socialist Party which refused to take up the freedom struggle of Black people while wildly waving the banner of socialism. DuBois wrote:

"No recent convention of Socialists has dared to face fairly the Negro problem and make a straightforward declaration that they regard Negroes as men in the same sense that other men are. . . The general attitude of the thinking members of the party has been this: We must not turn aside from the great objects of Socialism to take up the issue of the American Negroes, let the question wait, when the objects of Socialism are achieved, this problem will be solved along with other problems."

W.E.B. DuBois, The New Review, Feb. 1, 1913

(From The Call, Sept. 1975)

The OL, as we have always pointed out, views the forced busing plan as a democratic right and at the heart of the "freedom" struggle of Afro-Americans, even to the point of laying down their lives. With such 100% pure petty-bourgeois democratic illusions, the OL will always be ensnared and enraptured with the reformist slogans of the bourgeoisie, which today are increasingly more hollow and demagogic subterfuges designed to split the unity of the working class.

Parts of the communist movement did start raising the principal task of party building from its very first year. But the movement's adoption of revolutionary Marxism and break with revisionism were still only in their cruder aspects, and the movement's main task in party building was the serious study of Marxist theory and its application to the concrete conditions in the U.S. The genuine communists, who had rich practical experience from the revolutionary movements of the 1960's, above all needed the solid Marxist theoretical basis on which to sum up their own experience and the whole class and national struggles in the U.S. Training in the fundamentals of Marxist theory in the process of applying it to the concrete conditions in the U.S. was the key link to party building and the precondition for solving all our other tasks -- the precondition, not in the sense of excluding the other tasks, but of leading and determining them.

But just then, the RU brought out their blind worship of the mass movement and practice-practice-practice, fighting to the end against party building and the importance of theory under their notorious slogan: "Build the struggle, consciousness and revolutionary unity of the working class and its leadership in the anti-imperialist united front." Under cover of their seemingly Marxist call for "the masses" and "practice," the RU tried to build a special "trend" based on bourgeois pragmatism.

Just like the RU, the OL opposed the study of Marxist theory and saw nothing but "ultra-'leftists'" and "dogmatists" everywhere they turned.

Just like the RU, from 1973-75 the OL opposed the study of Marxist theory and saw nothing but "ultra-'leftists'" and "dogmatists" wherever they turned, even when they turned towards the RU! Just like the RU, the OL went in for building the party out of the mass movement and the united front, and not by concentrating on uniting Marxist-Leninists and winning the advanced elements to communism. In all the following struggles that the revolutionary theory trend and the revolutionary wing waged against the RU, the OL always ended up in the opportunist wing with the RU, and they are still playing the same role today in the struggles the WVO is waging against this

opportunism and revisionism.

On this important question of principle, the two-faced OL constantly shifted from one side to the other, talking out of both sides of their mouths, even saying both things at the very same time -- that party building was the central task and that building the mass movement and united front was the principal task. Why did the OL cop 100% to the RU's pragmatism? Because, for a short time, the RU's opportunism was the popular wind in the communist movement. And in their whole history, the OL has never once failed to tail after a popular breeze.

To top it off, the OL had the audacity to claim in November 1975, when they launched their present party building push, that they had always been "consistent and clear" in upholding the central task of party building! Now, we have many times given documented proof that this is a bare-faced lie.

The OL's present "left" feint only proves that they are still tailing behind whatever's popular at the moment. For only after the revolutionary wing and now the WVO have defeated the RU and OL's right opportunism in 1974-76, only now that party building and theory have become "popular" and "acceptable" even with opportunists, only now is the OL dusting off their old pamphlets where they long ago mentioned party building. Just as the unrepentant OL resurrected their support for Arnold Miller in their support for Hayes Holstein and resurrected their "temporary leading body" in the shape of their Organizing Committee, the unrepentant OL is still tailing behind whatever's popular in party building.

Once started, it couldn't stop. In the face of the WVO's correct criticisms of their revisionism, the OL resorted to the worst kind of sophistry to cover their tracks. They were completely unwilling and unable to do an honest self-criticism of their mistakes and repudiate them. Unable to prove in any way that the WVO's criticisms were wrong, the OL resorted to their favorite trick of trying to cast suspicion on the WVO, saying for example that we can't be trusted because we "have no practice." Unable to show any real connection on the basis of line between the WVO and Trotskyism, the OL invented a fake historical connection between the WVO and the Trotskyite Progressive Labor Party by distorting one WVO member's personal history. Ordinary people call this sort of thing gossiping and rumor-mongering and that's exactly what it is.

Everybody knows by now that the WVO does have a great deal of practice and influence in all the mass movements. Even more important of course, this accusation is absolutely no basis to prove that our line is wrong, and is nothing but a diversion from the real question. Even the RU, who used this favorite ploy for several years, has given it up as bankrupt. As to our supposed historical connection to the PLP, the WVO has its roots in the national and student movements of the 1960's.

One WVO member, comrade Jerry Tung, was in the PLP for about a year. He was not in the "top leadership" as the OL has tried to tell people. He fought the PLP's Trotskyite line and left it when the PLP turned against the Communist Party of China and against the U.S. working class.

In its whole history, the OL has never once taken a firm and definite position on any important question of principle! One year ago, in March 1976, we criticized their characteristic indefiniteness, slipping and sliding, eclecticism and sophistry. Indefiniteness and eclecticism are revisionism. In taking both sides of an important question of principle like party building, talking out of both sides of their mouths, casting suspicions and spreading rumors, the OL was using eclecticism and sophistry to liquidate our principal task, the principal contradiction in our preparations for revolution. Their revisionist political and organizational lines could not have stood up without the OL's total betrayal from dialectical materialism to revisionist philosophy, to pragmatism, eclecticism and rumor-mongering. From this angle, too, then, we see that the OL has completely betrayed all preparations for the proletarian dictatorship.

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**OL**

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## THE OCTOBER LEAGUE'S PLACE IN HISTORY

We can say that since the "C" PUSA totally betrayed Marxism and revolution in the mid-1950's, there have been two major attempts to rebuild the genuine vanguard party. One was by those Marxists who came out fighting from within the "C" P itself, such as the Provisional Organizing Committee and the Progressive Labor Party, which split from the "C" P in the late 1950's and early 1960's. But when these organizations also degenerated into Trotskyism and revisionism in the 1960's, it was largely left up to the advanced elements from the great national and student movements of the 1960's who adopted Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to raise the party building task for a second time and really carry it through. The life story of the OL since its birth in 1972 is the story of its attempt to bust this second attempt, to deprive the U.S. working class of its genuine vanguard yet another time by setting up their own fake 'communist party.'

Lenin said that the opportunists' formal membership in workers' parties by no means disproves their objectively being agents of the bourgeoisie in the workers' movement, and the OL is no exception. The fact that they will soon change their name to "communist party" will not at all disprove the hard, cold fact that they are a revisionist party, a capitalist party with a communist label, no different in substance from the "C" PUSA.

As we have shown, the Klonsky renegade clique which has piloted the OL from the beginning has completely betrayed Marxism, whether in matters of politics, organization or philosophy. This clique and its sworn followers are not Marxists at all, but a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists, a bunch of petty bourgeois democrats who are giving their lives to save U.S. monopoly capitalism and oppose the proletarian revolution.

Where does this petty bourgeois democratic and liberal trend of the OL come from? What are its class roots, the social fountainhead it springs from? To sum up briefly, it springs from the petty bourgeois stratum that was swept into the mass movements of the 1960's.

The great national, student, workers' and other mass movements of that time shook up the U.S. from head to foot, in one way or another drawing elements from all classes of U.S. society. These struggles were the focal point of class struggle in the U.S. It was completely natural that, alongside the emerging proletarian elements in the struggle, petty bourgeois revolutionaries and democrats were also swept into these movements. Not only workers and those who represented the working class' interests fought against segregation, against U.S. aggression in Vietnam and class oppression at home, and so on, but also petty bourgeois liberals, pacifists and all kinds of do-gooders and social uplifters. Even the names of some of the tremendous mass movements of that time, such as the Freedom Rides, the Free Speech Movement, the Peace Moratoriums, and so on, show the petty bourgeois democratic thinking that dominated large sections of the struggle.

Over the years, these petty bourgeois democrats have fallen away from the revolutionary struggle, openly or covertly, layer by layer. These are the historical roots of what we call

the marsh.

This stratum's political right wing has many leading lights. Andrew Young, once Martin Luther King's right hand man, is now, with Jimmy Carter's endorsement, the fastest rising black politician around and U.S. representative at the U.N., professionally engaged in suppressing African revolution in a way that Kissinger and Moynihan never could. The same goes for Julian Bond, once a leader of SNCC, and Alex Haley, who took down Malcolm X's autobiography and is the author of Roots. This right wing is openly reformist, openly against revolution and anti-communist. Behind the stars is a whole layer of lesser-known poverty pimps, small-time trade union misleaders, and radical intellectuals in agencies, unions, universities and other institutions around the country. In one way or another, they have all found a comfortable niche in U.S. capitalism. As the ruling class' support for Young and Roots shows, they have the full material and ideological backing of the U.S. ruling class, and, to put it simply, they are therefore eating very well.

In the center of this political waveband are the social democrats like the Guardian newspaper, the New American Movement and James Bogg's New World Developers. All of these claim to be "Marxist," but... like the NAM claims to be "for Marxism but against Leninism," or like the Guardian who ups the ante another round, claiming to be "for Marxism-Leninism but against Mao Tsetung Thought." Boggs puts the same thing more honestly when he admits that his outlook is "dialectical materialism/humanism." This center is openly against Mao Tsetung Thought, the highest development of Marxism to date. It is typical petty bourgeois socialism.

On this spectrum's left wing, we have the OL, as well as other opportunists from the old communist movement, like the Revolutionary Communist Party and the August Twenty Ninth Movement. Liberalism regenerates itself not only under cover of "Marxism" and "Marxism-Leninism," but even under "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought." This left wing is simply the bastardized "Mao Tsetung Thought" version of the very same petty bourgeois democratic ideological, political and actual class trends represented by the right and center.

There is a personal as well as ideological connection between this spectrum's right, center and left wings, as the ideas, theories, slogans, trends of thought and living representatives all pass freely from one to another. The OL's intimate connection to the Guardian shows this connection clearly. From 1973-75, the OL and Guardian held identical lines on all the burning political issues of the day, from party building and the Shah of Iran to Arnold Miller, Watergate and, of course, forced busing. They freely reprinted each other's articles and speeches and sponsored each other's forums, and many leaders of the OL grew up and "gained maturity" on the Guardian editorial board, and were only later transferred bodily to the OL and The Call. This connection is proven again today by the OL Organizing Committee's appeal to the marsh in its party building drive. And as we showed before, once we scratch below the surface of the OL's slogans, we see the tight ideological connection between the OL and the right wing petty bourgeois democrats, the open reformers! Here too, we can expect more and more direct and personal ties in the future.

Like their neighbors on the right, the OL has completely fallen away from revolution. The fact that their falling away is covert, maintaining the cover of "Mao Tsetung Thought,"

makes no difference -- the OL remains the left wing of this social democratic marsh.

The OL is still working overtime to bust the second historic attempt to build the vanguard proletarian party, but they have already failed. The WVO has already scored an all-round theoretical and practical victory over the OL's revisionism. The WVO movement, rallying the genuine Marxists from the past movements and the advanced workers from the present, has achieved the greatest victory of all for the working class -- it has laid the foundation for the genuine Communist Party in the U.S.A. ■

**I W W D**

(Cont'd from p. 9)

geoisie try hard to divide us along lines of nationality, race, trade, etc. All division works for their interests, not ours. We must have a genuine Communist Party, the highest form of working class organization, armed with the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to lead and direct our struggle against the monopoly capitalists.

History has shown us this is the only way to overthrow this rotten system. We must be totally organized. The capitalists have their forms of organization - the police, army, courts and jails -- to keep us in line when we dare fight against their iron hand rule. We have many living examples of workers who laid down their lives trying to organize unions in the 30's, or fighting for the 8-hour day in the 1880's (which we workers still don't have today). Only the Communist Party can direct all our different struggles into one united struggle for socialist revolution, or the dictatorship of the proletariat. Socialism is the transition period between capitalism and communism where the working class will exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie to make sure they do not restore capitalism.

Wage slavery and domestic slavery don't have to be a way of life for us. Day by day we have spontaneous reactions to oppression, like walkouts, job slowdowns and protests over unsafe working conditions. But we know that this is not enough. Workers Viewpoint Organization, the foundation for the genuine Communist Party of the U.S., has taken the lead in the struggle against our oppression. The miners' strike, the rubber workers' strike, and molders' struggles are living examples of our power as workers. Guided by the correct leadership, our future is bright.

We must turn our spontaneous fight against women's oppression, national oppression, forced overtime, speedups and layoffs into part of the organized fight against all forms of oppression -- the fight for socialist revolution for the final aim of communism!

But how do we fight for the special demands of women?

**FIGHT FOR THE DEMANDS OF THE ENTIRE WORKING CLASS**

First of all, we must fight for the general partial demands of the entire working class. These are demands such as:

1. FIGHT AGAINST LAYOFFS OF ALL WORKERS In this period of decaying capitalism, with unemployment rapidly on the rise, we must protect the rights of all workers. Only in this way can we preserve the unity of the working class. We should not allow the capitalists to cook up schemes to make us choose who should be laid off and who should not. Nobody should be laid off. No layoffs!

2. Secondly, SUPPORT THE SENIORITY SYSTEM. FIGHT FOR JOB SECURITY. FIGHT AGAINST FAVORITISM IN PROMOTION. OPPOSE POLITICAL FIRINGS.

The seniority system was won through the struggles of the working class and spoke to job security for all, protection against indiscriminate firings, such as firings of workers actually fighting exploitation on the job. It addressed the needs of workers to move out of dead-end jobs, fighting favoritism in promotion. We demand plant-wide seniority so that when workers transfer from one department to another they will not lose the number of years they were in the plant. But we stand,

(Continue on next page)

# DECLARATION OF THE WVO: The Formation of the Party is a Settled Question !!

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against the bourgeoisie's use of seniority as a means for orderly layoffs -- we fight for seniority with no layoffs.

3. NO FORCED OVERTIME. HIRE MORE WORKERS, ESPECIALLY OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES, NATIONAL MINORITIES AND WOMEN.

Forced overtime is a way that the capitalists use to work to death those who are left, after laying off thousands of workers. It keeps lots of us unemployed, while those of us with jobs are facing more and more severe speedups everyday. Because oppressed nationalities and national minorities and women are last hired, first fired, we say they should be concretely given equal opportunities to get jobs, in the fight to force the capitalists to hire more workers.

4. INCREASE SUPPLEMENTAL UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS AND OTHER BENEFITS FOR UNEMPLOYED WORKERS. EXTEND THE LENGTH OF COVERAGE UNTIL WORKERS ARE ABLE TO FIND JOBS.

It is clear that one of our most urgent fronts of struggle is against the unemployment of our brothers and sisters due to the deepening capitalist crisis. We demand that the capitalists provide more benefits from their profits that they have wrung from our labor to the unemployed, up to the day that we find jobs. Make the capitalists pay for laying us off!

#### FIGHT FOR THE SPECIAL DEMANDS OF WOMEN

But more than these general partial demands, we must also take up the demands for the special needs of working women, to break the chains of their special oppression under capitalism.

We demand:

(1) FREE AND QUALITY DAYCARE.

If working women are to break out of being tied to the home, we must have free and quality daycare to allow us to find jobs, and so that we can hold jobs without worry about the children. And of course, so that the children will be well cared for while their parents are at work. We don't simply want babysitting of our children. We want them cared for, educated and trained. Our children represent the future for the working class. We fight for them as we fight for ourselves. In fact, we say, bring your families into the struggle for proletarian revolution, make them comrades in the cause for the noble goal of communism, and train them to take up the class struggle! The family can and must become a unit struggling for proletarian revolution, and not a unit used by the bourgeoisie to exploit and further the perpetuation of wage slaves for their factories, mills, and fields.

(2) Another special demand is EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR ALL JOBS FOR OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES, NATIONAL MINORITIES AND WOMEN.

Historically, oppressed nationalities, national minorities and women have been kept out of jobs or in the lowest and dirtiest jobs and have been used as a reserve army of labor by the bourgeoisie to pit against other workers. This serves to divide and weaken the class, and to keep our wages down. Using all kinds of backward and racist propaganda to whip up white chauvinism and male chauvinism, the bourgeoisie maintains its hold on us. In times of relative prosperity or in war times, oppressed nationalities, national minorities and women are brought into the workforce in great numbers. But in times of economic crisis, they are kicked out; last hired and first fired is a reality for oppressed nationalities, national minorities and women. In order to strengthen the whole working class in its fight against the capitalists, we must demand equal opportunity for all jobs. Along with this we, of course, demand EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK from the capitalists. This is so they will not be able to undercut the wages of the class as a whole.

(3) We demand: PAID MATERNITY LEAVES AND OTHER BENEFITS RELATED TO PREGNANCY, WITH NO FEAR OF JOB LOSS.

The capitalists are attacking maternity benefits in order to find ways to lay off women workers and to attack equal

pay for equal work. It is also a part of lowering the living standards of the whole working class - by forcing working wives and mothers back into the home. This deprives the class of much needed income, especially in this time of great inflation and layoffs.

(4) In fighting for the special demands of women, we must EXPOSE THE EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT AS A TRICK TO DIVERT THE WORKING CLASS STRUGGLE.

In this time of permanent capitalist crisis, the ruling class is using more and more tricks to pit workers against each other. The ERA, through whipping up male chauvinism is a cover to attack gains that we have gained through struggle -- like free daycare and the right to abortion. In return, it just gives us meaningless paper constitutional amendments. By pitting men against women to split the working class' unity and by creating illusions in bourgeois democracy, it helps to lay the groundwork for fascism -- the open terrorist rule of the bourgeoisie. What we must do is FIGHT FOR THE REAL EQUALITY BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN, AND THIS MEANS, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, TO FIGHT FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE WORKING CLASS OVER THE BOURGEOISIE.

(5) We must FIGHT AGAINST FORCED STERILIZATION. IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF HEALTH CARE.

Not only does the bourgeoisie deprive them of the right to bear children by forcing sterilization on working women, but also spreads the reactionary idea that it is the working class and not the capitalist system which is responsible for not being able to provide for our health and children. The capitalist system wrecks the living conditions of the working class; it must be destroyed! With their lies, the capitalists turn everything upside down. For example, the capitalists use the mass media to whip up a campaign about child beatings and brutality, as if these so-called "sick," "horrible" people who beat their children are the cause of today's problems. If anything, it is the capitalist system which causes the grinding poverty responsible for these acts in the first place. We don't uphold brutality to kids by any means, but we are crystal clear as to the source of it.

(6) Finally, we must SUPPORT THE RIGHT OF WOMEN TO PUBLIC EDUCATION; OPPOSE ALL BUDGET CUTS IN COLLEGES AND OTHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

We must fight, and fight hard, for these special demands of women. But we must always keep in sight our larger aim which will truly create the basis for the true emancipation of women, and for true equality between men and women. The special demands of women can never be fully and consistently won under capitalism. Capitalism thrives on the oppression of working women. As long as there is capitalism, there will be women's oppression. It is only under socialism, with the bourgeoisie under the dictatorship of the working class, that this system of oppression will be eliminated step by step. Under socialism, the future is indeed bright for working women and all oppressed people!

#### BASIS FOR WOMEN'S GENUINE EMANCIPATION LAID ONLY UNDER SOCIALISM

Under socialism, the material basis for women's oppression will be eliminated, and the road to women's struggle for equality with men will become a reality. In China and Albania, women take part in all aspects of society; they are an active part of social production, lead fellow workers in various Party committees, work in different parts of the State in culture, education, etc. The Party and the proletarian state also take up the special needs of women -- during times of pregnancy and childbirth, women are given lighter tasks on the job, given more rest periods, given paid maternity leave. And when women come back to work, they are given time to nurse their babies in the nurseries set up by each factory. Public daycare centers, dining rooms, and laundries also aid women in breaking out of domestic slavery. These activities are no longer a private affair, but part of society.

There has also been a change in the family. In socialist China, women now have the right to choose their own husbands -- under feudal society, marriages were arranged by the parents of both children. Women have also been given the right to divorce, to break out of the unhappy marriages their parents had arranged for them. Although

in this country marriages are not arranged, women still feel bound to stay married because of alimony, care for the kids, etc. To stay in such unprincipled relationships is both incorrect and also another aspect of women's oppression.

Relations between men and women in the family are also beginning to change. Having worked side-by-side in the struggle against feudalism, colonialism, imperialism, and now the struggle to build a new socialist society, men have come to realize the potential energy and strength of women. Women have taken up the struggle for communism as wholeheartedly as the men have. Men are beginning to have more respect for the opinions of women. All these things show that it is only under socialism that women can really begin to pave the way for their own emancipation; but we must also remember the struggle between the 2 roads and 2 classes is long and tortuous; the breaking of old ideas and habits is not an easy thing that gets swept away in one mighty blow.

For instance, among the working class, many different forms of male supremacist ideology come out. We must struggle against them because they act as a corrosive, dividing the class. Some husbands don't want their wives to become involved in political work; they keep them from going to political meetings or organizing their fellow workers. They raise cries that "the family is being ignored; the children unattended to." They bring out ideas of women being mere sexual objects by protesting women working with male comrades. These backward ideas also exist among many working class women too, who will prevent their husbands from working with female comrades. We must struggle against all male supremacist ideas in order to push our united struggle against the bloodsucking capitalist system ahead. United in struggle we will become powerful, and wipe the capitalist system, women's oppression and all oppression off the face of the earth!

The Workers Viewpoint Organization, the basis for the party of the U.S. proletariat, is beginning this task of fusing with the working class, and winning working women over to its side. International Working Women's Day will aid in pushing the struggle on. International Working Women's Day marks a step towards the formation of the vanguard party of the working class. We must use International Working Women's Day to accumulate forces, push forward to May Day -- the day of celebration of the heroic struggles of all the world's proletariat and oppressed people.

Comrades, women hold up half the sky!

BUILD THE COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKING WOMEN'S STRUGGLE!

SUPPORT THE STRUGGLES AGAINST IMPERIALISM, COLONIALISM, RACISM, ZIONISM, AND HEGEMONISM. DEFEAT BOTH SUPERPOWERS!

SMASH THE DOUBLE YOKE OF CAPITALISM AND DOMESTIC SLAVERY. FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM, FOR THE COMPLETE EMANCIPATION OF WORKING WOMEN!

SUPPORT THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE AFRO-AMERICAN PEOPLE IN THE BLACK BELT SOUTH. SUPPORT THE RIGHTS OF ALL OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES AND NATIONAL MINORITIES!

IMMEDIATE AND UNIVERSAL PREPARATION FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT FOR THE CAUSE OF COMMUNISM. FORWARD TO THE FOUNDING PARTY CONGRESS! FORWARD TO MAY DAY! ■

Pamphlet

## FIGHT FOR THE REAL EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

Smash the Double Yoke of  
Capitalism and Domestic Slavery

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# RCP

(Cont'd from p. 11)

Soviet social-imperialism is the main danger and source of war in the world today?" This might let our own bourgeoisie off the hook!

Is this not sacrificing the long term interest, that of educating the proletariat to the realities and complexities of the present international situation, to the short term, short-cut, immediate interests, which is the hallmark of

opportunism? Do not the advanced workers and U.S. proletariat want communists to explain to them the exact character of the international situation, so that they will be better able to understand what tactics they must employ? Do not the advanced workers and revolutionary peoples want to know the exact character of the struggles their class brothers and sisters around the world are waging against the two main enemies of the world's people, and the prospects and dangers that they have to face? Do not the masses want the communists to "Tell no lies and claim no easy victories"? How else can they understand a situation like Angola and be prepared to take a correct stand?

## RCP TRIES TO DRAG THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA INTO DEFENSE OF THIS MOST OPPORTUNIST LINE

But the RCP in stooping to even lower levels of sophistry, in order to cover its raggedy line, inevitably has to come against the line of Chairman Mao and the CPC. As we have shown before, the CPC

put forward that the Soviet social-imperialists are the main danger to the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America in their struggle against the two superpowers.

"More and more African countries and people have come to realize that superpower rivalry is the root cause of intranquility in the African continent. The aggression and expansion of that superpower, which claims to be the 'natural ally' of the African countries and people, have become the primary threat (emphasis - ed.) to the independence and security of the African countries." (Peking Review #29, July 16, 1976)

Certainly, the danger of attack on China comes mainly from the Soviet social-imperialists. Certainly the Soviet social-imperialists are the main danger to China. Certainly, because the CPC is a Party in state power, they are, on a state-to-state level, in a position to make use of contradictions between the US imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists, make certain compromises that give the revolutionary people the world over more time to "get prepared". Certainly, Parties and revolutionaries out of state power must not follow suit on every compromise. This is the Marxist-Leninist understanding of the present situation.

On page 31 of the pamphlet War & Revolution, the RCP says,

"In the present situation, China, recognizing the fact that the Soviet Union is overall on the offensive is giving special emphasis to making use of contradictions--even those between the US and Soviet imperialists--to place obstacles in the path of Soviet expansion. This China does in order to delay the outbreak of war and to make the conditions more favorable for the masses of people and their revolutionary leadership to develop their struggles, strengthen their forces and get prepared to continue the struggle under the conditions of world war, should it break out from superpower contention.

The Chinese also do this in order to make it more difficult to launch an attack on China. And as a part of strengthening the forces of the working class and its allies world wide, China is paying serious attention to preparing itself for defense against attack. Under the present conditions the greatest danger of such attack comes from the Soviet social-imperialists."

Without addressing the question of whether the Soviet social-imperialists are the main danger to the people of the world and not only to China, the RCP obviously wants people to believe that the CPC's "main danger" line is only in defense of China and not a necessary line in the interest of the world's people struggling against both superpowers. The RCP implies that the CPC is putting forward this main danger line out of "self-interest", and making compromises on the main danger, that we should not make, not on an appraisal of the current international situation and a penetrating understanding of Soviet social-imperialism.

As we have pointed out before, the RCP represents a thoroughly consolidated militant economist trend, characterized by pragmatism and liquidationist chauvinism. This trend which has so clearly revealed itself on many other questions facing the US proletariat, has now revealed itself sharply on the international situation. It reaffirms the WVO's penetrating summation of the opportunist trends in the workers movement - "individuals may be won away, but the trend cannot be turned back."

## RCP'S ATTEMPT TO REVERSE THE VERDICT IS NO ACCIDENT

Conditioned by the fact that the RCP has run dry, and now has to reach out to absorb those elements that it called to its conference to "debate" the international situation - namely "those who stood together in the anti-war movement," the RCP is making an appeal to many of those persons who have a "blind-spot" on Soviet social-imperialism. As we said in our WVO newspaper Vol. 2 #1 Jan. 1977, "Supplement: ATM: Social Democrats From the National Movement".

"The fact that this centrism on the international situation and this veiled or open defense of Soviet Social - Imperialism has arisen in every opportunist corner of the U.S. communist movement shows that this is not an accident. Its historical roots are dug in the features of the world situation and the U.S. revolutionary movements of the 1960's.

Through the 1960's and the whole post-World War II period, the independence and liberation movements of the oppressed nations flowed in waves unprecedented in the world's history, inspiring and supporting workers around the world. In the U.S., the revolutionary movements that swept the country, led by the national and student movements, brought forward thousands of advanced fighters who dared to deny the U.S. monopoly capitalist and fought for their overthrow, and who gave up blood and lives in support of the national liberation struggles abroad.

Both in theory and practice, these advanced fighters in the U.S. despised and fought the revisionist "C" PUSA and "C" PSU and their theories of "peaceful transition," "peaceful co-existence," and "peaceful competition." These revisionists called for "peaceful co-existence" between oppressed and oppressor, to smother the revolutionary class and national struggles.

They opposed every revolutionary liberation war on the grounds that they might provoke the imperialists to start a nuclear war which would supposedly destroy mankind, and accused the CPC of "warmongering" for their international support for these revolutionary wars. These revisionists even accused the CPC of "petty bourgeois nationalism" and of counterposing the oppressed nations' struggles against the proletarian struggle in the capitalist countries, while they themselves counterposed the two to liquidate both, and first of all the national liberation movements. But following the lead of the CPC, the advanced elements in the U.S. fought and died for the Third World movements, drawing an indelible line between oppressed and oppressor nations and supporting the national liberation struggles like their own.

For many of these advanced fighters in the U.S., this baptism in struggle against the U.S. monopoly capitalists and against revisionism

was the first step towards Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought.

But who really assimilated the stand, viewpoint, and method of MLMTTT and who did not is not revealed all at once, but only step by step, as the objective class struggle and the two-line struggles advance and change form, and disclose one deviation after another. In regards to the international situation, one of the most important objective changes is the rise of Soviet Social-Imperialism and the danger of world war."

This change in the international situation, the sharpening contention between the two superpowers, realignment and great disorder in the world, the rising trend of revolution, has given rise to opportunism amongst all those forces who were unable to assimilate Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, nor grasp the nature of Soviet social-imperialism and still somehow want to believe that US imperialism is more evil. This is the stuff that the RCP themselves are made out of. In addition, these are the elements that the RCP is seeking to unite with and consequently themselves have to back-track on Soviet social-imperialism.

As Lenin has described, "every more or less 'new' question, every more or less unexpected and unforeseen turn of events, even though it change the basic line of development only to an insignificant degree and only for the briefest period, will always inevitably give rise to one variety of revisionism or another" ("Marxism & Revisionism", In Against Revisionism)

Once again, the opportunist maneuvering of the RCP clearly reveals that the petty-bourgeoisie along with the labor aristocracy is a source of revisionism and opportunism in the workers' movement. But the advanced workers and revolutionary people will surely reject this latest attempt by the RCP to spread confusion among its ranks. They will certainly tell the RCP and the OL to take this "Abbott and Costello" act back to Hollywood where it belongs, for they are about the serious business of making immediate and universal preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat! ■

## WV Journal

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

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# HANAFI

(Cont'd from p. 1)

the bombs and bullets of the bourgeoisie which have slaughtered millions of workers and peasants fighting for their liberation from imperialism around the world.

These outbursts are a reflection of the depths to which bourgeois democracy's "democracy" and its ability to resolve fundamental contradictions have been exposed. They are also examples of the individualistic solutions of both the petty bourgeoisie driven to desperation and insanity and the lumpen-proletariat, the lowest element of society that feeds off decay (pimps, pushers, etc.). They are a testament to the inevitable collapse of monopoly capitalism brought about by its own internal contradictions. They are the ugly offspring of its rotting body.

This is the common thread that runs through all of these events...events like:

- the man in Cincinnati who took 8 women hostages looking for his son
- the Vietnam vet who held 9 hostages demanding a leave of absence from his job to study under the GI Bill
- the man in Ohio who demanded that President Carter "apologize" for the oppression of Afro-Americans and that "all white people leave the planet".
- the man who took a hostage claiming that he had been cheated by a finance company
- the 2 men who held 12 people in New York to protest the closing of a detoxification facility
- even the totally reactionary, degenerate character of the Nazi who shot up his job and killed 4 workers in New Rochelle, New York.
- the Hanafi Muslims who held 3 buildings in Washington DC

The relationship between the intensification of national and class oppression, the decay of monopoly capitalism, and the petty-bourgeois/lumpen solutions that manifest in these wild actions which don't threaten the bourgeoisie but the lives of innocent people, often workers and oppressed nationalities instead, can be seen clearly in the recent events in Washington, DC.

## THE TWO ROADS OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST NATIONAL OPPRESSION

The takeover of three buildings and the holding of hostages by the Hanafi Muslims point again to the two trends of the struggle against national oppression of the Afro-American people. Those trends are the road of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, which advanced elements, revolutionary nationalists like Malcolm X, were striving for, the only true road for the emancipation of the working class and oppressed nationalities; and the road of petty-bourgeois nationalism.

## THE REVOLUTIONARY ROAD

During the spontaneous upsurges of the Afro-American people of the fifties and sixties, a clear revolutionary trend emerged. Symbolized by men like Malcolm X and organizations like SNCC and BPP that laid the basis for many Afro-American revolutionaries to "turn the corner" toward the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. This trend was characterized by staunch anti-imperialism and the denunciation of the reformist tactics of the non-violent Civil Rights movement. It was Malcolm particularly who was able to break through the bourgeois illusions of the state, the role of the social props, the dual tactics of the bourgeoisie. His anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist stand with the oppressed Afro-American masses and the masses of the world enabled him, though not guided by the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, to break with the reformism and bourgeois nationalism of the period and push more and more advanced solutions for the suffering of the Afro-American masses. (See our article, Malcolm X: Turning the Corner, WV newspaper, Vol. II, No. 2, Feb. 1977)

However, lacking the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought, Malcolm searched for vehicles to combat national oppression. He found a weapon in the ideology of the Nation of Islam.

It was a clear example of what Marx termed "religious distress" acting as an expression and protest against real distress. However as the Nation developed and moved toward reformism and "Black" capitalism (as was inevitable since it represented the aspirations of the Afro-American national and petty-bourgeoisie), Malcolm broke with them and continued his movement forward toward a revolutionary science and ideology. In that process he adopted a more orthodox Islam than the Nation. However he was clear that:

"...no religion will ever make me forget the conditions of our people in this country...No God, no religion, no nothing will make me forget it until it stops, until it's finished, until it's eliminated. I want to make that point clear."

It was this stand and thinking that broke the path for the revolutionary direction of those that followed Malcolm's footsteps in the Black Liberation Movement. It was this legacy that is culminating in the merger of the national movement and the working class movement and will lead to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, ending the oppression of the masses forever.

## THE PETTY BOURGEOIS ROAD AND HANAFIS

On the other hand, there have been other responses to national oppression: From Andrew Young with the character of absolute, naked, and direct agent of the bourgeoisie and organizations like the NAACP with their reformist and misleader social-prop character - to the petty bourgeois longing of people like Alex Haley who long to "return" to their "Roots" (see Vol II, No 2 WV newspaper- No Triumph For 'Roots') and its Pan-Africanist "return to Africa" cousin pushed by Stokely Carmichael - to the reformist, small capitalist character of the Nation of Islam - to the utopian isolationism of the Sunni Muslim sect of which the Hanafi are a splinter.

The strict orthodox character of the Hanafi attests to religious distress expressing and protesting the real distress of the Afro-American people. Their existence itself is a protest against the national oppression of Afro-Americans. However, it is a petty bourgeois response to national oppression and not in the revolutionary tradition of Malcolm.

Rather than adopting the revolutionary essence of Malcolm's legacy, the Hanafi adopted the more backward appearance of orthodox Islamic religion. Their sect is characterized by their desire for isolation, religious "purity" and self cultivation, utopian community in short, reflective of the petty bourgeois desire to "get away from it all" and seek refuge from oppression in religion rather than attacking the cause of national oppression-the monopoly capitalist system.

## HANAFI DEMANDS LACK STAND WITH OPPRESSED

Clearly their demands did not aim at the bourgeoisie. Their demands-- the turning over to them of the killers of their leaders children and followers, the killers of Malcolm, the Nation of Islam's leader and spokesman, Wallace Muhammad and Muhammad Ali, a follower of the Nation and heavyweight champion, and blocking the distribution of the film "Mohammad, Messenger of God" --demonstrated the individualistic character of their action. Lacking Malcolm's stand with the oppressed, they failed to point out the root or all oppression. Personalized revenge became principal over the destruction of the bourgeoisie. It is only through the destruction of the ruling class undertaken by the masses of oppressed, led by a vanguard communist party and the establishment of the

dictatorship of the proletariat, that will ensure that the vicious acts of mass murder which sparked the Hanafi action will not be the common occurrence that they are now. These petty-bourgeois/lumpen outbursts brought on by the crisis of monopoly capitalism are being used by the bourgeoisie to maintain their rule and in their preparation for fascism in the

face of decaying capitalism and world war with the other superpower, Soviet social-imperialism. They use these outbursts to cover for the world-wide terrorism of the monopoly capitalist class, more ruthless, more brutal, more ugly than any of these spontaneous acts of desperation.

## BOURGEOISIE USING EVENTS FOR OWN ENDS

First, the bourgeoisie is using these events to whip up reactionary sentiments. The bourgeois press has been ranting about how the Hanafi, for example, were not adequately put under "surveillance" and are pushing the need for increased "surveillance" and harassment of "subversive" groups. In

the bourgeoisie's attempt to characterize all these actions as simply "nuts with guns" they are pushing the necessity for stricter gun control which, in effect, disarms the proletariat and leaves the only weapons in the hands of the state (the police and army). In fact, by deflecting attention away from the economic and political crisis, and away from the oppression of the masses which lies at the root of these outbursts, and by simply characterizing them as a question of "nuts and subversives with guns", they

are attempting to discredit all responses to the crisis, discredit all attacks on the bourgeoisie, and all national liberation struggles, particularly that of the Afro-Americans.

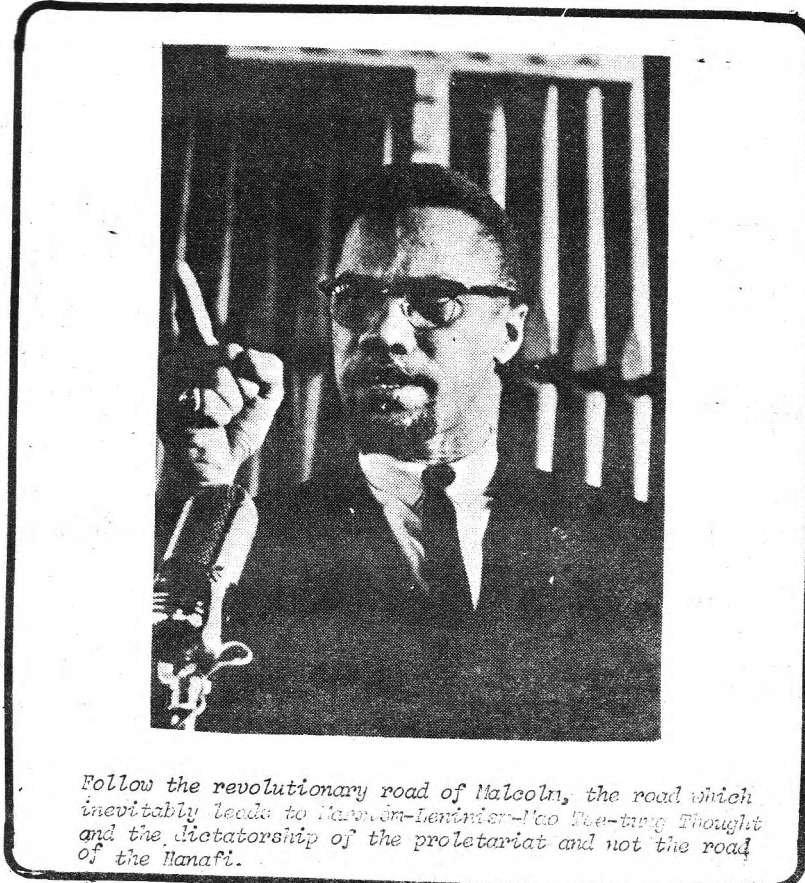


Totally different than the Hanafi terrorism, the five Puerto Rican nationalists imprisoned in the US since their 1954 attack on the House of Representatives have symbolized to many the cause of the independence for Puerto Rico. Their act was one of many manifestations of the Puerto Rican people's determination to end US imperialist domination. As Lenin said, "Far be it from us to deny the significance of heroic individual blows, but it is our duty to sound a vigorous warning against becoming infatuated with terror..." Shown are Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andres Figueroa Cordero, Lolita Lebron and Irving Flores. Not shown is Oscar Collazo.

This exploitation of the situation to discredit the struggle of the Afro-American people becomes clearer in their characterization of the Hanafi as a "militant Black group." The bourgeoisie knows very well that the Hanafis present no danger to the rule of monopoly capital. Their releasing of Hanafi leader Khalifa Hamaas Abdul Khaalis on bail attests to this. The working class and Afro-American people also know that the Hanafi are no threat to the bourgeoisie. However by playing up the Hanafi as a "militant" group, the bourgeoisie hopes to confuse the masses and utilize their understanding of the relative harmlessness of this small religious sect to breed cynicism and distrust toward real revolutionary struggles.

They are also exploiting the situation in another way. The release of Khaalis promotes and feeds the racist and reactionary vigilantism response of the lower stratum of the working class (We've got to protect our women and children against those crazy niggers since the courts won't).

On the other hand, the bourgeois-



Follow the revolutionary road of Malcolm, the road which inevitably leads to Marxism-Leninism - the true thought and the dictatorship of the proletariat and not the road of the Hanafi.

ie is playing up the "humanitarian" and religious aspect of the Hanafi situation by emphasizing the role of the Islamic, Arab ambassadors in freeing the hostages, particularly the Jewish hostages in the B'nai B'rith building. This "see how people, regardless of differences, come together in times of crisis" line, part of the new image of US imperialism being put forward by President Carter, is another attempt by the bourgeoisie to disarm the proletariat and oppressed nationalities ideologically. By playing up the role of the Arab ambassadors, the bourgeoisie reinforces the notion that the differences in the Middle East are of an "irrational" religious nature and that the "problems" of the Middle East can be resolved by "reasonable" discussion of "common interests." However, the question of the Middle East is not of an "irrational" religious character at all. There is no common interest between the just desire of the Palestinian people for their historic homeland and a secular, multinational (including Jewish people) Palestine, and the two superpowers who want to dominate the Middle East for their own interests. This "humanitarian" approach being pushed by the bourgeoisie covers for the vicious nature of US imperialism and Zionism. It is this "humanitarian" image that covers for US imperialism all over the world (See Human Rights Article in this issue).

Finally, it is this "humanitarian" image that attempts to obscure the contradictions between monopoly capitalism and the oppressed masses. The "We're all in this crisis together so we've got to put aside our little differences and come together" line of the bourgeoisie is in essence an attempt to even further oppress the working class and oppressed nationalities by making us pay for their crisis.

**REVOLUTION IS A MASS STRUGGLE**

However, even if the demands of the Hanafi had clearly pointed to the bourgeoisie as the real enemy, their actions would still not have been correct. The overthrow of the bourgeoisie will come about through the armed, revolutionary struggle of the masses. This is why the bourgeoisie fears Bolshevism -- precisely because communists know that it is the masses that make history and that communists strive to win their hearts and minds. The tactics of armed struggle against the ruling class may take different forms of which terror is one:

"In principle we have never rejected, and cannot reject terror. Terror is one of the forms of military action that may be perfectly suitable and even essential at a definite juncture in the battle... But the important point

is that terror, at the present time, is by no means suggested... We, therefore, declare emphatically that under the present conditions such a means of struggle is inopportune and unsuitable; that

it diverts the most active fighters from their real task... and that it disorganizes the forces, not of the government, but of the revolution... Far be it from us to deny the significance of heroic individual blows, but it is our duty to sound a vigorous warning against becoming infatuated with terror, against taking it to be the chief and basic means of

struggle... Terror can never be a regular military operation; at best it can only serve as one of the methods employed in a decisive assault." (Lenin, Where To Begin)

There is a fundamental distinction between armed struggle resulting from the heightened consciousness of the mass, and what Lenin called "excitatory terror" with absolutely no links to the mass struggle.

Armed struggle is the product of the heightened consciousness and organization of the masses of oppressed, led by a vanguard communist party in the final onslaught against the ruling class. There is no shortcut to winning the hearts and minds of the masses. This demands consistent and protracted "training of the masses in revolutionary activity." Lenin stated that "political terrorists... bow to the spontaneity of the passionate indignation of intellectuals, who lack the ability or opportunity to link up the revolutionary struggle with the working class movement, to form an integral whole... it is still more... an example of the failure to understand our immediate task of 'training the masses in revolutionary activity'!" Terror as a substitute for that training, as advocated by groups like the Weatherpeople or the SIA, or as spontaneous, desperate, "apolitical" petty bourgeois or lumpen responses to the decay of monopoly capitalism, will never overthrow the bourgeoisie, will never establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only the overthrow of one class by another - the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by the armed proletariat - will accomplish that and remove the material basis for all exploitation and oppression.

Si la burguesía se atreve a lanzar otra guerra mundial, entonces el punto de vista de comunistas tiene que estar claro, una llamada a convertir guerra imperialista a guerra civil bajo el liderazgo correcto del Partido Comunista nuevo. Como los Bolshéviques en 1917, el Partido Comunista nuevo en este país penetrará y paralizará el militar y apuntará -- a los fusiles en contra el mismo ejército de los imperialistas. Las masas de trabajadoras de conciencia de clase, quienes han sido fortalecidos en muchas luchas contra los trucos y mascaradas más desarrolladas de la burguesía y en contra del fascismo, empujarán a un lado a los pacifistas sociales y a los oportunistas de todas clases, como el RCP y la Liga de Octubre, y continuarán en su misión histórica de establecer la dictadura del proletario y el comunismo!

Lenin estaba absolutamente correcto, cuando en 1920, sobre la base de experiencia de guerra mundial, el escribió, "Boicot la guerra es una frase estúpida. Las comunistas tienen que participar en todas las guerras reaccionarias." (de la misma obra)

"Ninguna gran revolución ha sucedido o nunca podrá suceder sin la 'desintegración' del ejército... Las fuerzas en contra de la revolución nunca ha tolerado o podrá tolerar trabajeadores armados dado a lado con el ejército... La primera mandamiento de cada revolución victoriosa, como repertieron Marx y Engels, era aplastar el ejército viejo, disolverlo y reponerlo con uno nuevo. Una clase social nueva, cuando toma el poder, nunca pudo, o puede ahora, tomar el poder y consolidarla excepto si completamente destruya el ejército viejo." (Los Obras Colectas de Lenin, V. 28, p. 284. Nuestra traducción)

Esta perfectamente claro que la línea de "boicot" del RCP apunta a los comunistas del movimiento de masa, y desarma activamente al proletario y es, como dijo Lenin, una "frase estúpida".

El RCP destruye el corazón de la conciencia "convierte" la guerra imperialista a guerra civil. Ellos demagogicamente tratan la línea de Lenin como una consigna vacía, sin ninguna comprensión de como convertir una guerra imperialista a guerra civil. Todas sus desviaciones, economías, radicales y pequeña burguesas sobre esta cuestión salen por que pragmáticamente ellos no pueden comprender que la esencia de convertir guerra imperialista a guerra civil, con respecto a el ejército imperialista, es precisamente empujar por la desintegración del ejército burgues y no el "boicot". Como Lenin dice clara mente en "La Revolución Proletaria y el Renegado Kautsky",

Los pacifistas sociales RCP han por muchos años perseguido la cola del movimiento de "boicot". En realidad existía una esencia progresista y proletaria es la resistencia espontánea del imperialista agresivo de los E.U. en Vietnam, mandado a muchos personas que resistieron la conscripción, luchando para Canadá, etc. Pero que comunistas sigan, y esta traten de ganar y avanzar este movimiento de boicot pacifista es un acto traidor contra la clase obrera. El Partido Bolshéviq, no como radicales de la guerra burguesa, no gritaban no queremos otra guerra de los hombres ricos, pero en vez tenemos que penetrar, paralizar, y finalmente destruir el ejército imperialista, convirtiéndolo a regímenes enteros a el ejército rojo.

Los estudiantes pequeños burgueses escondidos en Canadá.

La destrucción de el ejército burgues, y no de cual vendra la insurrección y la destrucción de el verdadero material de el ejército que es el verdadero material de las oprimidas y minorías nacionales en el