

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

VOL 2, NO 4

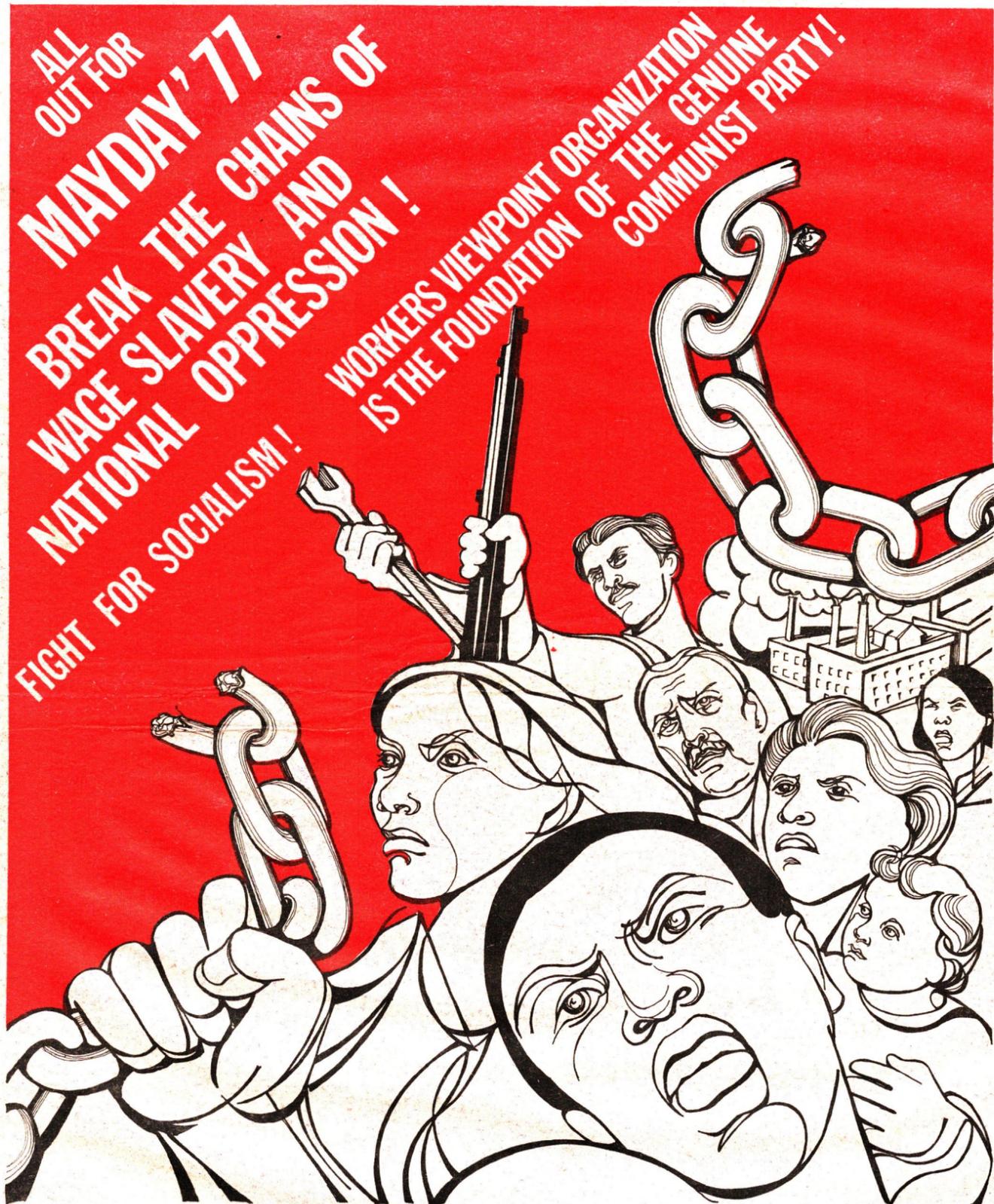
May 1977

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!

ONE ARMY, ONE FLAG, ONE AIM!



This May Day will be a huge success for the working class. And it will be a tremendous setback for the capitalists and all enemies of the working class.

We are preparing for a historic occasion. We are marching in the footsteps of those millions of American workers on the first May Day in 1886 who fought for the 8-hour day and sounded the call to workers around the world. We are marching in the footsteps of the martyrs of the Haymarket Massacre in 1886 -- when armed state troops fired into the May Day crowd and the heroic leaders went to the gallows as a result of trumped-up charges. We are marching in the footsteps of the 500,000 workers who, under communist leadership in 1934, sounded their hatred of the capitalist system, and we are marching in the footsteps of every class fighter who has sacrificed for the cause of the working class -- every man, woman and child who has fought for the right to unionize, for the 8-hour day, for an end to child labor.

We are marching in the footsteps of those workers in China, Albania, Korea, Rumania, and Vietnam who have thrown off the shackles of wage slavery and imperialism. And on this, International Workers Day, we salute the struggles of the working class and oppressed peoples and nations of the world who are fighting so hard for their freedom and independence. Our footsteps this May Day must shake the very foundations of monopoly capitalism. All out for May Day!

Comrades and Friends, all our lives we slave away for the capitalists, in their factories, their mines, their fields. How many of you have had to work overtime, at 2 or 3 jobs, just to put food on the table and shoes on the kids' feet? And how much did you get paid for it?! And -- everyday -- weren't you worrying about being laid off and thrown out of your job?

How many of you have stood for hours every week on the endless unemployment lines, along with

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MAYDAY EVENTS

MAY DAY MARCH (SUNDAY, MAY 1)

New York (12 noon)

-Gather at (1) Rutgers and East Broadway (at Women's Mural) (2) Chatham Square (Chinatown)

-March to Tompkins Square Park for Rally (2 pm) speeches, skits, songs, and poetry

Los Angeles (11 am)

-Gather at South Park, corner of 50th St. & Avalon.

-March to Rally (1 pm) at South Park.

Honolulu

-For time & place, check local WVO poster.

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SECCION EN ESPANOL

REVOLUTION MILLS- WORKERS A FIGHTING RANK WORKERS DEFEND WVO -

On April 3, over 180 workers mostly from Cone Mills Revolution plant in Greensboro, North Carolina, held a spirited meeting to kick off a union drive at this plant. The same fighting spirit which has characterized the heroic struggle of the J.P. Stevens workers at Roanoke Rapids 130 miles from here is spreading throughout the textile industry and was clearly expressed by the militancy and determination of the workers at Revolution. Workers from the White Oak and Granite Plants, both part of Cone's concentration of plants in this area, declared their full support for the drive for a fighting union. Enthusiasm was running high as workers from Revolution and other mills gave speeches depicting the conditions in the mills, the history of struggle at Revolution and the road forward for a fighting rank and file union of all textile and clothing workers.

This union drive marks the fourth attempt in the last 25 years by workers at Revolution to organize their plant. All of the previous struggles were met by ruthless tactics of the company to keep these mills unorganized. The last drive in 1973 was betrayed by the trade union misleadership as officials of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU)* actually passed out pictures of Richard Nixon and Lyndon Johnson with pro-labor statements, as the way to get the workers to vote for the union. The workers at Revolution are absolutely clear on the kind of union they are trying to build- a fighting rank and file union.

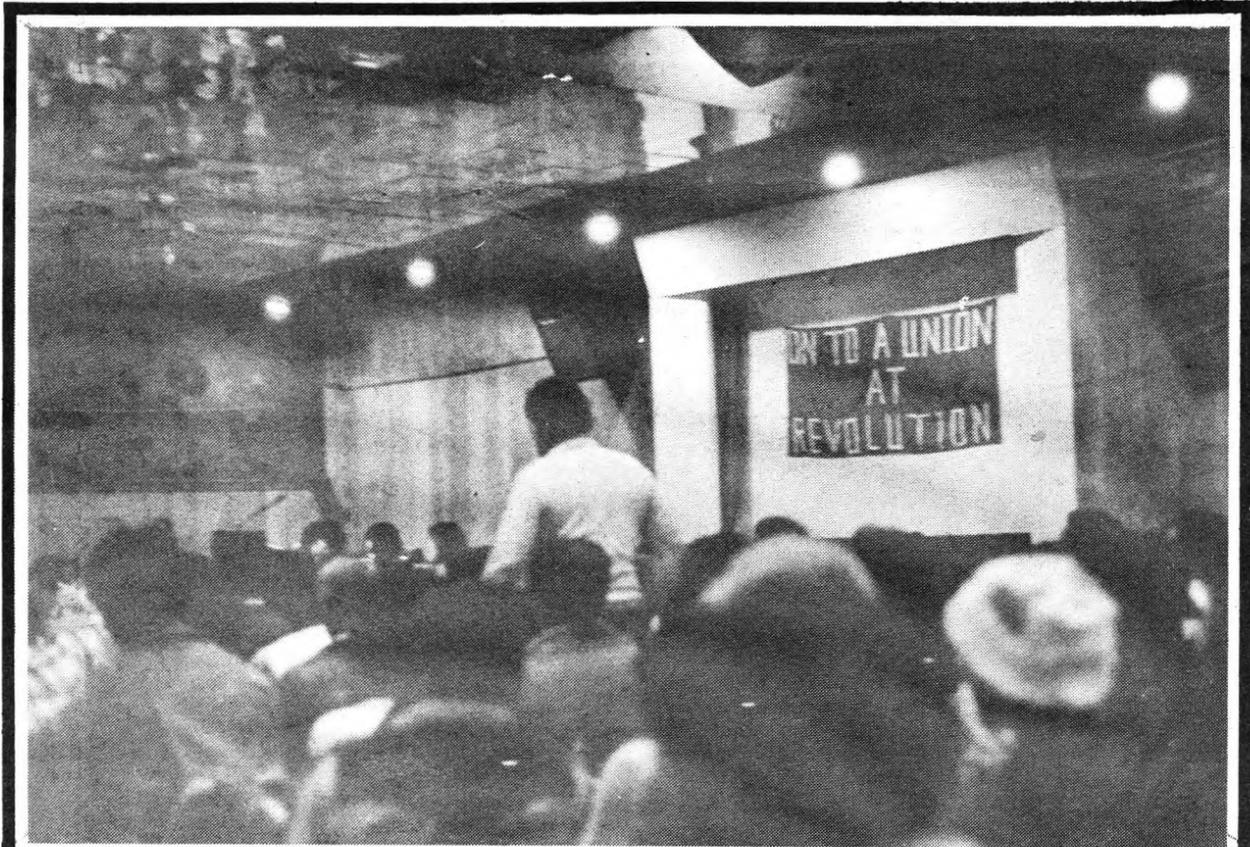
Cone Mills is the fourth largest cotton manufacturing company in the industry with over 43% of its productive capabilities in the Greensboro area. Although Greensboro is not a classical mill town, Cone Mills is the largest single employer and has tremendous influence within the local bourgeoisie. The previous mayor is a corporate lawyer for Cone and several of the current city councilmen are in the pay of Cone. This influence is clearly expressed in the frequent anti-union slander of the the local bourgeois press.

In the past, the company has used mainly repressive tactics to keep the workers unorganized, including setting up machine guns on top of the mill during the great 1934 General Textile Strike, when over 420,000 textile workers from the Black Belt South and



Only by firmly upholding the right to self determination of the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South can the iron unity of the multi-national working class be forged.

*In 1973, the local union here was the Textile Workers Union of America (TWUA). This union has since merged with the Amalgamated Clothing Union to form the ACTWU.



Workers at Revolution Textile Mills are getting themselves organized and accepting leadership from the Workers Viewpoint Organization. Taking up the immediate struggles of the working class while at the same time pointing the way forward to its long term interests is what distinguishes genuine communists from all other working class organizations.

New England area went on a 3 week strike. And more recently, in 1973, they closed down whole departments at a time to tell the workers that the mill would close down if a union came into the plant. But the workers have made it clear that this drive will lead to a strong fighting union in the mill! The rank and file workers are clearly in charge of this union drive!

CONDITIONS IN MILLS AMONG WORST IN COUNTRY

Conditions in Southern textiles are among the most oppressive and exploitative for workers anywhere in the country. Textile workers make an average of \$1.40 an hour less than other industrial workers. This forces many textile workers to work long hours of overtime, others to take second full time jobs, and others to continue doing small-scale farming in order to feed their families. Most workers receive no sick pay, little or no health benefits, and little or no retirement benefits. All of these conditions are even worse for Afro-American textile workers who, due to national oppression, up until as recently as 10 years ago, couldn't even get jobs in the mills, and now are locked into the worst and lowest paying jobs. Health and safety conditions in the mills are atrocious, with machinery, exposed gears and rollers, often causing our class brothers and sisters to lose fingers, hands and arms. Fire hazards exist everywhere.

The greatest threat to the lives of mill workers is the cotton dust which after 5-8 years of work in the plant leads to the Brown Lung disease. The doctors of the capitalists won't even recognize that this disease exists so textile workers can't even collect workmen's compensation. It is these and other conditions which are leading the workers to take up a resolute struggle against the textile capitalists.

TEXTILE WORKERS HAVE GLORIOUS HISTORY OF STRUGGLING FOR UNIONS!

Many of the workers at this first meeting have been involved in 4 other union drives at this plant, and they said that the start of this one was the most spirited and the most strongly supported ever. Even older white workers in the plant who have been more susceptible to the company's chauvinist propaganda, who have been the strongest source of opposition to unions before, are coming out in support of this drive.

Recently an older worker at the plant several months after retiring died of Brown Lung and heart trouble due to his life of work at the mill. A supervisor went around his department cynically telling older workers how "it seems people don't live too long after they retire from here." These workers are realizing how Brown Lung plus a pension plan that is impossible to live on (a retired worker with Brown Lung who leads the local chapter of the Brown Lung Association receives \$16.40 a month from the company!) is what awaits them after having given up their lives working to make these parasites rich. One older white worker who had opposed all previous union drives at the plant (he has been in the plant since the early 1930's) said how he wants to do all he can to have the union in the plant before he retires!

Textile workers in the Black Belt South have been struggling for their unions for almost a hundred years, since the very beginnings of the industry in this area. The capitalists have used all the weapons at their disposal, many of these being linked to the oppressed Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South, to keep textile workers disorganized and weak. They have used Jim Crowism and segregation to keep white workers divided from Afro-American workers, and to

DETERMINED TO ORGANIZE AND FILE UNION!

REJECT BANKRUPT RCP

keep the working class movement divided from the movement of Afro-Americans for self-determination. They have used Klan terror, the national guard, armed goons, and federal troops to attack striking workers. Often workers responded by arming themselves and taking on the capitalists militarily. The capitalists have used the power they had over workers in the mill towns by evicting striking workers, closing the company store to them, and having paid preachers preach sermons about how the union was the "devil" and how the workers should be "Thankful" to the capitalists for their jobs. But while our class brothers and sisters in textiles have fought heroically and with determination, they have been without the correct leadership which could lead these struggles to victory.

TAKE OUR ORGANIZATIONS BACK FROM THE MISLEADERS

The struggles against the capitalists and the companies aren't the only struggles textile workers are having to take up. The misleaders in the main union of textile workers, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), also represent a major barrier to the organization of the unorganized textile workers. These misleaders have refused so far to take up the drive of workers at Revolution. Earlier, before the drive opened up, the misleaders told workers at Revolution that they didn't think that the Revolution Organizing Committee, the ROC, had enough support for the ACTWU to take up the drive. The very next day, 20 workers from the mill marched into the union office demanding an explanation. After this, it looked as if the misleaders would take up the drive, but again they fudged, never really giving the workers an explanation for why they wouldn't take up the drive. The only reason they have given us is that the way the ROC is building the drive (a militant fighting drive controlled by the rank-and-file) is "not the way we do things," and that they see building a "peaceful union." But the workers at Revolution are determined to be recognized by the ACTWU, because the workers see that their struggle is not just a struggle at one plant, but that the immediate struggle is to organize the entire industry. The ROC is determined not to let the misleaders in the ACTWU weaken us textile workers by splitting us up into different unions. The unions belong to the working class, not to the misleaders, and we will take them back and turn them into fighting organizations of the working class!

Already in the first week of struggle, workers at two other locals of the ACTWU who work for the same company, have come out in full support of the drive at Revolution and in support of the struggle to have the ACTWU officials take up the drive. These locals made speeches during the meeting, with the president of one of the locals exposing how the local union misleader had negotiated a wage cut without their approval several years ago! They talked about the attempts to build their locals into fighting units that stand up for the workers, how they need to use any and all means necessary in the struggle against the companies, which the misleaders have opposed at every turn. They said how the struggle of Revolution workers was a sign of what was to come, and united with the view of the ROC that this isn't a struggle of just one plant but of textile workers in the entire industry!

The wavering and hesitation, the constant reliance on the capitalists and

their state by the union misleaders, have held back and betrayed these struggles. We can see this concretely again today with the role these misleaders are playing in taking up the struggle to organize textile workers, in general, and the workers at Revolution, in particular. In the local papers we regularly read front-page articles about how these misleaders are waging a campaign to unionize the South. But here we have a concrete struggle of textile workers to organize a union, and what are the misleaders doing? Nothing!

WVO PROVIDES GENUINE COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP TO STRUGGLE

The workers are still determined, willing and ready to fight their oppression. But this time around the difference will be that genuine communist leadership is stepping forth which will be able to lead this struggle to victory! The Workers Viewpoint Organization, the basis for the genuine, vanguard political Party of the US working class, has stepped forth giving this struggle correct leadership.

One of the speeches at the meeting was given by a communist member of the ROC who follows the leadership of the Workers Viewpoint Organization. This speech laid out how on all questions there are two outlooks, the outlook of the working class and the outlook of the capitalists, and how communists represent the concentrated expression of the outlook of the working class. The speech also laid out the communist view of unions, the basic organization of the working class in its resistance against capitalist exploitation. Finally it laid out our task in this struggle to build a militant, rank-and-file union of all workers in textiles.

During the meeting, one worker raised a concern about how open communists would hurt the union drive. This was a backward view. In fact this worker was, consciously or not, spreading the slander and distortions of the capitalist class about how communists "brain wash" people, and other bad things. This incorrect view was exposed by the workers themselves who have learned through their own experience how the correct leadership of the Workers Viewpoint Organization, unlike the misleadership of the union officials or of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), has been moving this struggle forward. This worker raised the need for a "union" even though it would be a union that did nothing for the workers. The majority of the workers rejected this backward view.

The other workers were clear that "a peaceful, love our capitalist bosses, union without communist leadership" is not the kind of union that they are willing to sacrifice for nor to put their jobs and themselves on the line to build. This worker then said that maybe we wouldn't have all these problems (like with the union officials) if there weren't communists involved, but then another worker jumped up and shouted "Yeah, but look what happened the last four union drives without the communists!" This was followed by enthusiastic clapping from others at the meeting.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the founders of the international communist movement, clearly explained in 1848 what relation communists have to the struggles of the working class. They wrote:

"In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?



Textile workers have a rich history of struggle. Above, textile workers in Gastonia, N.C., in 1934.

The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mold the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1) In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2) In the various stages of development that the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of the march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

CELEBRATE THE SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE VICTORIES OF THE INDOCHINESE PEOPLES

May 1975: tens of thousands of patriotic Vietnamese and Cambodians lined the streets of Saigon and Phnom Penh to welcome the victorious liberation troops, ending over 100 years of imperialist aggression and marking a turning point for U.S. imperialism in Indochina. Like rats deserting the sinking ship, the Thieu-Lon Nol clique fled from the march of the liberation troops to the safety of their Swiss Bank accounts. The heroic Vietnamese and Cambodian people proved decisively that "a small country can defeat a big country," that the masses, and not advanced weapons, are the makers of history. The Indochinese people fought the French imperialists in the 1800's, the Japanese imperialists in the 1940's, the French again in the 1950's, and the U.S. aggressors in the 1960's and 1970's, each time scoring great victories. Over 150 billion dollars of U.S. weaponry, 5 million tons of bombs, 500,000 U.S. troops, and the devastation of chemical warfare could not weaken the determination of the Indochinese people to liberate their land from U.S. imperialism.

Two years ago, attempting to go against the forward motion of history, the reactionary Thieu-Lon Nol clique crumbled like a house of cards. In village after village, province after province, the Indochinese people rallied behind the liberation forces sweeping the land as the reactionary forces virtually caved in, so rotted inside were they with corruption.



The victories in Indochina proved beyond a doubt that U.S. imperialism is on the decline, that it is decaying of its own contradictions, helpless in the face of the heroic resist of the people! In May, people all over the world rejoice at the victory of the Indo-

Chinese people, a victory for revolutionary people everywhere struggling against imperialism.

LONG LIVE THE VICTORY OF THE INDOCHINESE PEOPLE!!

ARAB PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE SURGING FORWARD!



Heroic Palestinian and Lebanese liberation fighters scored major gains in their week-old offensive in southern Lebanon. Acting with lightning speed, they liberated several key towns and caught the reactionary forces in complete disarray. The immediate consequence of the offensive has been to completely shatter the Israeli imperialist scheme to create a chain, a so-called "buffer zone" between Lebanon and Israel, which is actually a thinly disguised attempt to carve out a piece of southern Lebanon. Palestinian and Lebanese forces have already successfully broken the chain by liberating the Shitte Moslem town of Khaim and the village of Taibe. Presently, they are encircling Marjayoun and Qlaia, two key garrison towns strategically located less than 10 miles from the Lebanon-Israeli border. The towns of Khaim, Qlaia, and Marjayoun form a strategic "triangle" near the

border.

The recent offensive clearly shows the staunch determination to liberate the Palestinian homeland and Lebanon. The recent assassinations of Kamal Jumblat, the leader of the patriotic Lebanese forces, has only fueled and strengthened their determination to press for all-out victory.

Like all imperialist schemes, the Israeli plot of creating a chain to strangle the Palestinians by shipping tons of ammunition and supplies to the rightist-held towns along the chain and shipping villagers to work in Israeli factories has all vanished like a puff of smoke. The Israeli Zionists are paper tigers: squadrons of Israeli jets circled helplessly over the battle zone, powerless to do anything in the face of the will of the masses.

In addition, the PLO conference, held last month, rejected imperialist pressure to modify its charter. The PLO held firmly to its position of refusing to recognize the right of the Israeli Zionist state to exist. This once again reaffirmed the Palestinian peoples' revolutionary determination to continue to struggle for a non-secular Palestine, their historic homeland, and indicted the illegal settler-Zionist state of Israel. Progressive people the world over supported the Palestinian people's rejection of all superpower schemes to force on them a settlement short of full national salvation.

The just cause of the Palestinian and Lebanese liberation forces will surely triumph. The recent offensive and PLO Conference is yet another example of the unshakable will of the Palestinian and Lebanese people!

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SALT TALKS - A FALLING OUT OF VULTURES

Breakdown Explodes Myth of 'Detente'

The breakdown of the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks (SALT) in Moscow last month clearly shows the intensifying contention between the two superpowers. It only drives more nails into the coffin of the illusion of "detente," and exposes all the lies and myths surrounding any talk of "arms control" or "disarmament" by the imperialists.

All the talk and motion about "detente" and "arms control" is a charade the two superpowers used to try to outmaneuver each other to be in a better state of war preparedness and at the same time come out smelling like a rose. This second point is an inherent and more dangerous aspect of imperialist war preparation -- creating public opinion thru his "dial a president," his "fireside chats," and his being "hurt" by the Soviet Social-Imperialists' rejection of his "reasonable" proposal.

U.S. IMPERIALISM HARDENING ITS POSITION UNDER A "SOFT COVER" -- PREPARING PUBLIC OPINION FOR WAR

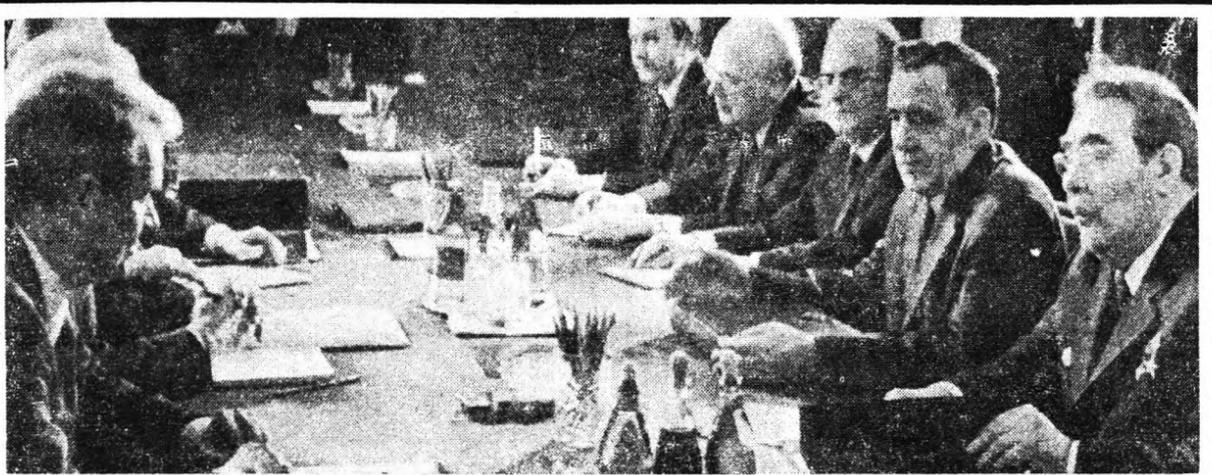
With the "human rights" issue and with the two U.S. proposals made at the SALT meeting, the U.S. imperialists are hardening their position and stepping up their image-polishing at home. The two proposals which the U.S. imperialists describe as "fair" and "equitable" are designed to limit Soviet Social-Imperialism's nuclear arms capability. This is not surprising since to the superpowers, "arms limitation" means limiting the arms of the other superpower, not their own. So the U.S. imperialists made the proposals knowing full well they will not be acceptable to the Soviet Social-Imperialists, and hoped to use the rejection to their own advantage. So when the Soviet Social-Imperialists did reject the proposals, the U.S. imperialists played up its image of being the "humanitarian" and "peace-lover" who is dealing with a war monger.

The Soviet Social-Imperialists, on their part, tried to gain sympathy by making themselves appear the "victim" of U.S. imperialism, who wanted "unilateral advantage" through a "dubious if not cheap move" (statement by Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko at an unusual news conference after the talks broke off.) The two shameless bloodsucking imperialists are like two vultures fighting over their spoils and crying about being bitten and injured by the other.

All this bourgeois propaganda is clearly aimed at the masses of working and oppressed people at home. In order for the imperialists to go to war, they must tighten up control at home.

U.S. imperialist foreign policy was thoroughly exposed in the eyes of the U.S. people after the Vietnam War. In order to be free to unleash aggression and contend with the Soviets, they must try to rebuild public "confidence" in U.S. imperialism. As Mao said, "To start a war, the U.S. reactionaries must first attack the American people. They are already attacking the American people -- oppressing the workers and democratic circles in the U.S. politically and economically and preparing to impose fascism there." (MSW, Vol. IV)

Kissinger, the faithful lackey of the U.S. monopoly capitalists, was referring precisely to the importance of suppressing the revolutionary struggles inside the U.S. when he said that the main handicap to imperialist aggression abroad is domestic pressure. We must expose and thoroughly smash these bourgeois schemes and heighten our vigilance. The most recent examples are (1) the seemingly conciliatory statement towards the Soviet Social-Imperialists made by Carter, that he is open to withdrawing the proposals if they could be "proven" to be "unfair" and (2) the seizure of two Soviet fishing boats under the guise of "enforcing the 200 mile territorial



Sitting around the "peace" table, but in fact maneuvering for bigger pieces of the world, the US and Soviet Social-imperialists are nothing but vultures. The breakdown in the SALT talks clearly exposes the myth of detente, and the sham illusion that they can "cap" the arms race.

water limits," of "protecting" the fishing "rights" of the U.S. The first example is a further development of Carter's devious tactics -- making himself look "open-minded" and "reasonable" to rally more support. But by maintaining the position that the original proposals are "fair," any future proposals he makes will not represent any real conciliation and will not lead to any new agreement. The second example is a more blatant "get tough" posture.

There are several other related developments which show the toughening-up position and increasingly aggressive offensive of the U.S. imperialists in the face of the stepped-up expansion of the Soviet Social-Imperialists around the world, especially in Africa. An important point on the SALT talks agenda is "demilitarization of the Indian Ocean." But while the U.S. bourgeoisie is playing up the tune that "detente is not dead" after the SALT meeting broke off, they're rushing the construction work on Diego Garcia, an island in the center of the Indian Ocean, and the first U.S. air and naval base in this strategic waterway, which is increasingly a focal point of the superpowers arms race. Already, an 8,000-foot runway has been installed, fuel storage tanks that will hold 640,000 barrels of jet fuel have been built, and satellite and radio communications systems are already in operation. The final cost will be \$173 million. This is to counter the build-up of the Soviet social-Imperialists in Berbera of Somalia in East Africa, one of several in the region. Another is the port of Umm Qasr in Iraq.

A second development is Carter's proposal to increase funding for Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty (U.S. bourgeois propaganda machines which aim their broadcasts at Eastern Europe.) This was announced right before Vance left for SALT talks in Moscow.

SUCCESS OF "SALT TALKS" CURBS INFLATION?

This exposes another myth the bourgeoisie of both superpowers spread that "arms control" will cut back military spending and thereby curb inflation. This is a myth because contention for redivision of the world to seek hegemony is an absolute law of imperialism. It determines both superpowers' domestic and foreign policies. By the very nature of imperialism, it must gain hegemony in order to defend its finance interests and guarantee its expansion. The imperialists must compete for "top dog" position in military weaponry and can never settle for "number 2" spot in that area. This is repeatedly confirmed by the development of imperialist blocs prior to both World War I & World War II. A recent example is during the 60's, after Kennedy signed the test-ban treaty with the Khrushchov clique, the military budget jumped tremendously and so did the quality of the weapons for both superpowers. This has continued been the case for both superpowers throughout their "arms negotiations". For example all these hullabaloo about reducing the number of missiles has only been a coverup for the production of MIRV's which actually increase the number of tonnage of nuclear warheads and the cost of weaponry, even though the "number of missiles" seem reduced. Higher quality of

weapons and new weapon systems actually have raised the military spending consistently for both superpowers. "Talks of arms reduction", as was shown historically, are actually means for escalating the military and political contentions at a higher level. It will not only not cut down inflation, but in fact constantly raise it. In fact, the military budget was increased by \$2 billion even before Carter made the proposal for a further \$2 billion, in spite his "anti-military spending" election rhetoric.

This bourgeois line of thinking is also the pet argument of the revisionist "C" P-USA, with their slogan "Detente means Jobs." This completely betrays the Marxist understanding of the nature of monopoly capitalism. To believe and to make others believe that the bourgeoisie will really cut military spending (with or without "detente") and use the money instead for constructive job programs, is to follow and help promote bourgeois economic theories. This is treachery on one level. But the more dangerous line is the promotion of "detente" itself as the solution to the economic crisis. Supporting "detente" and telling the U.S. working class to support it because it means peace and trade with the Soviet Social-Imperialists, which will lead to more jobs and services for Americans, is to strangle the class struggle against monopoly capitalism and for socialism. This is the lowest betrayal of the working class by the "C" PUSA for it capitulates to both imperialist superpowers -- bowing to their scheme of trying to lower the masses' vigilance against the danger of another imperialist war and to make believe there can ever be "peace" between imperialist powers and between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

A third argument used by the imperialists to gather domestic support for their "arms control" scheme is the scare tactic -- evoking the doomsday "threat of a nuclear holocaust." Monopolizing nuclear technology, the superpowers want to prevent or at least limit other countries from developing nuclear capability. Both the U.S. imperialists and the revisionist Khrushchov-Brezhnev clique of the Soviet Social-Imperialists used this bare-faced lie in the name of "peace" to suppress revolutionary struggles of the people of the Third World.

While trying to push the myth that nuclear war means the end of the world for everyone in order to scare people into capitulating to their wishes, the imperialists are feverishly building up their nuclear arms stockpile to blackmail the other superpower for concessions. War doesn't mean the end of the world. War is the only solution for the imperialists to their deepening crisis. War does mean their doomsday, the end of capitalism! If they dare to unleash a war, nuclear or otherwise, we, the working and oppressed people, will be the ones to finish it. We will turn their imperialist war, in whatever form, to civil war and put an end, once and for all, to their exploitation and oppression!!

LESSONS IN REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP FROM IWWD

LESSONS IN REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP FROM INTERNATIONAL WORKING WOMEN'S DAY, 1977

People all over the country turned out to commemorate International Working Women's Day this year at events sponsored by the WVO. Working women, workers from all trades, people of oppressed nationalities and national minorities, students, progressive foreign student organizations, as well as other Marxist-Leninists, all celebrated with Workers Viewpoint Organization in militant and revolutionary style. From North Carolina to Chicago, from New York to Hawaii, this year's International Working Women's Day was a tremendous success. It holds rich lessons for us in giving revolutionary leadership and improving our methods of work.

In mass events, Workers Viewpoint Organization along with comrades and friends held events which included potluck dinners, slideshow for IWWD, speeches, skits, songs sung by children and discussion groups on childcare and on youth and degenerate culture.

The highlight of this year's International Working Women's Day were the militant and lively programs put on all over the country. Overall, they reflected the revolutionary spirit of the advanced workers and other comrades and friends who took part in the celebration. The direct participation of the workers, who were a major part of the audience, and other comrades close to Workers Viewpoint Organization, was very important in making this year's events as successful as they were. It also shows the growing fusion between the working class movement and Workers Viewpoint Organization, and our attempt to carry out the task of winning and training advanced workers for the party. In many areas there were large turn outs of women workers in garment and electronic industries, some of whom studied with WVO on the women's question in study groups before the events.

In Honolulu, worker comrades chaired the events, and helped to keep them rolling along by summing up for the audience after each part of the program, by agitating and keeping the enthusiasm of the audience high. In other places, workers and other comrades gave speeches which won the hearts and minds of the masses. In Honolulu for example, a comrade from the Hawaiian national movement gave a very moving speech which laid out how her life showed the concrete national and class oppression of U.S. imperialism, and how her striving to fight this oppression led her to socialism and the Workers Viewpoint Organization. Some events included songs written especially for the event.

HELPS WIN ADVANCED WORKERS TO COMMUNISM AND THE WORKERS VIEWPOINT ORGANIZATION

In the San Francisco Bay Area, the speech of a woman worker drew a warm response from the comrades and friends at the event. Writing and rehearsing the speech with comrades from the Workers Viewpoint Organization, the comrade denounced the capitalist system and how it thrived on the exploitation of women workers, as well as the whole working class. It was presented in a lively agitational way, with many concrete examples. It was short and to the point. She said: "No matter how much we produce, we get paid a certain amount--a wage, and the rest of the money from the selling price for products, goes right into the pockets of these money-hungry capitalists! So while we subsist on our weekly wages--week to week--from paycheck to paycheck, trying to keep our families eating and clothed and educated, these fat-cat capitalists live in mansions, eat like pigs, and ride around in limousines--

the only time we get to ride in a limousine is on the way to the cemetery!... This is why we say that the system of capitalism creates its own gravediggers. It is struggles like this directed right at the heart of capitalism that will bring its criminal rule down, and in unity, we will bring it down!" The audience roared with applause!

This was a lesson in using the mass line--drawing the ideas from the workers and other comrades we know, asking them about their ideas, taking the good ideas and using the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, concentrating them and taking them back to the masses to put them into practice.

May Day, 1930, working women throughout the US took up the struggle against capitalism, following the leadership of the once revolutionary "C" PUSA. Through our day to day practical work, propaganda and agitation, and through events such as IWWD, working women in their millions will once again take up the banner of communism. By unleashing their initiative, training them in the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, revolutionary women will continue to make great contributions to the cause of socialism and communism.



MASS LINE DEEPENS OUR ABILITY TO SPEAK TO THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF THE WORKERS

The speech given in the San Francisco Bay area event is one example, and there were many others around the country. In most areas, leaflets for the event were written with advanced workers before the event, which gave our leaflets a lively style and included many concrete examples of capitalist oppression which the workers provided. By intently listening to them, we were able to understand what questions they had and what they were concerned with, to make our leaflets really speak straight to the hearts and minds of our fellow workers. For instance, workers we talked to provided us with many examples from their daily lives of how under the guise of the Equal Rights Amendment, the bosses are making women take on the hardest jobs that men usually did (like mopping large hospital floors) and therefore speeding them up, or how one company, General Electric, was taking away women's maternity benefits because "men can't get pregnant."

INVOLVE THE WHOLE FAMILY IN POLITICAL WORK

In many areas, the comrades also made a concrete attempt to involve working class families in building the event, which is necessary to win the advanced workers. A special feature of this event was a separate program especially for the children which included a skit, singing in the program of "Union Maid" and "Cotton Mill Girls", a puppet show, the drawing of a mural, as well as stories and games. It showed a concrete attempt to deal with the family question in revolution and give leadership to it, involving families of workers and other comrades in our political activities.

TIGHT PLANNING AND ORGANIZATION

By planning in detail, thinking things out beforehand and tightly organizing the event overall, our events went off smoothly and really inspired the revolutionary spirit of those who came. Almost everywhere, the speeches were rehearsed, making sure that they were clear and concrete, with examples understandable to our audience which was mainly workers and other comrades new to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. It is clear that now we can not use the kind of speeches that we used to give in communist forums. We can't give speeches that are stuffed full of different ideas all strung together -- the "stuffed duck approach" we call it, and expect our fellow workers to swallow them whole. Our speeches and leaflets have to be clear. The character of our speeches in the last two years or so (the third period in the communist movement) was largely determined by the fierce polemical struggle for clarity with genuine communists, and to demarcate ourselves from opportunist political lines. The speeches in many instances suffered deviations of stereotyped character in the attempt to fight for orthodox Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. In some of our events, the speeches still reflected this old period and this made them dry and stereotyped. We have entered a new period where no longer is uniting Marxist-Leninists the main focus of our work in building the Party.

Pamphlet

FIGHT FOR THE REAL EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

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- *E.R.A.
- *TITLE 20
- *PREGNANCY BENEFITS

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Vietnam and China

NORMALIZE RELATIONS NOW

Two years have passed since the fighters of the people's armed forces, to the joyous cheers of huge crowds overflowing the streets of Saigon, liberated and reunified all of Vietnam. It was a victory celebrated not only in Vietnam but also here in the U.S. and by the exploited and oppressed all over the world!

On March 24th, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the U.S. agreed to begin negotiations toward establishing diplomatic relations. Carter's announcement followed a delegation reporting that the Vietnamese had "acted in good faith" in accounting for those American soldiers missing in action. The move toward normalization came two years after the complete military defeat of U.S. imperialism and its puppets, the Thieu government, two years in which the U.S. government has not stopped its attacks against the Vietnamese people: from threatening to veto Vietnam's entry into her rightful seat in the United Nations, to maintaining a blockade of trade and visitors, to endless slanders of the achievements of the Vietnamese people, and to out-right sending CIA agents and provocateurs into Vietnam.

Has U.S. imperialism changed its nature, resigned itself to defeat? What is behind this move toward normalization?

The issue of those soldiers, missing in action, has always been phony from the very beginning. Just as the G.I.'s were used to fight in an imperialist war of aggression and plunder, their families have been used to suit the State Dept.'s attempts to sway public opinion. One family of a pilot shot down over Laos, for example, was told at first not to mention his disappearance -- since the U.S. was "legally" not supposed to be warring in Laos; later their case was played up to convince the American people of the "viciousness of their Indochinese captors." At the end of the war, the M.I.A. issue was again trumpeted by the double-dealing U.S. imperialists as an excuse not to pay the \$3.2 billion of war reparations for the wanton death and devastation caused by U.S. imperialism -- as they had promised in the 1973 Paris Peace negotiations.

And now the U.S. imperialists are dropping this fake issue, and pursuing normalization, to keep from being further isolated by world opinion. Woodcock, in his visit, called the Vietnamese a "courageous people," but the people of the world had long ago recognized their heroism, demonstrated in their long struggle for national independence against the Japanese, French, and U.S. imperialists. And virtually every country -- especially the Third World nations -- had long ago recognized one Vietnam and actively supported her entry into the UN.

No, the U.S. monopoly capitalists and their government have not become resigned to their defeat; instead, they cherish illusions of using normalization and trade agreements to exert political influence over Vietnam, and they maintain vain hopes of driving a wedge between socialist countries. But more importantly, the U.S. imperialists seek to contend with its rival, Soviet social-imperialism, for hegemony in Asia.

The choice of Woodcock (president of the United Auto Workers) as the representative of U.S. imperialist interests in negotiations with the Vietnamese shows that this faithful errand boy has served his monopoly capitalist masters well. Selling out the interests of the working class at every step and turn, as a token of their esteem he was rewarded - from trade union misleader to diplomat. Sending Woodcock to Vietnam is like sending the lackey Young to Africa, a thinly disguised scheme to fool the masses of oppressed peoples around the world that these running boys represent the "American people."

But the Vietnamese are clear to Wood-

cock's and the U.S. imperialists' new approach: when Woodcock claimed "We are not a diplomatic mission...only the personal representative of our new government," Premier Pham Van Dong pointedly replied, "What's the difference?"

NORMALIZATION IN MASSES' INTEREST

While we are clear that the U.S. imperialists have not changed their nature, and in spite of the fact that they are pursuing normalization for its own ambitions, the normalization of relations is in the interests of the Vietnamese, as well as the people of the U.S.

During the height of the unjust war waged against the Vietnamese people, Foreign Minister Nguyen Thi Binh, in addressing the American people, pointed out that our interests (the working, oppressed peoples of the U.S.) have nothing in common with the bloody imperialist war waged by the U.S. government; the interests of the two peoples is one of unity and friendship. Normalization would bring increased contact and exchange and deepen the many real ties of friendship and solidarity fostered during the war.

Further, the increased people-to-people contact means spreading the truth about the achievements of the Vietnamese people in reconstructing their country and in building socialism; this exchange punctures the campaign of lies and slander engineered by the bourgeois press of "indoctrination," "lack of freedom," and "starvation" in socialist Vietnam. In the same way they yesterday painted the National Liberation Front, led by the Vietnamese Workers Party, as "Vietcong terrorists," -- today, they must attempt to discredit their victory by hurling chauvinist slanders.

IMPLEMENT THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE!

Normalization of relations with Vietnam is in the masses' interests just as the heightened exchange in the past few years between the Peoples Republic of China and the U.S. has deepened the bonds of friendship between the Chinese and American peoples and brought millions of Americans, especially of the multi-

national working class, a vision of the future reflected in socialist China.

Since the Nixon visit in 1972, which spelled the collapse of the 22-year long U.S. imperialist policy of "containment" of new China, the numerous exchange of delegations have helped to build the real and solid ties of friendship; also growing numbers of people have come to understand the dynamic power and role of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in transforming society.

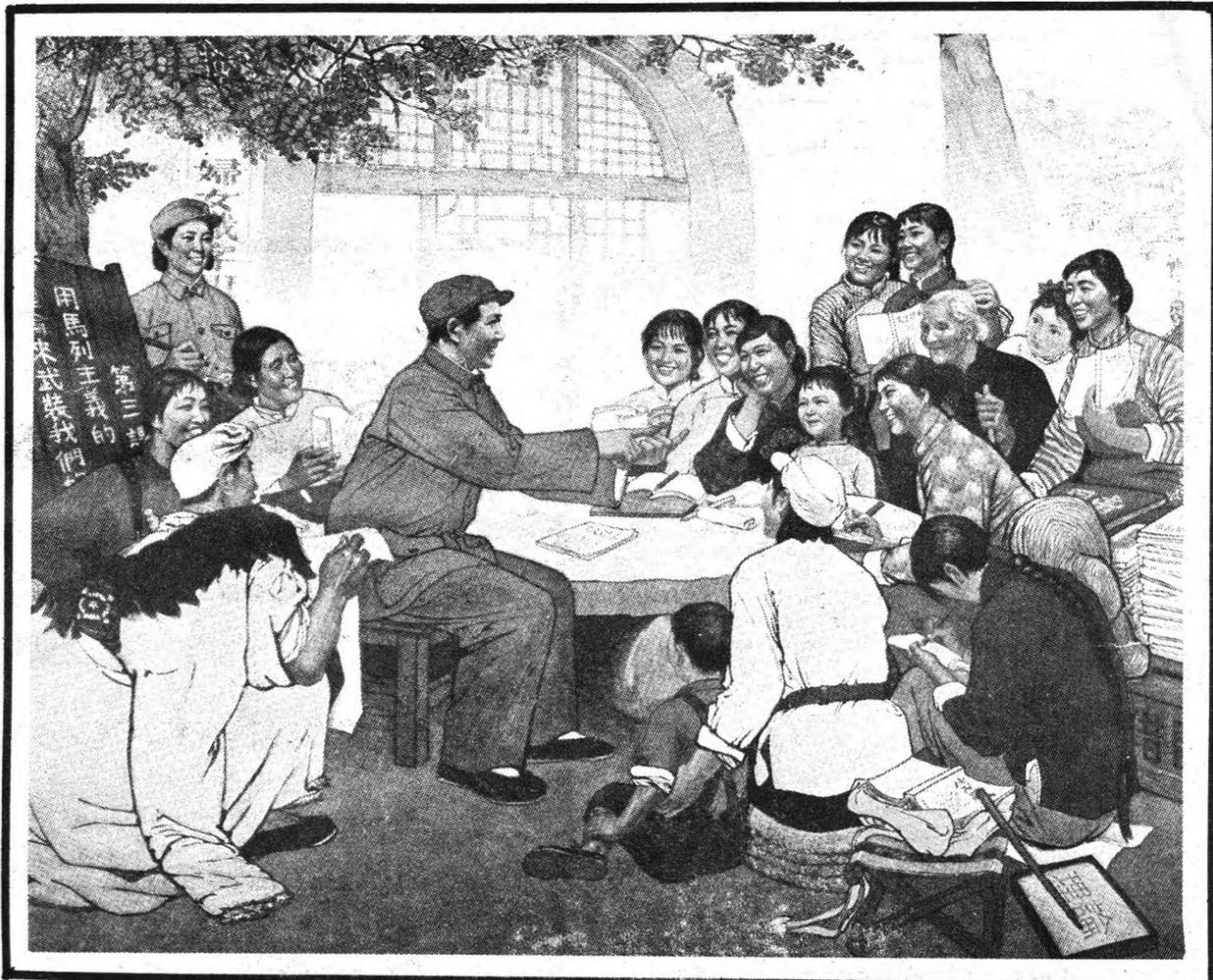
Although the U.S. government in the Shanghai Communique signed in 1972 recognized that "there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China," the U.S. imperialists continue to violate their pledge not to interfere in the internal affairs of China. It continues to station troops on China's Taiwan province, continues to maintain -- and even to step up -- propping up the fascist Chiang regime which fled to Taiwan and imposed its terroristic dictatorship there after the liberation of the Chinese people in the mainland drove him out in 1949.

The recent claim by the State Dept., that it had just "discovered" a document signed by then-President Nixon to normalize relations with China points up to the U.S. imperialists use of this issue. This "discovery", on the heels of the failure of the sham SALT talks, underscores U.S. imperialists' intentions behind normalization as a bargaining chip in its global rivalry with the New Tsars. However, in the final analysis, it is the growth of people-to-people friendship, and the strength of the masses that is the motive force for normalization of relations with the Peoples Republic of China and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam.

NORMALIZATION IS A FRONT OF STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM

The establishment of diplomatic relations between socialist and capitalist countries means that in those countries where the working class is in state power, it can use state-to-state relations

continued on page 27



Under the correct leadership of Chairman Mao and the CPC, the revolutionary line on foreign affairs has been an important factor in mobilizing the people of the world to fight for world peace and oppose superpower aggression and bullying. Normalization of relations between the U.S. and the Peoples Republic of China would greatly promote the friendship of the two peoples.

LONG LIVE THE HEROIC

Most workers, Afro-Americans and all those who suffer every day in U.S. society, which is nothing but U.S. capitalism, realize or sense that it is rotten to the core, and that sooner or later it has got to go. In just the past decade, the Vietnam war, the great national and student movements of the 1960's, Watergate and the all-round deepening of U.S. capitalism's crisis, have all taught us this lesson and continue to bring it home every day. Capitalism has got to go. But what will replace it?

To this, the capitalists immediately answer: Nothing! That big boss, Henry Ford III, recently resigned from his beloved Ford Foundation, complaining that the Foundation's staff did not sufficiently appreciate the virtues of capitalism! To Ford and all his capitalist brothers, the end of "our great society," the end of U.S. capitalism, is the end of mankind itself.

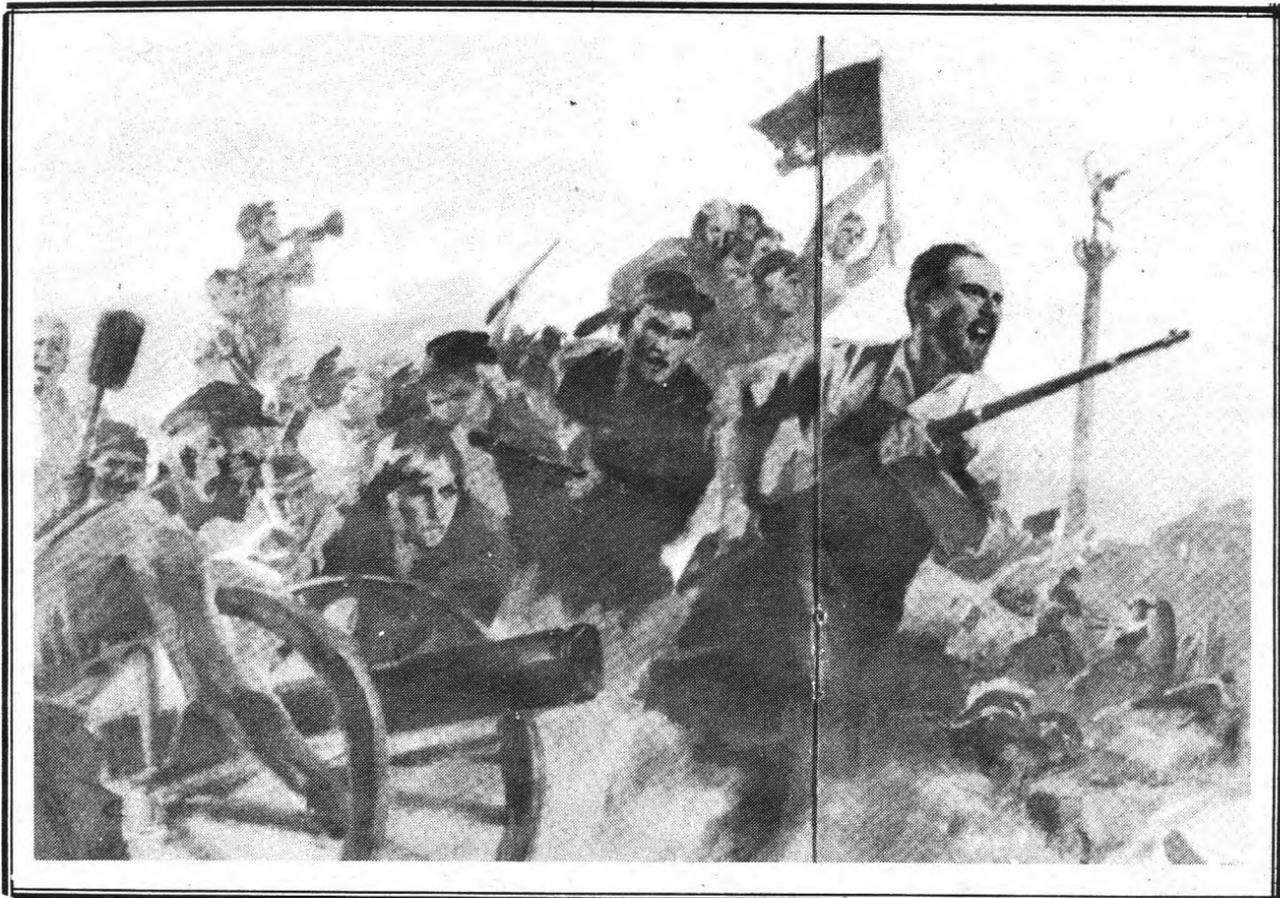
Among the U.S. masses, among that great majority of the people who do not profit but suffer endlessly under capitalism, you will find different answers. Some hope for some kind of change and improvement, but cannot see it clearly and may not believe it can ever come. But every day, more and more people ardently want revolution to put an end to U.S. capitalism, believe in it, and are fighting for it.

What kind of revolution? Mass leaders have raised the call for revolution many times in the past decade alone, a call which represents the interests and hopes of all the oppressed. In the Afro-American movement, for example, Malcolm X called for "black revolution" in the early 1960's. Marxist revolutionaries hold that capitalism must lead through revolution to socialism, to the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is no abstract principle, but is the greatest lesson drawn from the experience of the working class in France in 1871, in Russia in 1917, in China in 1949 and in all the countries of the world, including the U.S. In the early 1900s, the Industrial Workers of the World and later the old Communist Party (which was a revolutionary party until the 1950's) rallied tens of thousands around the call for socialist revolution, for a Soviet America, and the U.S. capitalists trembled at the threat of Bolshevism and the proletarian dictatorship. And just what is the proletarian dictatorship? Frederick Engels answered: "Do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. That was the dictatorship of the proletariat."

REVOLUTIONARY LEGACY OF THE PARIS COMMUNE

Paris in 1871 was seething with revolution. The French capitalist state was in total disarray, disintegrating and reeling under the effects of the disastrous Franco-Prussian War. The Second Empire of Napoleon III had collapsed like a house of cards, and a hasty, ragged capitalist Republic under Thiers was set up. All Paris was rife with talk of a civil war as the National Guard, fully armed and overwhelmingly working class in composition, openly defied the new bourgeois government's order to disarm. The French working class talked about turning their guns around, about turning the Franco-Prussian war into a civil war. In the 6 months before March 1871, the French working class staged two armed revolts and even succeeded in temporarily seizing the Town Hall.

On March 18, 1871, the desperate Thiers government took frantic measures to disarm the National Guard by taking back their cannons. But the troops of the Thiers government, sent to recapture the cannons at Montmartre and at Belleville, instead bolted their own leadership, went over to the side of the Communards, and shot two of their own generals. The bourgeois army in Paris was literally disintegrating and joining the ranks of the working class.



That day, the French working class took up arms against the bourgeois government, marched on to capture the Town Hall and other key centers and finally the rest of Paris itself. News of the insurrection spread like wildfire across all of France, giving immediate inspiration to the oppressed masses of French people. Street fighting broke out all over France as the working class triumphantly seized control of Paris and staged armed revolts in Lyons, St. Etienne, Toulouse, Narbonne, Marseilles, Limoges, and Le Creusot. As Marx declared, the French working class "stormed heaven!"

On March 28 all Paris celebrated the official proclamation of the Paris Commune. For the following 2-1/2 months, the working class held state power and withstood the combined forces of the French and Prussian ruling classes. For 2-1/2 months, the emerging working class of Europe blazed a new chapter in the history of proletarian revolution and communism.

SMASH THE CAPITALIST DICTATORSHIP!

What is dictatorship and what is revolution? By dictatorship, we mean not the dictatorship of individuals over society, but the dictatorship of one class over another in society. All capitalist governments, whether Hitler's Nazi regime or Carter's White House, all boil down to the dictatorship of the capitalist class over the proletariat. Even the most democratic capitalist governments are nothing but capitalist dictatorships over the masses, which keep themselves in power by both terror and deception. The violent suppression of the Civil Rights movement and urban rebellions in the 1960's by the National Guard and the use of the same National Guard and police to try to break the Postal workers' strike in 1970 and the miner's wildcats today, the daily police shootings in all ghettos in all the big cities--that is capitalist dictatorship. And the Congressional debates, the Presidential elections every 4 years, the jiving and false promises of change to get our votes, which are all just so much smoke to hide the truth of the class struggle--this is also capitalist dictatorship.

Revolution is the violent overthrow of one class by another, the replacement of one class rule by another. That was precisely what the Paris Commune was. It was the violent revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist state by the proletariat fought in pitched battles on every street corner and every barricade in Paris. The

working class for the first time in history smashed the capitalist state machine, seized state power and established its own dictatorship over the capitalists. And the wealth of revolutionary lessons of the Paris Commune continue even today to provide a guiding light to our own revolution.

The Communards had no illusion as to who calls the shots in capitalist society. One of the first things they did was to round up the big bankers, industrialists, landlords and government officials and execute the worst of them for their crimes against the French people. This scum, especially during the bitter siege of Paris by the Prussian army, had sucked the very lifeblood of the people by ruinous taxes, rent, prices and starvation wages.

Just two days after the declaration of the Commune, the French workers called for the abolition of conscription and the capitalist standing army, and upheld the Commune's National Guard, 30,000 strong, as the only army of the new state power.

The Communards abolished the old bourgeois parliament and introduced universal suffrage. They made the new state really democratic for the masses and not a haven for careerists and bloodsuckers, by subjecting all elected officials to immediate recall by the masses and by reducing the wages of all civil servants to the level of the average workman's wage, which in France at that time was 6,000 francs. The Commune implemented the favorite catch-word of all capitalist politicians: cheap government. Compare the Commune to the graft, fund-siphoning and wheeling and dealing that goes on in the high offices of every department of the U.S. government!

By rounding up the exploiters, destroying their army, parliament and government bureaucracy, the Commune demonstrated the great truth that if there is freedom and democracy for the capitalists to exploit the masses, then there can be no freedom and democracy for the masses, and if there is democracy for the masses there can be none for the capitalists. The heroic Communards of Paris smashed the bourgeois state and created a new state power which, for the first time in history, suppressed the small minority of exploiters in the interests of the vast majority of the exploited.

In all our struggles too, the U.S. masses have sought out and discovered the embryo of these same eternal principles and forms of struggle of the Paris Commune. During the Viet-

PARIS COMMUNE 1871



nam war, the fragging, insubordination and mutinies by servicemen in all branches of the military, which paralyzed the U.S. military by the early 1970's, were the beginnings of that same disintegration of the capitalist army that the Commune discovered and carried to completion. The great sit-down strike in 1937 in Flint, Michigan, where General Motors autoworkers occupied the plants by force of arms for 45 days in pitched battles against the National Guard, and the Native Americans' armed takeover at Wounded Knee in 1973--these were embryos of the Commune's destruction of the old capitalist state machine and establishment of the new state power resting directly on the armed masses. The future proletarian revolution in the U.S. will carry these beginnings discovered by the U.S. masses to their completion, to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

THE FAILURE OF THE COMMUNE

In May 1871, the Commune fell. Backed by the ruling classes of France, Prussia, and all of Europe, the butcher Thiers recaptured Paris, which the Communards defended to the very end. Thiers slaughtered 50,000 Communards to retake power for the exploiters, again showing the real nature of their class rule.

To achieve and maintain its rule, the proletariat must be led by a vanguard party which is guided by Marxism, the only correct revolutionary theory. The fundamental cause of the Commune's failure was that Marxism had not yet achieved a dominant position in the worker's movement and that there was no vanguard proletarian party guided by Marxism to lead the struggle to final victory.

The Commune was not led by Marxists or by the First International established by Marx and Engels (although members of the International participated heroically in the Commune), but was dominated mainly by petty bourgeois socialists, by Proudhonists and Blanquists. The vacillation and confusion of these petty bourgeois revolutionaries led the Commune to defeat.

Because the Proudhonists thought they could use capitalist finance and credit in the "socialism" they wanted to establish, they did not seize the Bank of France as Marx and Engels called on the Commune to do. As Engels pointed out, seizing the Bank would have completely disorganized the capitalist forces, provided a bargaining point

for negotiations and would have been worth thousands of bourgeois hostages. But the Proudhonists left this capitalist pillar standing safely, for the future use of the counter-revolution!

In the same way, instead of marching the Commune's revolutionary army to smash Thiers' forces which had seated themselves in Versailles, instead of rousing the masses of the whole country against the counter-revolution, the Proudhonists simply sat tight and eventually lost all initiative to the reactionaries. Thiers and the whole French ruling class made a deal with the Prussians, and together with the Prussian army besieged Paris, which led to the Commune's downfall.

Learning from the experiences of the Paris Commune, we see the decisive importance of a centralized General Staff, a headquarters based on the granite foundation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung-Thought. Only the vanguard Communist Party, guided by the correct revolutionary theory, can lead the proletariat to carry its struggle to victorious socialism and communism. Only such a Party can formulate the correct line and strategy and tactics, to lead the U.S. workers' and national movements to overthrow U.S. monopoly capitalism.

And today, such a vanguard Party is forming -- the Workers Viewpoint Organization is the foundation of the genuine Communist Party, the only Party which correctly grasps the lessons of the Paris Commune.

While supporting the Commune to the very end, Marx and Engels criticized the masses' weaknesses and ruthlessly exposed the treachery of the petty bourgeois socialists. And we must do the same today, because we still have some petty bourgeois socialists carrying on the very same sabotage of our revolution.

The "Communist" Party USA has openly abandoned the dictatorship of the proletariat in both words and deeds. The "C" PUSA calls not for violent revolution that smashes the capitalist state, but for "peaceful transition to socialism" by taking over the capitalist state from inside! At the height of the so-called energy crisis last winter, the "C" PUSA mounted a treacherous campaign for nationalization of the oil monopolies, which merely transfers the control of the monopolies from the private capitalists to their state, which is nothing but the collective capitalist! Big difference! This is the "C" PUSA's "peaceful transition to socialism" in action, which is no

transition to socialism at all but the beefing-up of capitalism.

In the same style, the Revolutionary "Communist" Party has raised their slogan on the military: "We Won't Fight Another Rich Man's War," recently altered to "Fight The Rich, Not Their Wars." The alteration hasn't changed the slogan's meaning one bit; instead of a call to disintegrate the capitalist army from within, this is a petty bourgeois call to boycott the army, in the style of radical pacifists from the 1960s. The Communards destroyed the capitalist army from inside, turning the National Guards' guns against the bourgeoisie. If the French workers had followed the R"CP's slogan in 1871, there would have been no Commune!

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE COMMUNE ARE ETERNAL AND INDESTRUCTIBLE!

Either revolution will prevent world war, or world war will give rise to revolution. Just as the Franco-Prussian war set the stage for the Paris Commune in 1871; just as World War I did the same for the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917; and just as World War II did again for the Chinese revolution, we too are approaching a period of thunderous upheavals, as the factors for both world war and revolution are on the rise. Revolution, and only revolution, can prevent world war, but today, the more likely course is that world war will give rise to revolution. Just as the proletariat turned each predatory war into civil wars, if the two superpowers today dare to launch another imperialist war, we too will "storm heaven." We too will carry on the great revolutionary traditions of the Paris Commune to overturn U.S. capitalism and establish the dictatorship of the dictatorship of the proletariat!

LONG LIVE THE HEROIC PARIS COMMUNE!

LONG LIVE THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT!

WV Journal

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

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DEFEND ZAIRE'S SOVEREIGNTY!

SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISTS BACK INVASION

Beginning March 8, several thousand troops invaded the southern part of the Republic of Zaire's Shaba Province from neighboring Angola. Despite their shabby attempts at lies and cover-up, it is crystal clear to the Zairian people, as well as the masses of people around the world, that the invaders are Katanganes along with Cuban and Angolan mercenaries armed, trained, and paid by the Soviet social-imperialists, and that the invasion represents a planned act of armed provocation against the sovereignty of Zaire.

The Soviet social-imperialists are not new to creating these kinds of lies and schemes. In their life and death competition with the other superpower, the U.S. imperialists, for spheres of influence and control of the world, the Soviet social-imperialists have been stepping up their activity in Africa.

Last year's events in Angola are still very fresh in the minds of the African peoples and of all peoples fighting for their national liberation. The Soviet social-imperialists, meddling in the internal affairs of the Angolan people under the signboard of aid to national liberation struggles, trampled all over the attempts made by the three Angolan national liberation groups to put aside their differences and unite around a coalition government for national independence. The New Tsars wrecked this unity and in fact pitted the groups against one another: They came out calling one national liberation group, the MPLA, the only genuinely revolutionary one, and pumped in untold quantities of arms, equipment and Cuban mercenaries to support it, while it denounced the other groups as totally reactionary and "paid agents" of U.S. imperialism. Such brazen acts of interference in the internal affairs of another country were bound to confuse and antagonize the different forces, and have thrown the entire country into a bloody civil war, just as national independence was about to be achieved. This left the door wide open to Soviet social-imperialist occupation, a factor that definitely increases the danger of war, as it means stepping up contention with the U.S. imperialists. Isn't the current situation in Zaire a clear example of this? In fact, it has been Angola that the Soviet social-imperialists are using as a springboard to step up their expansion in central and southern Africa and contention with the U.S. imperialists. The lessons learned in Angola have taught the people of the world to be on their guard against new tricks the Soviet social-imperialists might try to use to sneak in the back door.

U.S. IMPERIALIST INFLUENCE IN ZAIRE WEAKENING, SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISTS STEP IN

U.S. imperialism, previously the sole main enemy of the people of the world, is an exposed superpower, whose arrogant exploitation and oppression of the world's people has been on the decline. It has been kicked out of Korea, Laos, Cambodia, etc, and exposed in Africa and Latin America. People all over the world have condemned the "Yankee Imperialists."

The U.S. imperialists, hated plunderers of the people of the world, had to resort to neo-colonial exploitation of many people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Backing various comprador, petty, and big bourgeoisie, and even at times the national bourgeoisie, the U.S. imperialists sought to exploit the masses indirectly, as opposed to the old, outright, colonial rule of the British and French type.

This is the story of the U.S. imperialists backing the notorious Thieu clique in Vietnam, the Fascist Junta in Chile, the Shah of Iran, and numerous other Third World bourgeoisies. But the intensifying exploitation and oppression of the toiling masses fired



The sovereignty of Third World countries must be defended against aggression by both superpowers. Third World countries must be supported when they attempt to take stances, independent of either of the two super-owers on various issues, for this objectively weakens the superpowers. Above, Presidents Leopold Senghor of Senegal, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, and Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, heads of sovereign Third World states.

their resistance, which inevitably brought them face-to-face with U.S. imperialists, who objectively were "behind the scenes", as in Cambodia and the Dominican Republic.

This was the story of Mobutu in Zaire. During the turbulent "year of Africa," in 1960, the U.S., French, Dutch, Belgian and British imperialists backed Moise Tshombe, who murdered the patriotic anti-imperialist Patrice Lumumba, in order to prevent the revolutionary independence struggle of the Congolese people. The U.S. imperialists then backed Mobutu Sese Seko as the person to consolidate its interests and crush a secessionist movement of the Katangan people, which would have taken control of the rich copper and mineral resources in Katanga province.

Today, like in many Third World countries, due to U.S. imperialist (Belgian, German, French, British, South African, and Japanese) exploitation of the people of Zaire, the misery, poverty and resistance of the Zairian people has been growing. And as with many Third World countries, enjoying little support, the rule of Mobutu has been weakening, and the Zairian people were inevitably on the road to revolutionary victory over U.S. imperialist influence and all reaction. Only the Zairian people themselves could carry out such a task.

Taking advantage of the increasing opposition to and weakening rule of Mobutu, which objectively is a weakening of U.S. imperialist influence, the Soviet Social-Imperialists have stepped in to "fish in troubled waters", as the U.S. Imperialists stand helpless, unable to send in U.S. troops, as in the case of Vietnam and the Dominican republic. This is a reflection of the complete exposure of the U.S. Imperialists in the eyes of the world's people, including the U.S. people. But the Zairian people while kicking out the wolf at the front door, must be vigilant on the tiger at the back gate.

SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISTS STIR UP DIVISIONS TO "FISH IN TROUBLED WATERS"

Back in 1960, when Zaire won its independence, Moise Tshombe led Katanga Province (known today as Shaba Province) in a drive to secede and set up an independent state. But three years later, in 1963, this attempt was defeated and many Katangans fled to Angola and later fought for the Soviet-backed MPLA.

Today, the Soviet social-imperialists and Castro are reviving this history saying about the current situation in Zaire: Why, just look--it is obvious to us that it's just a case of the Katangans going back to liberate their homeland..it's an internal affair..a civil war, and we have nothing to do with the current upheaval in southern Zaire.

But this hogwash is merely the pretext the Soviet social-imperialists are building up to hide under while they themselves are actually the ones who are training, arming and paying

off the mercenaries (and there are still about 15,000 Cuban mercenaries in Angola) to invade Zaire. In fact, they have been shelling Zaire's border towns from Angola for well over a year now. The Soviet social-imperialists are stirring up old antagonisms about a separate Katangan state, and pitting Katangans against Zairians, all in an attempt to divide and control central and southern Africa, seize the rich copper deposits and expand their influence there.

The Soviet social-imperialists are striking right at the heart of Zaire's economy--the rich copper and steel-mining center of Kolwezi in Shaba Province. The mines and smelters in Shaba Province alone account for 80% of Zaire's foreign earnings through exports. These attempts to cripple Zaire's economy just at a time of relative instability reflect the viciousness of the Soviet social-imperialists--attempting to create a crisis and fish in troubled waters to take advantage of the situation to gain control.

The Soviet social-imperialists are also anxious to replace President Mobutu with someone more sympathetic to themselves. Soon after the initial invasion on March 8, Mobutu pointed his finger at the Soviet social-imperialists as the real kingpins behind the mercenaries, and more recently the Government of Zaire has broken off relations with Cuba and ordered all Cuban diplomats to leave the country because of Cuba's role in the invasion.

The Zairian people must be supported in their resistance to the Soviet social-imperialist instigated invasion of southern Zaire, a clear attempt to grab a large chunk of Africa and strengthen its aggressive drive toward domination of the world's people and contention with the U.S. Imperialists. The internal contradictions in Zaire must be settled by the people themselves! Both superpowers out of Africa is the just demand of the Zairian people.

DEFEND THE STATE SOVEREIGNTY OF ZAIRE

Isn't this the same as before World War II when Ethiopia was attacked by the Fascist Italian imperialists? The world's people had to defend Ethiopia against Fascist aggression. This was proletarian internationalist opposition to all imperialist expansionism.

The British and French imperialists wailed about the aggression of the Italian imperialists, and even brought Haile Selassie before the League of Nations to condemn Fascist aggression. For the progressive people to defend Italy's sovereignty against Italian aggression did not mean that they sided with the British and French imperialists, who also opposed Italian aggression, for their own imperialist competitive interests.

This is especially important today, as both superpowers attempt to undermine the state sovereignty of Third World and even Second World countries.

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REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH LEAGUE FOUNDED!

WVO UNITES COMMUNIST YOUTH TO BUILD COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP OF R.Y.L.

On the weekend of February 21, 1977, one hundred college students, high school students and young workers came together in Chicago for a youth conference initiated and organized under the leadership of the Workers Viewpoint Organization. The purpose of this conference is to unite genuine communists from all four corners of the country who are organizing revolutionary youths into a single nation-wide organization. The character of the conference was for Marxist-Leninists to unite around the specific tasks ahead for youth organizing in this period. This was the main character of the conference though it included many revolutionary minded youth who follows the leadership of communists to exchange their views on how best to organize the working class youth for proletarian revolution. As a result of the conference, the Revolutionary Youth League was founded, a revolutionary communist-led and organized mass youth organization that inherits the rich history and tradition of the revolutionary youth movement in the U.S.

Revolutionary Youth Movement: A History of Struggle & Self Sacrifice

The history of the revolutionary youth movement is full of chapters showing the self-sacrifice and determination of the youth in class struggle! In the 1960's and early 1970's, revolutionary young workers and students in the United States played a vital role in pushing the struggle of the working class and oppressed people forward. Afro American youth in particular rose up in revolutionary struggle against national oppression in Harlem, Watts, Detroit, Southside of Chicago etc. -- in all, over 27 cities. Hundreds of thousands of youth rose up in response to the sit in tactic used by Afro-American students in Greensboro, North Carolina on February 1st, 1960. Groups such as the Black Panther Party and Young Lords Party were organizational manifestations of the vigorous youth movement and were able to mobilize thousands of youth into revolutionary struggle defending our communities against repression and fighting for our democratic rights.

Thousands of youth supported our brothers and sisters in Indochina in massive demonstrations, sit-ins, building takeovers etc. against US imperialist aggression abroad. Thousands of young soldiers helped to disintegrate the imperialist war efforts by refusing to fight. They staged mutinies aboard US navy ships and fraged army officers who tried to make them fight.

On the campuses, sit-ins, strikes, building takeovers spread from campus to campus all across the country as demands for open admissions, for free tuition, ethnic studies programs all challenged the monopoly capitalist control of education. These spontaneous movements -- the national movement coupled with the student movement -- were mighty torrents that shook the very foundation of bourgeois rule.

In these heroic years of struggle, many young workers and students were cold bloodedly assassinated by the state. The hands of the ruling class are stained with the blood of our revolutionary youth from Kent State, Jackson State, the Freedom Riders in the South; with the blood of our revolutionary fighters Malcolm X, Fred Hampton, George Jackson. Their lives must be avenged as we take up the banner for socialist revolution and continue to fight to realize the genuine aspirations of the oppressed masses.

Through these struggles we learned that although revolutionary youth can

A historic and most timely step was taken in the revolutionary struggle of youth in the US. With the founding of the RYL, the merger of Marxism and the revolutionary youth movement reached a higher level.



at times play a vanguard role we cannot take up the banner for socialist revolution by ourselves but must follow the leadership of the working class as they resolutely take up the banner and lead us into battle! We learned the protracted nature of the struggle and the necessity for tight organization and unity in thinking in our life long struggle. Most importantly, we learned the need for a scientific theory to guide our revolutionary practice -- the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to sum up the experiences of the revolutionary youth movement and the experiences of other movements and organizations, the youth movement has become fused with the communist movement. The founding members of the Revolutionary Youth League took a clear stand on following the leadership of the working class manifested in following the leadership of Workers Viewpoint Organization (WVO). The Revolutionary Youth League came out clearly for communist leadership and demonstrated the necessity for revolutionary youth to constantly raise their party spirit and always follow the leadership of the vanguard Party of the working class.

Unite the Best Sons & Daughters of the Working Class to the RYL

The conference united together many of the best fighters, the best elements from the past and present revolutionary youth movement who have persisted and been tempered through the struggles, who have continued the struggle through all the setbacks and progress of many different struggles, continually searching for the correct path to light the way forward in our struggle for socialism. Many of those at the conference were involved in the Black Liberation Movement and having seen the necessity for organization, were members of other mass youth organizations such as the February First Movement (FFM -- a mass anti-imperialist Afro American student organization). Others came through the anti-war, student movement and had been members of Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB -- a mass anti-imperialist organization). Still others were involved in different other national movements, in struggles in the communities and in the factories and had formed small circles to try to provide leadership to the

struggles. But organizations like FFM and RSB, though playing a progressive role for a short period of time, degenerated due to incorrect line and leadership guiding the work. The small circles suffered from lack of scope and broad orientation to give leadership in a planned, systematic way to the revolutionary youth movement nationwide.

Youth Movement Moves to Higher Plane

With these young fighters of the working class gather at the conference and with the formation of the RYL under the correct communist leadership of Workers Viewpoint Organization, the revolutionary youth movement took a qualitative leap forward and turned the corner from spontaneous, isolated struggle to carefully consciously organized and disciplined leadership with a central line guiding all our struggles nationwide. No longer will struggles jump off on one campus or one community and we have no experience in how to lead it forward. Now we can learn the lessons from each struggle systematically and apply it nationwide, learn from the successes as well as the failures and co-ordinate our activities on a nationwide scale. The lessons learned through combating the bourgeoisies' attempt to split the working class with forced busing plans in Boston, can be applied to bourgeois counter revolutionary tactics in other parts of the country; the lessons on organizing the unorganized, on organizing the unemployed in one area can be generalized to other areas. This is the power of correct line and tight organization.

Revolutionary Youth! Only Two Roads!

The conference and the formation of the RYL was timely during this period as the youth are crying out for leadership. This dying capitalism is in one of its deepest political and economic crisis and has thrown millions of young workers and college graduates into a permanent state of unemployment -- unemployment from now 'til death! Particularly over 50% of the Afro American youth are unemployed. Those who have jobs are forced to work overtime and speed ups, draining the life away from the workers for the profits of these blood sucking capitalists. In the high schools, teachers are being laid off and the classes becoming more and more crowded. In the colleges, the ruling class

ALL OUT FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY '77!

Official A.L.S.C. Call for Support

WHERE WE HAVE COME FROM AND WHERE WE ARE GOING

The African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) is an anti-imperialist, multi-national mass organization working to build militant support for the African liberation struggles and other Third World struggles.

The history of ALSC is one of struggle to establish clear understanding and correct leadership as it struggled to concretely support African liberation movements. Its development must be seen in light of the development of the Black Liberation Movement and the intensifying class struggle not only in the U.S. and the world, but also in ALSC itself. It is a history of forward motion, one that seeks to continually broaden its understanding and forge the correct line to guide its work.

The first African Liberation Day in 1972 was a tremendous success. It was organized mainly by Pan-Africanist and nationalist forces to mobilize support among Black people for the liberation struggles primarily in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau being waged against Portuguese colonialism. More than 80,000 people participated in demonstrations around the U.S., Canada and the Caribbean.

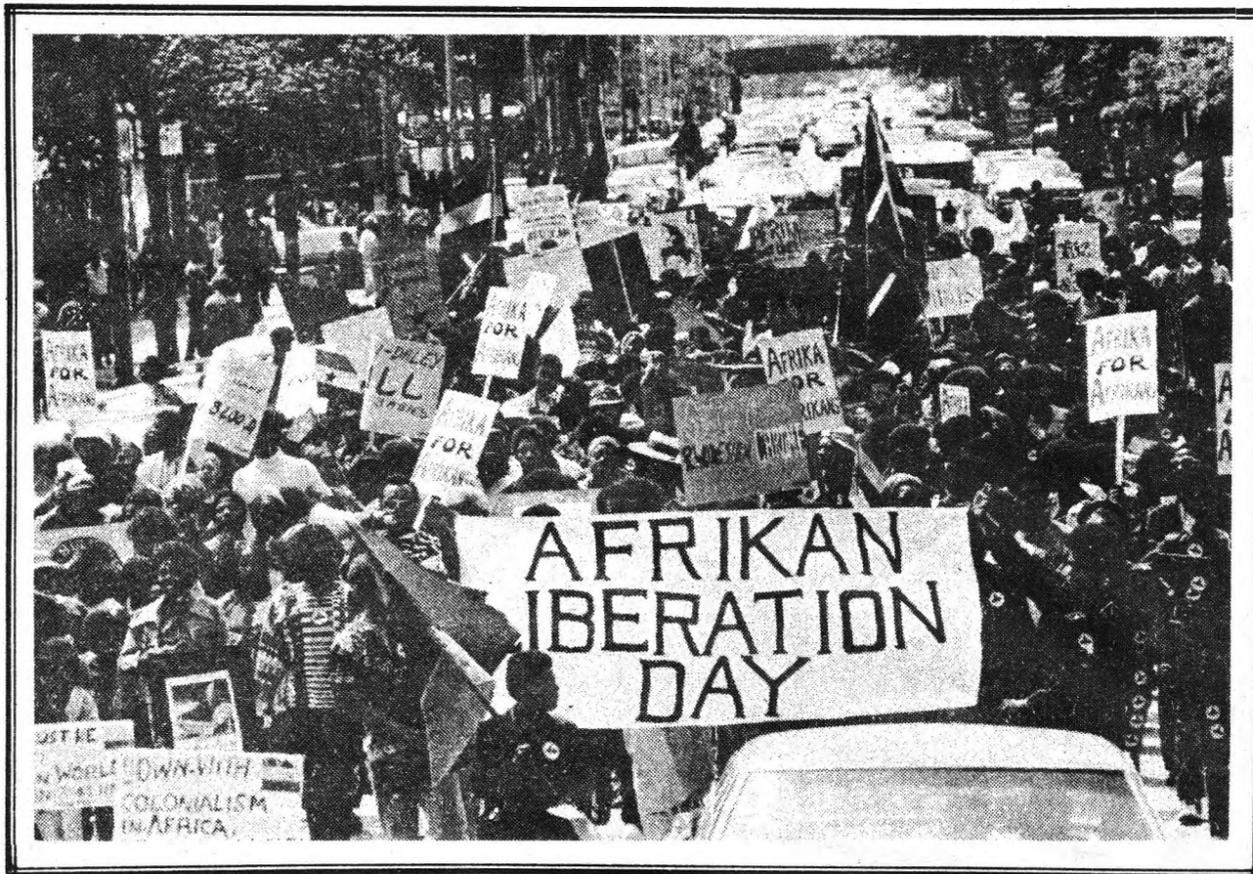
As a result, ALSC was founded in 1972 as an ongoing organization to lead the growing support for African struggles. However, through organizing for ALD (conducting rallies and forums, collecting money and clothing), ALSC members began to take up the struggles of the working class and oppressed nationalities against exploitation in the U.S. It became impossible to ignore the fact that these struggles were linked to the ones in Africa. These legitimate concerns and questions by the masses of Black people ("What about problems here? Why Africa?") compelled forces in ALSC to reanalyze the Pan-Africanist line that was guiding their work and to seek answers. This proved the basis for the first serious two-line struggle which occurred within the ALSC.

The first qualitative change in ALSC's line occurred at the Frogmore Conference in 1973. This marked the beginning break between progressive and reactionary nationalist forces. Operational unity "just to get things done" was beginning to be replaced by struggle to unite on the correct line.

A Statement of Principles (SOP) was united on which declared that not only racism but also imperialism were the enemies of Black people, that because of capitalist exploitation, classes exist among Black people and that the Black working class must lead the focus of ALSC's program. Support work was initiated for worker and community struggles to repeal the Byrd amendment, an International Week of Solidarity against Portuguese imperialism and support for worker's strikes and tenant struggles and work for prison reform.

Further development of ALSC's direction and leadership occurred at the D.C. Conference in 1974. This historic conference, "Which way for the Black Liberation Movement?" marked the defeat of the reactionary nationalist forces within the ALSC and the entire Black Liberation Movement. The more correct line upheld the need to link the working class struggle with the Black Liberation Movement and linked the struggles of the African people with the struggles of the international working class and all oppressed peoples.

In 1975, the third major line struggle occurred. Forces within ALSC



from the right and then from the "left" wanted to liquidate the organization. They no longer considered mass work around anti-imperialism as a necessity. They refused to see the merits of ALSC's educational and mobilization activities. Although they were eventually defeated, the struggle caused a temporary setback in ALSC's work, as virtually no work was carried on during 1976. This allowed bourgeois nationalists, revisionists, and Trotskyites of all types to attempt to seize leadership over support work for the African Liberation Movements.

Today, we are again building ALSC into a fighting anti-imperialist mass organization. We seek to build broad militant support for the African liberation struggles and to oppose imperialism, colonialism (old and new), hegemonism, racism and Zionism.

SUPPORT LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN THE THIRD WORLD, WITH SPECIAL FOCUS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA

Malcolm X said, "You can't understand what is going on in Mississippi if you don't understand what is going on in the Congo. And, you really can't be interested in what's going on in Mississippi if you're not also interested in what's going on in the Congo. They're both the same. The same interests are at stake."

With this spirit of grasping the interrelated international situation and our struggle against a common enemy, the Afro-American people and the entire U.S. working class have a rich history of solidarity with the liberation struggles in Africa.

Africa is a rich continent, full of natural wealth, such as gold, coal, uranium and chromium. As such, it is a coveted prize of the imperialists seeking to steal natural resources for their greedy imperialist economics and markets to dump unwanted, overpriced commodities. Africa also is a source of cheap labor. African workers are paid peanuts for laboring long hours under extremely dangerous conditions to provide surplus for the imperialists. And, strategically, Africa directly fits into imperialist needs for military bases. Southern Africa is a strategic gateway to the Indian Ocean.

The African masses have a glorious history of struggle against colonialists and imperialists. In the 1900's, the British, French, Belgians and Dutch were the main enemies of the African people. During that period, inspired by the victories of the Korean and Vietnamese people, the African masses rose and in many countries succeeded in gaining nominal political independence, but were still controlled economically by imperialist powers.

The first stage of resistance during the late 1950's and 1960's was mainly characterized by massive demonstrations and petitions to colonial powers. Thousands of heroic Africans, determined to be free, lost their lives in peaceful acts of resistance. Seeing the limitations of nonviolent tactics in the face of severe repression by the colonialists, the second wave of African liberation movements began armed struggle in the Portuguese colonies. As a result, the people of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Angola succeeded in kicking out the Portuguese, propped up mainly by U.S. dollars and military might. Now, armed struggles are intensifying in Azania (South Africa) Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia (Southwest Africa) against the fascist apartheid regimes.

These struggles are part of the revolutionary upsurge of the Third World against imperialism, which aids the struggle of the working class in capitalist countries. We must heighten our support of the Third World liberation struggles of the Palestinian, Iranian, Irish, Chilean, and other peoples and oppose the two main enemies of the world's people today--the United States Imperialists and the Soviet Social Imperialists.

EXPOSE THE TWO SUPERPOWERS AS THE MAIN ENEMIES OF THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD AND THE GROWING DANGER OF WORLD WAR!

All around the world, the people are rising up against exploitation and oppression, especially the peoples of the Third World against imperialism and social-imperialism. On the one hand, revolution is on the rise.

On the other hand, the danger of world war is visibly growing. The two superpowers, the United States Imperial-

REBUILD ALSC BY CORRECTING METHODS OF LEADERSHIP

Over 300 workers and students of all nationalities participated in a lively forum on the International Situation and Southern Africa. The event was sponsored by the Southern Africa Anti-Imperialist Coalition made up of the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC), New York City chapter, Iranian Student Association, Ethiopian Student Union of North America, Eritrean Student Organization, Turkish Student Association, Asian-Americans for Equal Employment, May Fourth Coalition of Brooklyn College, and the Workers Viewpoint Organization. The forum was most timely, given the present international situation and the struggle to defeat the Revolutionary Workers Congress' obstructionist activity in the ALSC.

FORUM RAISED CONSCIOUSNESS OF ALL

Everybody thoroughly enjoyed the various speeches, songs, and other cultural performances, the film, the informal dinner, and the vigorous debate on the international situation at the end. The audience listened eagerly as a member of the ALSC spoke on the liberation struggles in Southern Africa today, were thrilled by the variety and skill of the cultural performances of the Iranians, Turks, etc., and cheered excitedly when a WVO spokesperson spoke of the need to "settle accounts" with the sell-out line of the Revolutionary Communist Party on the international situation and the Marxist-Leninist concept of the direction of

can we know our positive and negative aspects, promote the positive and transform the negative concretely, step-by-step, in the course of the struggle against class and national oppression. Timely and deep sum-ups help us to evaluate our progress, to see how far we've come and how much more we have to go before we reach our goals. Good, meticulous, Marxist-Leninist sum-ups are a pre-condition for transformation. Whether or not we struggle for timely and deep sum-ups is objectively a two-line question reflecting two world outlooks of two classes. This is a most important question as we struggle to grasp more tightly correct methods of leadership and the three great styles of work.

GRASP MAJOR ISSUES; DIRECTION, ORIENTATION, INITIATIVE

A very important thing in practicing correct methods of leadership is to grasp major political issues. Major issues like the international situation and Southern Africa have to be understood in order to be clear on the direction and orientation of our work. We must link the particular knowledge of the masses of the international situation and Southern Africa and their day-to-day experiences of class and national oppression, such as the killing of Afro-American youth by the police, with our broader Marxist-Leninist views, the similarities and differences between police repression in the U.S. and Azania, between the rising national movements in both countries, and how it all ties together under the imperialist system. This aspect of correct methods of leadership has been and is our strength. This is why we were able to unleash the initiative of over 300 people to come out for the forum.

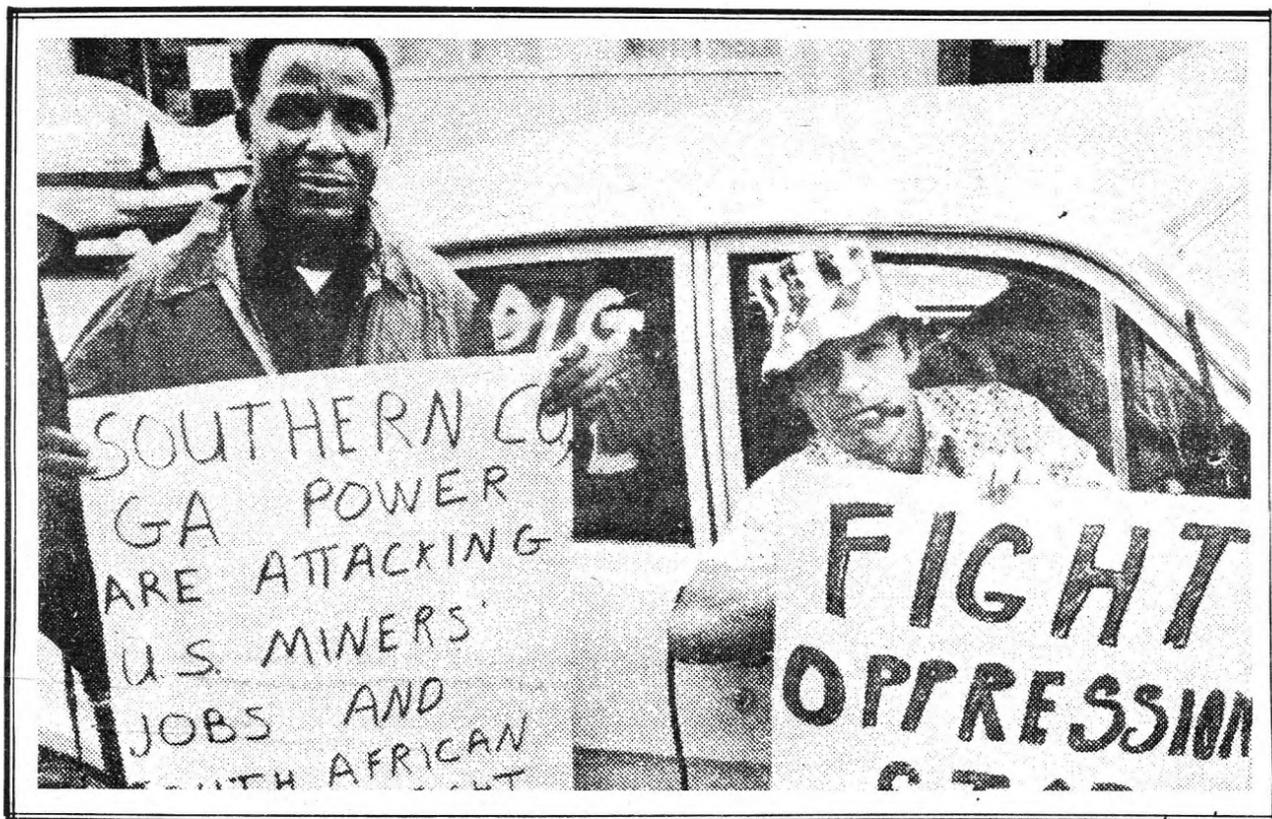
For the WVO, the major issue is the organizational sphere, particularly the question of correct methods of leadership necessary to turn our relatively correct lines into more of a material force, winning over and training the advanced workers, so as to build up the Party, in the course of leading mass struggles. To grasp the major issue is to grasp the principal contradiction, which at this time is winning and training the advanced workers, the key link to building up the Party and pushing everything else along, including deepening the ideological and political line.

INITIATIVE AND ENTHUSIASM MUST BE DIRECTED AND ORGANIZED!

While grasping major political issues is a most necessary part of correct methods of leadership, it is not sufficient. After unleashing the initiative of the masses we must organize this energy, channel it into concrete tasks and persevere in carrying them out. At all times we must be ready to defend the enthusiasm of the masses for revolution.

For example, after the initiative of the ALSC chapter was unleashed, concrete tasks were assigned such as leafleting, helping to write the speech, and preparing to participate in the debate. This was a positive thing. But we forgot that the program of the forum would also unleash the initiative of the masses there and that this initiative would need to be directed and organized, otherwise it would be lost. Thus, when we circulated among the audience during the forum and found the masses hungry for knowledge of the situation in Southern Africa, anxious to support the struggle, and enthusiastic about the work of ALSC, we did not have concrete plans and suggestions as to how they could participate in the future. Things like a list of upcoming ALSC events, the time and place of our next meeting, a schedule of our leafleting activities, plans on how to contribute money to the liberation movements in Africa, or the availability of ALSC speakers they could invite to their union meetings, clubs, get-togethers, etc. would have been concrete guidance to go along with our

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GIANT STEP TAKEN TOWARD REBUILDING ALSC

The forum was a giant step toward rebuilding the ALSC, which in the early 70's had played a leading role in raising the consciousness of the Afro-American people about the need to support national liberation struggles abroad, particularly in Africa, how the struggles of Africans and Afro-Americans were against the same enemy, U.S. Imperialism, and how both struggles needed the science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, to guide them. Some of our best fighters against class and national oppression today were born and trained in the struggle to carry out the noble aims of the ALSC. The ALSC also played an important role in representing the sentiments of the Afro-American people to the oppressed nations and peoples of the world, particularly in Africa. These traditions of the ALSC are especially important to uphold today when the liberation struggles in Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia (S.W. Africa) and Azania (S. Africa) are reaching new heights and the reactionary Smith and Vorster regimes in Rhodesia and South Africa are becoming more isolated and desperate. It is especially important when the U.S. Imperialists are attempting to use Afro-American boot-lickers like Andrew Young to further their imperialist schemes, launching racist attacks on anti-imperialist national bourgeoisie like Amin of Uganda, and plotting how to utilize the recent tensions between Zaire and Angola to their interest. The revolutionary traditions of the ALSC must be boldly carried on and fiercely defended when the Soviet social-imperialists ("socialist" in words but imperialist in deeds) like Podgorny and their bootlickers like Castro of Cuba have grown more and more arrogant, strutting around Africa as if they owned the continent as the old-time colonialists thought they did.

the main blow. After the debate with comrades of the Revolutionary Communist League on the concrete implications of the growing danger of World War today, one worker commented, "Now I know why polemics are so important." This remark showed the greater understanding gained by all on the questions of the international situation, Southern Africa, and the need for vigorous debate to clarify views. This was a fine example of carrying out our propaganda tasks in winning over the advanced to communism and to the WVO. The overwhelming success of the event is concrete proof that the only way to rebuild the ALSC is under correct communist leadership!

IMPROVING METHODS OF LEADERSHIP KEY TO FURTHER SUCCESS

The task of rebuilding ALSC is making tremendous progress with new ALSC chapters blossoming everyday all around the country. For the first time in three years, African liberation support work is developing vigorously and systematically! This is all due to the correctness of the line of the WVO and the hard work and stubborn persistence of comrades and friends everywhere to turn this line into a material force in our concrete support for struggles in southern Africa today.

While the successful forum was a big step toward rebuilding the ALSC, we still have much to do before the ALSC reaches its full revolutionary potential. The key to this task for communists and advanced elements in this period is to improve our ability to link theory with practice, apply mass line and practice criticism/self-criticism, particularly in our method of leadership. But in order to know concretely our strengths and shortcomings we must first sum-up our work using Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought as our guide. Only in this way



TWO ROADS

THE ORGANIZATION FOR CENTRISM AND PREPARES

Our organization, the Organization for Bolshevik Unity, was formed in July, 1976, on the basis of unity with the ultra-left opportunist line of the PRRWO/RWL. Since that time, we degenerated to centrism on the major questions in the communist movement and pulled ourselves back from the marsh to unite with the genuine trend in the communist movement. In the struggle against centrism, we have come to grasp the stand, method, and viewpoint of the proletariat, as well as the struggle to root out centrism in our organization.

We have learned much in this struggle and are resolute to put this learning to good use, to help build the Party of a new type. We stand with the genuine trend of the communist movement, under the leadership of the overall most correct line of the WVO, and the guidance of the leading circle of the WVO. The genuine trend is now building the Party through liquidation to the WVO, and deepening our work through the key link of the organizational sphere, and carrying the most advanced line to the masses, particularly the advanced. The sham organizations are trying to postpone the Party by wildly attacking the history of struggle of the communist movement and the line that these struggles have produced. They are given to cries of "hegemonism" against WVO, as they support their "coalition" organizing committee approach, or their "sober reality" pessimism, trying desperately to uphold equality of organizations (read: equality of line). They are sinking deeper and deeper into the marsh as the formation of our Party comes nearer and nearer.

Comrades, the Party is being built on the nine years of struggle within the communist movement. These struggles have laid the basis for the Party. These struggles have brought forth the most advanced application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the U.S. conditions, the line of the WVO. They have brought forth the best representatives of the working class, as the basis for the Party.

The question before us is: will we stand on the history of these struggles and grasp correct verdicts in order to form our Party and lead the revolutionary masses in overthrowing the bourgeoisie and establish, consolidate and defend the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, guided by our noble goal of communism; or will we rewrite history, reverse correct verdicts, to oppose the Party, oppose the revolution, and strengthen the rule of the bourgeoisie. Broadly speaking, these are the two roads.

The OBU has overcome centrism to take a stand on this question. We believe the WVO is the only organization capable of forming our vanguard Party, to lead the onslaught against the bourgeoisie and establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in the USA.

TO KNOW THE PRESENT, WE MUST KNOW THE PAST
TO KNOW THE FUTURE, WE MUST KNOW BOTH

The question of history is one of the fundamental questions of Marxism. Comrade Stalin pointed this out succinctly:

"Historical materialism is the extension of the principles of dialectical materialism to the study of social life, an application of the principles of dialectical materialism to the phenomena of the life of society, to the study of society and its history." (History of the CPSU (B), page 105)

This is a concrete lesson for us. Without studying history, we cannot hope to know social life, and without using dialectical materialism, we cannot study history correctly. But such a lesson is not grasped by everyone today. Opportunists such as October League (OL), Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and August 29th Movement (ATM) rewrite and distort history hoping to cover their tracks and fool people. But history contains its own laws, independent of our will (or the opportunists will) and those genuine forces who grasp the laws of history will lead the working class and oppressed peoples forward to smash the opportunists, the bourgeois state, and establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

The history of our movement is predicated on the demise of the "Communist" Party USA ("C" PUSA), and its betrayal of the proletariat and Marxism. Succumbing to a historic lack of clarity on the question of building the Party on the proletarian ideological plane, the influence of the usurpation of the Party and state power by capitalist roaders in the USSR, and the resulting split in the international communist movement, the "C" PUSA went over to the side of the bourgeoisie and left the class without leadership. Both the Progressive Labor Party and the Provisional Organizing Committee, which opposed the shift of allegiance, broke with the "C" PUSA, but were unable to reconstitute the Party and degenerated to Trotskyism.

By the mid 1960's, the mass movements had spontaneously brought many people forward against different manifestations of imperialism and monopoly capitalism. These movements were at a clear disadvantage in their struggles, due to a lack of correct communist leadership. In such a situation, many theories came forward to explain the world, giving rise to the characterization of this period as the eclectic period. These theories ranged from "student as vanguard" to "lumpen as vanguard" and Third Worldism. The struggles of this period centered around the question of which class can lead the revolution. And it was the Revolutionary Union (RU) which led the struggle for the correct line on this question and pushed it particularly in the student and national movements.

By 1972 the situation had changed, the wave of mass movements had subsided, and those who were drawn to the movement by its motion but lacked revolutionary stamina had withdrawn, leaving behind the best elements generally, those consolidated around the leading role of the proletariat. Here, the movement became conscious of the need for the Party, and the formation of this Party became the orientation of our work. Within this context, the question of how the communist movement relates to the mass movements became the central question: whether the Party

leads the class or tails behind became the two lines.

This second period came into being under the dominance of RU, due to their prestige from the first period, who put forth the erroneous line of "build the struggle, consciousness and revolutionary unity of the working class." This was the infamous blind practice line which denied the importance of theory to the development of the movement and negated the changed conditions of ebb in the mass movements. It pitted building mass movements against studying revolutionary theory and the tasks of Party building. Against this negation of Marxism, the revolutionary trend, including Black Workers Congress (BWC), Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRRWO) and WVO, developed, holding the first period, grasping the lessons, and preparing for the coming flow. WVO's major polemic against RU and pragmatism (see Journal 2) was part of this struggle, and helped to further isolate the RU within the communist movement.

Under cover of this right line, in supposed opposition to it, the "Communist" League (CL) came forward with their Trotskyite line, the "hot house" theory of cadre, developing and training cadres separate from the mass movements. This ultra-left line carried some weight for a time, but was struggled against and defeated by WVO, BWC and later PRRWO.

During this time, the OL came forward as the greatest revisionist danger to the new communist movement. They, like their big brothers, the RU, pushed abandoning the tasks of study, but their opportunist emphasis is different. Unlike the RU which mainly uses blind practice and motion to organize, the OL mainly builds itself on open reformism and appeal to bourgeois democratic illusions. They actively tail the social props and liberal representatives of the bourgeoisie, present-day "left" feint not withstanding (see Supplement on OL in WV, March 1976). On the burning questions of the day during this period, Busing, ERA, UMW elections, Watergate, etc., the OL became notorious for their wrong stand, and their slander against the revolutionary forces.

The defeat of the pragmatist RU line, the line of their junior partners, the OL, and of those who tail these tail-ists (I Wor Kuen and Guardian, and the Trotskyite CL) showed the correctness of the revolutionary trend. Having drawn clear lines of demarcation against such right and left opportunism within the communist movement, the central question for the genuine forces, WVO, PRRWO, ATM, RWL, became the question of political line, the strategy and tactics of Marxism for the U.S. revolution. This is the question of which line will lead us successfully to the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. This was the task of the third period.

During this time of transition, we in the OBU were not yet communists. We were an informal group struggling to remove ourselves from radical experimentalist and petty bourgeois indignation trends and concepts through study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. For us, the principal con-

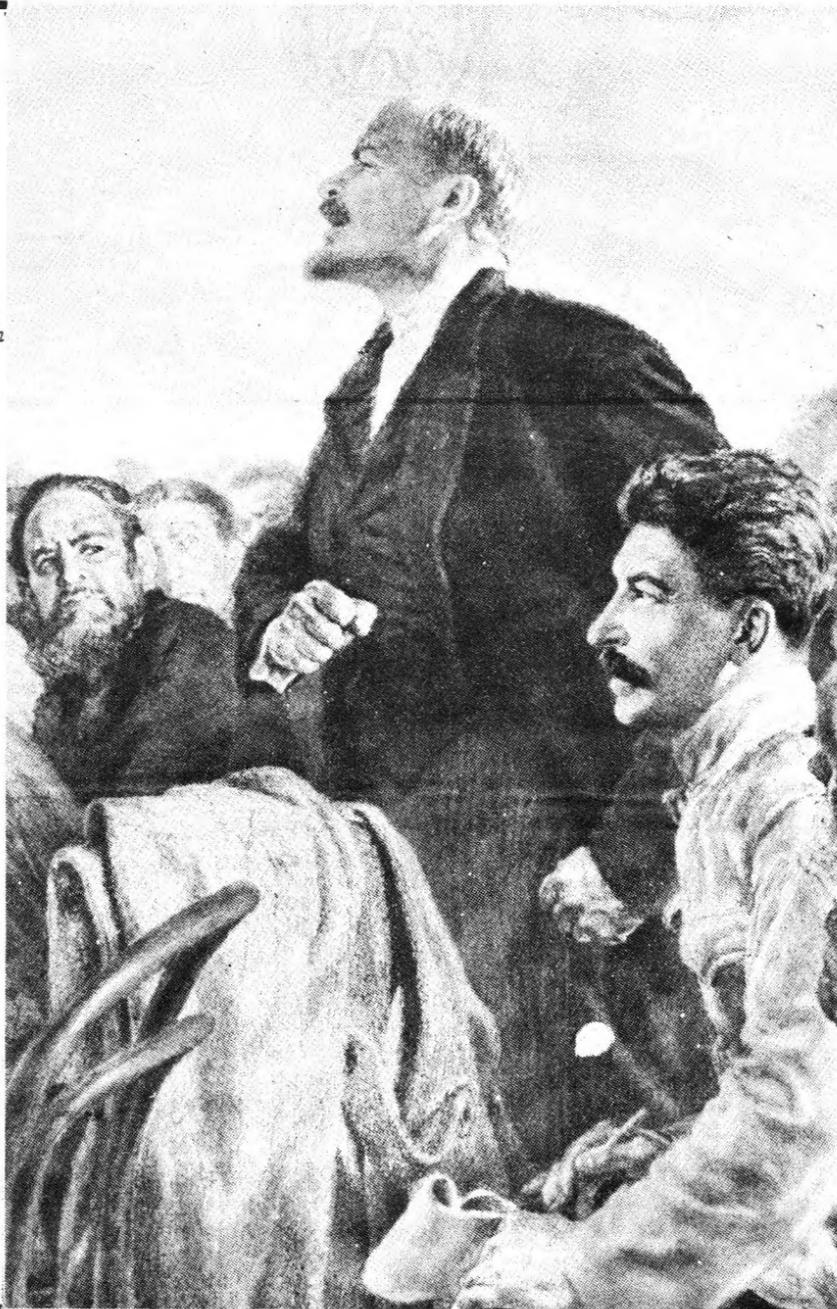
TO PARTY BUILDING

BOLSHEVIK UNITY OBU-ML DEFEATS TO LIQUIDATE TO THE WVO!



The Party must be, first of all, the advanced detachment of the working class. The Party must absorb all the best elements of the working class, their experience, their revolutionary spirit, their selfless devotion to the cause of the proletariat. But in order that it may really be the advanced detachment, the Party must be armed with revolutionary theory, with a knowledge of the laws of revolution
(Stalin, *Foundations of Leninism*)

There is nothing more warranted than the urging of attention to the constant, imperative necessity of deepening and broadening, broadening and deepening, our influence on the masses, our strictly Marxist propaganda and agitation, our ever-closer connection with the economic struggle of the working class, etc. Yet, because such urging is at all times warranted, under all conditions and in all situations, it must not be turned into special slogans, nor should it justify attempts to build upon it a special trend in Social-Democracy. A borderline exists here; to exceed the bounds is to turn this indisputably legitimate urging into a narrowing of the aims and the scope of the movement, into a doctrinaire blindness to the vital and cardinal political tasks of them moment.
(Lenin, *LCW*, Vol. 8, p. 452)



tradition was our isolation from the communist movement, and our principal task was to take a stand with the communist movement and the proletariat, to come forward in the struggles and help build the Party of a new type. This meant drawing lines of demarcation with petty bourgeois socialist ideas, particularly utopian and anarchist ideas of local community self sufficiency, and the belittling of the importance of seizing state power. It meant breaking with our past of not taking up struggles resolutely and with a sense of urgency. It meant becoming active in the revolutionary movements.

We were unable to break with all of these things, and in particular were held back by our belittlement of line, but we began to recognize some of the aspects of the backward nature of our situation. We began to see our lack of theoretical training, and our lack of leadership. This helped us pursue the path of studying lines in the movement, and attempt to analyze who was correct and who we should seek leadership from. We had many difficulties. We did not grasp the stand, method and viewpoint of the proletariat. We did not have an understanding

of the history and struggle of the communist movement. We had not rectified our belittlement of line.

These factors brought our centrism to the fore preventing us from accomplishing our tasks and moving forward. We separated into two on the question of the OL. One part developed close ties with the OL, while the rest stood opposed. The attraction was based on pragmatism, and trying to rush to the class to rectify our isolation. The opposition was based on negative minor aspects, such as opportunist style of work, and to a lesser extent, but more correctly, on opposition to the OL defence of forced busing. On the whole, we developed only a perceptual level of understanding on the communist movement. We were not firmly consolidated on a definite trend, but uniting here and there with positions and arguments that sounded "logical" to us. We were not actively struggling in the communist movement, but were passively struggling among ourselves, and were maintaining our isolation. We were waiting for the correct line to emerge and win us to it.

In May 1976, we entered a new stage

of development. The first RWL forum locally made a profound impression on us, in what appeared to be simple clear lines put forth. We were taken in by the staunch, harsh, disciplined style of presentation. This line gave us the appearance of orientation on what needed to be done, and we took up the task of deepening our understanding of the line, and using it as our guide to action to struggle in the movement.

By this time however, major developments had taken place in the communist movement. The revolutionary wing was formed as WVO, PRRWO, ATM & later RWL united on a proposal for a Party-building commission to promote unity and struggle for the correct line. This represented the consolidation of the genuine wing of the movement on the lessons of the 2nd period, and the tasks of the 3rd. This was a step forward, that enabled events to move swiftly. Opportunism broke out on the question of the merger between WVO and RWL, as PRRWO claimed that all organizations in the wing should "stand abreast." All were equal, no one could have overall correct line, and that the merger of two organizations was against the "interest" of the others. This was a floodgate that unleashed the opportunism of PRRWO's "left" tendencies, which now came free flowing in the new conditions of the third period. Struggle within the revolutionary wing escalated as PRRWO failed to move forward and correct its mistaken ideas. RWL, degenerating from unity with the WVO line, became centrist in this struggle between WVO and PRRWO, finally uniting with PRRWO around the opportunist line against merger and in opposition to the hegemony of the overall most correct line of the WVO. This led to full degeneration and complete unity with PRRWO. This was a time when many comrades were taken in by the militant, but empty, style of the PRRWO-RWL form of sophistry.

With leftism as the main danger within the revolutionary wing, WVO consistently exposed the line of these ultra-leftists. WVO led the struggle against PRRWO and RWL pointing out the disdain for the necessary day to day work in the class, the inability to apply the line of building the Party on the proletarian ideological plane, exposing revisionism, fighting bourgeois ideology, winning advanced workers in the course of giving communist leadership to mass struggles, and digging roots among the masses.

We were consolidating ourselves around this ultra-left line in the midst of these struggles. Our principal contradiction now became our incorrect line, and our task was to repudiate it and take up the correct line. But we were hindered again by deviations we brought with us into the movement.

As we came to see later, our unity with the ultra-left line of PRRWO/RWL was not really a negation of our lack of stand with the movement, but based on a continuation of it. In fact it was a flip from not siding at all, to siding 100% without grasping the forward motion of struggle or the relation of stand to viewpoint and method. In struggle we took up the "left" style and "left" arguments and got over on shallow analysis. These struggles were based not on one divides into two or "put destruction first, and in the process you will have construction."

Continued on page 18

THE INTERNATIONAL SHALL BE THE

Break The Chains!

Workin' hard through Sunday
The money ain't enough to pay the bills,
Workin' in the factories, the shipyards
In the mines and in the mills,

Got to put in overtime
I'm tired to the bone
Can't find no decent daycare
Can't leave the kids alone

CHORUS
BREAK THE CHAINS!
of Wage Slavery
BREAK THE CHAINS!
of Wage Slavery
The only way the masses will truly
be free,
Is when we shatter the chains
of Wage Slavery
BREAK THE CHAINS!

The boss he lives in luxury
He makes his profit ripping off our sweat
His class is called the bourgeoisie
Who keep us down in poverty and debt

What's on the land and underneath
Is their private domain
The more we break our backs at work
The more their private gain

CHORUS
The working class is angry
We know there will never be class peace
If their misleaders can't sweettalk us
They'll turn around and call the police

But the tide of history's flowing
We'll wash them out to sea
Workers and Oppressed Unite
Overthrow the bourgeoisie!

CHORUS
National oppression
Intensifying more and more each day
Oppression breeds resistance
Drive the capitalist system to its grave

Self-determination
For the Black Belt South
Puerto Rico Libre
Free Puerto Rico Now!

CHORUS
The working class is rising
Needs a vanguard party at the head
To overthrow the bourgeoisie
And have worker's dictatorship instead

This is a special May Day
Goin' down in history
Workers Viewpoint is the Party
The Party's W.V.!

**BREAK THE CHAINS-
FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM!**

**BREAK THE CHAINS-
FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM!**
The only way the masses will truly
be free
Is when we shatter the chains
of Wage Slavery
BREAK THE CHAINS!



The Three Great Traditions

Integrating Theory and Practice
Maintaining Close Ties with the Masses
Practicing Criticism - Self Criticism

Marxism - Leninism -
Mao Tse tung Thought

The science of revolution
That history has taught
The target is practice
The arrow is theory
Shoot it at the target to gain victory
Shoot it at the target to gain victory
Shoot it at the target to gain victory
Over the bourgeoisie

CHORUS
Dictatorship of the Proletariat
Must Be The Transition!
For the Abolition of All Classes
Our Historic Mission!
For Proletarian Revolution
Coming To Fruition!
The Three Great Styles of Work of the Party
Must Be Our Tradition!

Who makes world history?
THE MASSES!
And who are the real heroes?
THE MASSES!
Lead the Masses
Learn From the Masses
Sink deep within them like fish in the sea
Sink deep within them like fish in the sea
Sink deep within them like fish in the sea
The masses are the makers
of world history!

CHORUS
Start from unity
in criticism
Struggle to a higher point
and unite
To change the world
And change ourselves
Take in the fresh and get rid of the stale
Take in the fresh and get rid of the stale
Take in the fresh and get rid of the stale
The revolution will never fail!

CHORUS
Who leads the masses?
THE PARTY!
And who are the best class fighters?
THE PARTY!
Build the Party
Rally to the Party
A Communist Party will lead the working class
A Communist Party will lead the working class
A Communist Party will lead the working class
To Break the Chains at last!

CHORUS
Dictatorship of the Proletariat -
The Three Great Traditions Must Be
Our Tradition -
The Three Great Styles of Work of the Party
MUST BE OUR TRADITION!



The In

The Internationale, whose roots
and oppressed peoples for a hundred
the thunderous revolutionary upheavals
(1816-1887), a vanguard fighter for
nationale, took up arms against the
bravely for the dictatorship of the
Since then, it has become the
in hundreds of languages by revolution

THE INTERNATIONALE

ARISE YE PRISONERS
ARISE YE WRETCHED
FOR JUSTICE THROU
A BETTER WORLD
NO MORE TRADITION
ARISE YE SLAVES
THE EARTH SHALL
WE HAVE BEEN NA

CHORUS:

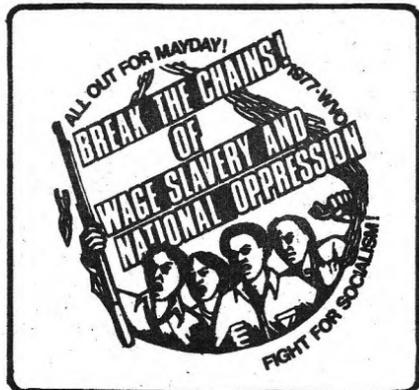
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WE WANT NO COND
TO RULE US FROM
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TO MAKE THE THIR
TO FREE THE SPIRIT
WE MUST OURSELV
WE MUST DECIDE A

CHORUS

TOILERS FROM SH
THE UNION OF ALL
THE EARTH BELONG
NO ROOM HERE FOR
HOW MANY ON OUR
BUT IF THE BLOOD
SHALL VANISH FROM
THE GOLDEN SUNLI

CHORUS



THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS SHALL BE THE HUMAN RACE



The Three Great Traditions

Integrating Theory and Practice
Maintaining Close Ties with the Masses
Practicing Criticism - Self Criticism

Marxism - Leninism -
Mao Tse tung Thought

The science of revolution
That history has taught
The target is practice
The arrow is theory
Shoot it at the target to gain victory
Shoot it at the target to gain victory
Shoot it at the target to gain victory
Over the bourgeoisie

CHORUS

Dictatorship of the Proletariat
Must Be The Transition!
For the Abolition of All Classes
Our Historic Mission!
For Proletarian Revolution
Coming To Fruition!
The Three Great Styles of Work of the Party
Must Be Our Tradition!

Who makes world history?

THE MASSES!

And who are the real heroes?

THE MASSES!

Lead the Masses

Learn From the Masses

Sink deep within them like fish in the sea

Sink deep within them like fish in the sea

Sink deep within them like fish in the sea

The masses are the makers

of world history!

CHORUS

Start from unity
in criticism
Struggle to a higher point
and unite

To change the world
And change ourselves

Take in the fresh and get rid of the stale

Take in the fresh and get rid of the stale

Take in the fresh and get rid of the stale

The revolution will never fail!

CHORUS

Who leads the masses?

THE PARTY!

And who are the best class fighters?

THE PARTY!

Build the Party

Rally to the Party

A Communist Party will lead the working class

A Communist Party will lead the working class

A Communist Party will lead the working class

To Break the Chains at last!

CHORUS

Dictatorship of the Proletariat -

The Three Great Traditions Must Be
Our Tradition -

The Three Great Styles of Work of the Party
MUST BE OUR TRADITION!



The Internationale

The Internationale, whose rousing words have inspired and stirred workers and oppressed peoples for a hundred years of class struggle, was born out of the thunderous revolutionary upheavals of the Paris Commune. Eugene Pottier (1816-1887), a vanguard fighter for the working class and author of The Internationale, took up arms against the capitalists as a Communard and fought bravely for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Since then, it has become the theme of the multinational proletariat, sung in hundreds of languages by revolutionaries the world over.

THE INTERNATIONALE

ARISE YE PRISONERS OF STARVATION
ARISE YE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH
FOR JUSTICE THUNDERS CONDEMNATION
A BETTER WORLD IS IN BIRTH
NO MORE TRADITION'S CHAINS SHALL BIND US,
ARISE YE SLAVES NO MORE IN THRALL,
THE EARTH SHALL RISE ON NEW FOUNDATIONS,
WE HAVE BEEN NAUGHT, WE SHALL BE ALL.

CHORUS:

'TIS THE FINAL CONFLICT,
LET EACH STAND IN HIS PLACE.
THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS
SHALL BE THE HUMAN RACE.
'TIS THE FINAL CONFLICT,
LET EACH STAND IN HIS PLACE.
THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS
SHALL BE THE HUMAN RACE.

WE WANT NO CONDESCENDING SAVIOURS
TO RULE US FROM THEIR JUDGMENT HALL.
WE WORKERS ASK NOT FOR THEIR FAVORS,
LET US CONSULT FOR ALL.
TO MAKE THE THIEF DISGORGE HIS BOOTY
TO FREE THE SPIRIT FROM ITS CELL.
WE MUST OURSELVES DECIDE OUR DUTY,
WE MUST DECIDE AND DO IT WELL.

CHORUS

TOILERS FROM SHOPS AND FIELDS UNITED,
THE UNION OF ALL WHO WORK.
THE EARTH BELONGS TO US THE WORKERS,
NO ROOM HERE FOR THOSE WHO SHIRK.
HOW MANY ON OUR FLESH HAVE FATTENED,
BUT IF THE BLOODY BIRDS OF PREY
SHALL VANISH FROM THE SKY SOME MORNING,
THE GOLDEN SUNLIGHT WILL STAY.

CHORUS

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L WORKING CLASS HUMAN RACE'

Join the May Day Organizing Committee!



For the past few weeks, workers, students and progressive people of all nationalities have been preparing for this year's May Day. The enthusiasm and militancy have been particularly high since this May Day not only will celebrate the glorious struggles of the working class and oppressed peoples all over the world, but also marks the year when the genuine Communist Party in the US, based on the line and leadership of the WVO, is nearer than ever before.



One older worker who remembered the May day celebrations led by the once revolutionary CPUSA, stated that he saw the need for a new communist party to always lead the working class in May Day celebrations.

In addition, the various cultural aspects of the program are sung and watched together for suggestions, criticisms and comments as to how the masses will respond to the various parts of the program that is being planned- how to improve it so that it will really strike a chord in the masses.

In all, the work of the MDOC has been a fine example of the tremendous spirit, seriousness of purpose, and organization of the working class. But this has not been a situation that has fallen from the sky. Learning from the experience of the mobilization for the International Working Women's Day (IWW) this year, the strengths and weaknesses of WVO's work have been summed up, criticized and are in the process of being rectified step by step. Some of the shortcomings of the IWW mobilization this year were the lack of grasp of the correct methods of leadership, application of mass line, and stereotyped party writing and speeches. This led to one of the IWW buildup and event themselves having a dry character and lacking lively proletarian spirit. In addition, not enough focus was placed on the training of the advanced workers themselves.

This time more concentration on correct methods of leadership, training of the advanced workers and ourselves, and the three great styles of work of the Party (practice of mass line, criticism-self criticism, linking theory and practice) has been stressed and grasped. This has allowed the unleashing of the initiative and enthusiasm of the workers and cadre, and has step by step, meeting by meeting, made the work of the MDOC move forward in a lively and spirited way. This has step by step, meeting by meeting allowed us to use the MDOC to better consolidate the advanced workers to communism. As the MDOC closed out its last meeting,

BREAK THE CHAINS OF WAGE SLAVERY AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION!

ALL OUT FOR MAY DAY!



ernationale

words have inspired and stirred workers of class struggle, was born out of the Paris Commune. Eugene Pottier

working class and author of The Internationalists as a Communist and fought the proletariat.

of the multinational proletariat, sung and carries the world over.

LE
OF STARVATION
THE EARTH
CONDEMNATION
BIRTH
CHAINS SHALL BIND US,
WE ARE IN THRALL,
ON NEW FOUNDATIONS,
WE SHALL BE ALL.

ICT,
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ACE.
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OR THEIR FAVORS,
LL.
GORGE HIS BOOTY
FROM ITS CELL.
SIDE OUR DUTY,
O IT WELL.

ND FIELDS UNITED,
WORK.
US THE WORKERS,
SE WHO SHIRK.
H HAVE FATTENED,
RDS OF PREY
E SKY SOME MORNING,
WILL STAY.

Numerous May Day Organizing Committees (MDOC) have been set up in major cities in the US, under the leadership of the WVO, to guide and plan this year's celebration. The attendance of the New York MDOC meetings has been increasing steadily as workers bring their fellow workers, relatives, friends and neighbors to discuss the slogans, political questions that have to be addressed in the propaganda and agitation, and how to make May Day once again the revolutionary holiday of the working class, that burns deep in our hearts and soul.

The meetings have been marked by lively and sharp struggle and discussion around such far ranging topics as the bourgeoisie's new plan that will force welfare recipients to work three days; to why there is a necessity to involve children in the May Day preparations and political discussions; to the distinctions between socialism and communism and the need for a vanguard communist party. For many workers attending an activity under the leadership of communists for the first time, the discussions and work of the committee has served to help draw them closer to communism, as they have taken an active part in the discussions. For example, many of the workers played a leading role in the discussions around why it is necessary to involve children in the program. All felt that it was incorrect to just provide "daycare" for the children, but should involve them in the program in order to begin their training as revolutionary successors right now, rather than waiting until "they grow up". From this discussion it was decided that the children would perform a dance that would bring out the necessity for children to participate in May Day.

Other workers coming for the first time immediately volunteered for numerous tasks such as helping to prepare dinners, singing, go postering, selling buttons and tickets for dinner, etc.

Two Roads

Continued from page 15

They were based on all destruction. Dogmatic Marxism negated living Marxism.

Most decisive in our failure to grasp our situation was the wrong line of PRRWO/RWL. On such a basic question as the summation of periods of the new communist movement, the anti-Marxist, mechanical materialist world outlook came forward to gloss over the particularities of history and obscure the lessons of the past and orientation for the future. In contrast to the materialist sifting of facts and grasping the essence through detailed study, this bankrupt approach uses the dogmatic application of the triad, "ideology, politics, and organization," to the facts of our movement, distorting the history and negating many of the lessons learnt. The question of building the Party on the proletarian ideological plane was reduced to a question of "reaffirming the fundamentals of Marxism," cutting away the theoretical basis for correct criticism and self-criticism, and the orientation on correcting mistaken ideas, as well as the linking of theory with practice. This stands in opposition to the view of mistakes as absolute and inevitable, while correct ideas are relative, and it stands in fundamental disagreement with the necessity to strengthen the Party in all spheres through the method of the Three Great Traditions and the Five Criteria for Party Members in a systematic and protracted struggle against bourgeois ideology in the context of fighting against the bourgeoisie. And in denying the reality of two contending trends in the world today, either world war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent world war, the PRRWO/RWL put forth an opportunist approach to the international situation, which negated the rising danger of war under the view of revolution as the only trend in imperialism, effectively disarming the class by keeping us backward to the growing danger of world war. Such a view hindered understanding the question of the bourgeoisie's fascistization process in the U.S. and the necessity for the bourgeoisie to create mass support for fascist rule, so as to attempt to prevent its collapse and solidify war preparations.

The consistent thread in the thoroughly bankrupt line of PRRWO/RWL is subjectivism, the negation of historical and dialectical materialism, the use of dogmatism and also empiricism, to develop and propagate their "left" opportunist views. WVO has pointed out the main form of PRRWO's subjectivism:

"Reductionism is a methodology of reducing every question under analysis into generalities, principal aspect, principal contradiction, the base, the final product, its so-called "essence." As we have shown throughout the article, this is precisely what PRRWO does on virtually every ideological and political question. This is a particular form that their vulgar and mechanical materialism takes, which is the epitome of the worst kind of one-sidedness and dead dogma." (WVO Journal 4, p. 120)

We came forward at a time of "great purges" within PRRWO/RWL, and were won to the Collective for a Bolshevik Party, a group of ex-RWL who stated that they were in dis-unity with the RWL-PRRWO clique, but who were in reality a "faction of supporters" of the Otvovist clique (see BWO's Two Roads in WV II, 2, Feb. 1977)

In the heat of two line struggle in the communist movement around the line of PRRWO/RWL, full unity with this line became obviously wrong, but we maintained the "correctness" of the ultra-left line and demarcated ourselves on aspects, such as the "Party building is the central and only task" formulation and the "Simultaneity and equality of the two tactical principles, uniting Marxist-Leninists, and winning the advanced" formulation. To accomplish this we had to reverse correct verdicts, denying that the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological/political line decides everything, and the leading role of theory, we instead put forward "political line is mere formulation", meaning that unity of Marxist-Leninists was not a question of unity on line, but a question of

unity on "common practice", i.e., based on partial, narrow practice, like just "going through the experience of being in a coalition together".

From here, degeneration was only a matter of time. We began to more firmly oppose the WVO because of various slanders about their practice which we were susceptible to, and more firmly consolidated ourselves around circle spirit, remaining isolated from the struggles of the communist movement. We developed a centrist position on the split in the revolutionary wing, and maintained a centrist position on the question of building the Party on the proletarian ideological plane. We repudiated the line of PRRWO/RWL aspect by aspect, line by line, but were not facing the fact that we continued to maintain fundamental unity with that line. We had again fallen into the orientation of unity with this or that position, but took no position on the overall character of the line struggle.

In fact, in our circle spirit oppositional mentality to the correct line of the WVO, we even sunk to the level of looking at the degenerate lines of the League for Proletarian Revolution (LPR). But due to our having some knowledge of the split in the revolutionary wing and what happened between the proposed merger of WVO and RWL, and through studying the decisiveness of the ideological and political line of the WVO, this complete opportunist LPR (though they tried their opportunist best to keep us from the overall correct line of the WVO) could not get over with their lying and distortion of reality and proved themselves to be the slimy isolated sect of fruitflies that they are.

We were not alone in such degeneration. The ATM, first unprincipledly sided with PRRWO/RWL and then flipped to the right and abandoned the stand, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. They called the struggle within the genuine forces a struggle between "leftist," and made a full flip to the right, backsliding into the second period. The sorting out of the revolutionary wing enabled them also to maintain centrist positions on major questions in the communist movement. They too reversed the correct verdict of the leading role of theory and put forth a new version of the bankrupt RU blind practice line.

Through struggle with genuine communists, we gradually began to recognize the bankruptcy of our centrist position. WVO was shown to uphold the most correct position on the split in the wing, and the question of building the Party on the proletarian ideological plane. But the major point that won us over, was the question of strategic outlook. Our narrow, conservative, oppositional, destructive line could not provide any sort of leadership. It could not prepare for twists & turns or strategic successes. These things are embodied in the political line of the WVO. From the line on the character of the Party, to the immediate and universal preparation for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and what it concretely consists of. This line, and it alone, reflects the conditions of the U.S. and the needs of the U.S. proletariat.

LEARNING OUR LESSONS WELL

The fact that our Party is being built on the nine years of struggle within the communist movement means that these struggles are the basis for the Party. They are of fundamental importance for our work, our strategic successes, our inevitable victory over the bourgeoisie. For our Party to be a strong Party, a general headquarters, it must be consolidated around the lessons of these nine years of struggle.

Opportunists do not agree with this, and try again and again to hold back the formation of our Party by distorting the history of struggle, distorting the lessons learned, and opposing the line these nine years of struggle produced. For us, there are three important opportunists: the RCP, the OL, and the ATM. These are important because unlike some, they have a history in the struggles of the communist movement, and participated, either negatively or positively, in

the development of many important lines. They are also important because, unlike others, they have hit on a popular form of bourgeois ideology, and can muster forces and propagate their erroneous views, doing a great deal of harm to the working class. Thirdly, they are important because "everything reactionary is the same: if you don't hit it, it won't fall."

The ATM, the most recent and last organization to be sorted out, has adopted an opportunist position on the state of the U.S. communist movement. On the one hand, they maintain a fierce antagonism to the correct line of the WVO, and therefore stand outside the developments in the movement, and the motion towards forming our Party; on the other hand, they continue to demarcate themselves from the RCP and the OL, claiming that the ATM is not revisionist and reformist, as are these two. The ATM thinks it is pursuing a third path towards revolution, and is trying to consolidate other centrist forces around this centrist position.

In fact, there is no third way. The ATM is lying to who ever will listen by babbling this sort of thing. In fact, the ATM is raising up errors of the RCP and the OL and claiming them as their own. No one can claim that this is a temporary loss of bearings, or a short-lived diversion on the part of the ATM. Their backsliding has gone too far for that. This is, instead, thorough, complete, unrepentant degeneration. There is no hope that the ATM as a consolidated opportunist trend will ever again be in the forefront of our movement, and take the lead against capitalism.

The situation we are faced with today is the resolution of the third period. The OBU made many attempts to avoid the leading line of the WVO and maintain centrism, but in the end we were confronted with the fact that "the formation of the Party is a settled question." Today the WVO stands alone as the leading organization with the correct line. WVO is the Party; the Party is WVO. All who are genuine communists have grasped and are continuing to grasp the lessons struggled for and dedicate themselves to the class, stand with the WVO and herald the coming events as the greatest single step towards fusion. All who are sham communists try to reverse correct verdicts and oppose the advance of communism, cry out against this success and wildly attack the WVO. Having been defeated, they take their case to the petty bourgeois social-democrats and revisionists and try to build support. But this only foretells coming victories for the Party. In this fourth period, as we grasp the key link of the organizational sphere, and build the Party on the ideological plane, we increase our strengths and overcome our weaknesses through redoubling our efforts and fusing more actively with the class, guided by the correct line of the WVO. May Day 1977, is a great celebration of these strategic advances and a great celebration of the imminent formation of our Party. As we intensify our work and build our movement, under the leadership of the new Party, the dregs of past struggles within the communist movement will be rooted out and smashed as we expose opportunism and revisionism, reformism and anti-communism, and lead the working class and oppressed peoples to seize state power, and establish, consolidate and defend the Dictatorship of the Proletariat against remnants of these forces, guided by our "northern star," our noble goal of communism.

As our great teacher and leader, Lenin teaches in One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, the "slaughter of circles" has proved fierce for the history and development of the OBU. Comrades, the OBU overcomes centrism and prepares to liquidate to the foundation of the genuine Communist Party of the U.S. working class--the Workers Viewpoint Organization!

FROM OUR READERS

Rebuild the ALSC!

April 9, 1977

Dear Comrades,

We read with great interest your article on ALSC in the March/April 1977 edition of Workers Viewpoint. It was extremely informative in that we have had no information about ALSC in many months. Many of us worked with the New York chapter for several years and left that work under the influence of the "revolutionary wing" and their "left" opportunist line. We have broken with them and have been summing up our experiences.

We would like to receive more information on the National Conference and any activities around it. In addition we would like to attend any May Day activities that you may be sponsoring in New York City.

Comradely,

Amilcar Cabral/
Paul Robeson
Collective (M-L)

From the Editor: For information on the ALSC National Conference, see "All Out for African Liberation Day '77!" on page 12 of this issue. For details of the New York City May Day events, see center-fold in this issue.

Turn Imperialist War into Civil War!

March 23, 1977

Comrades,

For reasons unnecessary to go into here I did not have the opportunity until yesterday to read Vol. II, No. 1 of Viewpoint (suffice it to say I'm now in segregation). (Ed. The comrade is in prison)

I've never written to WVO before and I hope I'm not presuming too much. I have written OL and RU many times over the years. The slightest criticisms to RU or OL I ever made were violently and unprincipally rejected -- so I'm kind of "punch-drunk" and afraid to make any comments.

I'm not criticizing WVO in this letter (not because I'm "afraid" to but because I have no criticisms).

I do have a few questions. Has WVO passed a resolution on whether or not the USA will inevitably go to war? Is war inevitable?

If it is, our duty is to try to convert it into a civil war here. This is the well-known policy Lenin formulated for communists in imperialist wars (wars between imperialists).

I take it WVO has resolved that the USSR (hence CPSU) is social-imperialist. A war between the USA and the USSR would be an imperialist war for the redistribution of the world's wealth.

If the USSR is not imperialist, it is the duty of communists to side with the USSR. The CPUSA would side with the USSR if war came.

Our struggle would then be also against the CPUSA as well as the bourgeoisie of the USA.

I think it is of primary importance for Marxist-Leninist groups to take a position on whether or not the war between the USA and the USSR is not a mere "possibility" but an inevitability.

Since our aim is proletarian revolution, the question of where to "apply the

lever" should be decided. Some comrades mistakenly believe that when Marx said "the lever" of proletarian revolution in England must be applied in Ireland, it was only a "specific" case and not a reflection of a general principle. These comrades ignore the general principle Marx formulated in his Letter to the French-Swiss Federal Council (and elsewhere):

"A people which subjugates another people forges its own chains."

"The essence of imperialism is the oppression of nations by oppressor nations." (Lenin)

The strategy of revolution in the imperialist epoch is different from the strategy of revolution during the epoch of a rising, "healthy" capitalism.

Mao developed all of the essential principles of guerrilla action and how much of Maoism is rooted in guerrilla strategy and tactics can hardly be estimated. Along with the tactics of agitation and propaganda, Maoism gives us the tactic of guerrilla action.

Guerrilla action in cities replaced (historically) the action of street barricades and house-to-house fighting (cf. Lenin's "Lesson of the Moscow Uprising" and Engels' writings on the German revolution).

A people's war is a guerrilla war, or (to put it more correctly) it is a war in which the regular armies of the people are based on actual guerrilla actions.

You can see that I'm not very good at expressing myself. What I do want to say is that I feel any serious revolutionary group must ask itself the question of war (i.e. is it inevitable?) and the question of strategy and tactics (i.e. is it practical to prepare for people's war; guerrilla war?).

If whomever gets this letter is too busy to answer it, please pass it on to a comrade who has the time and patience to answer.

Venceremos

Editor's Response:

Comrade,

Our position on the question of imperialist war has been published in Workers Viewpoint journals and newspapers and presented numerous times in public forums, as we struggled to unite genuine Marxist-Leninists around the correct line against both right and "left" opportunists, and to educate the advanced workers and U.S. masses.

The WVO holds that this is still the era of Imperialism Lenin's basic thesis on Imperialist War applies. As long as imperialism exists, imperialist war is inevitable. The WVO was the first organization in the new anti-revisionist communist movement to put forward the slogan of "turn the imperialist war into civil war" in the course of polemics with the October League and the PRRWO (Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization) over the nature of the present international situation. In combatting the RCP's (Revolutionary Communist Party) radical pacifist slogan "We Won't Fight a Rich Man's War", we further developed the correct Marxist-Leninist line on the question of imperialist war and the necessity to disintegrate the bourgeois standing army from within.

Today, the Khrushchov-Brezhnev revisionist clique, having retreated from Marxism-Leninism and restored capitalism in the once great dictatorship of the proletariat and the bastion of socialism, has turned the Soviet Union into a state-

monopoly capitalist economy. As such, it has to follow the laws of monopoly capitalism, including the features of seeking spheres of influence to export capital and contending with rival imperialist powers (mainly the U.S. imperialists) for redivision of the world. It is the rivalry between these two superpowers that is bound to lead to world war some day.

As a rising, more aggressive superpower, and because it still attempts to cover itself under the glorious signboard of the Party of Lenin and Stalin, the Soviet Social-Imperialists are the main danger to the independence and liberation struggles of the peoples of the world, and the main source of war in the world today.

Since March 1975, the WVO has publicly put forward the view that the present international situation is characterized by the factors for both war and revolution on the rise, two contending trends, either world war will give rise to revolution, or revolution will prevent world war. In either case, the situation will develop in a direction favorable to the people of the world. These are the two paths to socialist revolution for the U.S. proletariat and other peoples of the world. Based upon a continuing assessment of the international situation, in 1976, the WVO passed a resolution that "in the immediate period ahead, the most likely path toward socialist revolution in the U.S. is the path of world war giving rise to revolution." This was based on our correct assessment of the state of the subjective factor in the U.S. and the Soviet Union, that is, the level of preparedness of communists leadership. Presently, the strength of the U.S. and Soviet proletariat is growing as the fusion between the communist and workers movement is deepening, although it is not strong enough to overthrow the U.S. or Soviet bourgeoisie, which is the only thing that can prevent the outbreak of a new world war. Because Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations are developing rapidly, and the highly unstable and inflammable character of the imperialist system is riddled with antagonistic contradictions, and because of the rise of heroic revolutionary liberation struggles in Third World countries (which lessen the danger of world war), the situation can change in the future. But this obviously cannot be predicted in advance, as both factors (war and revolution) are on the rise.

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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

' ARISE YE PRISONERS OF STARVATION! '



TOP--May Day march, 1934: under communist leadership, the U.S. workers movement surged forward to deal death blows against capitalism, and to fight against hunger, war, and fascism.
RIGHT--The great revolutionary, Lenin, speaks to millions of Russian workers on May Day, 1919, the first May Day held under socialism, the rule of the working class.



MAY DAY

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

thousands of other workers, just to collect a few dollars? A few dollars! After years of breaking your backs. Isn't this what capitalism's all about? That's why we say All out for May Day!

And for working mothers, especially in families of oppressed nationalities, where the woman is the only breadwinner, because of capitalism having broken up our families -- for working mothers, daycare is a necessity! But under Title 20, which went into effect a year and a half ago, your income's got to be so low that only women in the dirtiest and lowest-paying jobs can get daycare. So if you're not in one of those jobs, or if you can't find a job at all -- which is more likely the case -- you're forced to stay at home and go on welfare. Either way, you're driven into desperation and end up getting hit from both sides -- either you end up a slave to welfare, or you end up slaving away for the monopoly capitalists like Con Ed or the telephone company, at the meanest, poorest jobs. Isn't that so? Isn't that what we mean when we talk about the evils of capitalism? That's why we say All out for May Day!

And now the capitalists are telling us we have to earn our welfare checks by working 3 days a week -- Workfare, it's called. They've even got a fancy new name to cover it up with. Now just where are those jobs supposed to come from? We were forced on welfare in the first place because we couldn't find work! That's why we say All out for May Day!

And our kids, who represent our hope, our future. What kind of future is there for them under capitalism? Our kids graduate from high school and can just barely read and write. They

can't even get a part-time job. The capitalists say it's either the teachers' fault for not doing their jobs, or they blame the kids for being dumb. So what do they do? They bus them around from one bad school to another worse one, as if mixing white with national minority kids is the solution. But white working class kids aren't getting a half-way decent education either. All the schools are deteriorating -- education went out the window years ago, and nowadays schools are little more than prisons. That's why we say All out for May Day!

Does anyone really believe they cooked up things like the forced busing plan because they thought our kids would get a better education? Hell no! They cooked it up for one purpose and one purpose only -- to split our ranks -- by trade, by sex, by nationality, by whether we're employed or unemployed, permanent or temporary. They'd split us right-handed from left-handed, if they could -- whatever they can find. They try to keep us separated and keep our resistance down -- whipping up antagonisms to keep poor and discriminated against minorities fighting with white workers for a little more of the pie or for the few jobs around. They even try to get us to hate and mistrust our fellow workers and our neighbors. They do all these things to divert us away from the real enemy -- the monopoly capitalists themselves. That's why we have to unite and go all out for May Day!

TAKE BACK OUR UNIONS! ALL OUT FOR MAY DAY!

And what about those misleaders in our unions, phoney militants like Gotbaum or Chavez, or Meany and Fitzsimmons. What about them? May Day is the time when their colors and interests stand naked before our eyes too. Do they stand for the revolutionary traditions of May Day? NO! Do they call out for May Day? Never! The first May Day was held in defiance of these traitors to the multinational working class! struggles -- in defiance of Samuel Gompers who tried to sabotage the General Strike by telling unions to go out just one at a time, in defiance of scabs like Powderly who

called the struggle for the 8-hour day "8-hour madness." And in defiance of the chauvinist misleaders of the American Federation of Labor who refused to organize immigrants and unskilled labor, and who supported Exclusion Acts against the Chinese and Japanese and denied union membership to Afro-Americans. It's against these scabs that we're going all out for May Day!

And is it any different today? Nowadays, these scoundrels in our ranks have a new bag of tricks to divert our struggles -- like the Experimental Negotiating Agreement in steel that bans strikes and lockouts; or the Equal Rights Amendment, or superseniority -- they have this bill, that bill; this petition, that letter -- why, every one of you could give millions of examples of tricks your local misleaders got up their sleeves. And as if that's not enough, they'll try to get us to let off steam by promoting a stroll on the grass like that one in Washington 2 years ago to hear Hubert Humphrey. But just as we militantly took over the field and made it impossible for the misleaders to speak, we will also take back our unions. Our history in fighting for trade unions, our basic mass organizations, has been too long, too successful, and too revolutionary, to let these misleaders take them away from us. Take back our unions! That's why we have to go all out for May Day!

SMASH CAPITALISM AND BUILD THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

So what does all this mean? Under capitalism, nothing is done or planned out for the vast majority of people, the working class. Everything is done to make profits for the small handful of bloodsuckers -- the bosses, the monopoly capitalist class. That's why capitalism is a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie -- because they control everything -- they control the police and army, they control the resources, they control the banks, mines, factories, the press -- while we are all slaves -- wage slaves, who sell our labor in return for wages to keep ourselves and our families from going cold and hungry. They lord it over us, while we, the working class, or proletariat, we produce all the wealth in society. We produce absolutely everything that is made. We are the

MAY DAY

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class that makes all of society run, and it's our labor that's the only source of profit for the monopoly capitalists. Without us, they'd be nothing!

We will smash this unjust social system and overthrow it with our armed might, and on its ruins we will build a just social system -- we will construct a new socialist society! -- the necessary transition to communism. Under socialism, the economy will be planned with the needs of the working class foremost in mind -- planned so there will be no such things as forced overtime, speedups, layoffs, unemployment, recession or inflation. Instead of long lines at the unemployment office, there will be full employment. Everyone of us will have jobs, a decent income and the basic necessities. Vital social services such as dignified health care, decent education, universal day-care, adequate housing, and public transportation will be provided at low cost, or free. We workers are the makers of everything on earth and we will be the new masters.

When we institute the dictatorship of the proletariat, the state will be in the hands of the working class and oppressed nationalities. And we will turn the tables around and dictate over the bourgeoisie -- we will suppress them by force, because we know these class enemies will never give anything up without a violent struggle.

For the first time, there will be real democracy -- we will make the decisions, control the factories and other places of work. Instead of some Board of Directors sitting in a cushy conference room at the top of some corporation, there will be a committee of factory workers and their political representatives (cadre from the Communist Party). And under socialism, the basis for genuine equality, for the elimination of national oppression and women's oppression, will be laid, and there will be no place for these to divide the working class.

BUILD THE POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE WORKING CLASS

How will socialism come about? We must establish our political independence: we need our independent working class contingent -- one that is separate from the parties of the bourgeoisie like the Republican or Democratic parties. The working class must be a class that fights for itself and in its own class interests.

We have no interests in becoming bourgeois politicians or holding the whip over 5,000 workers in an auto plant, squeezing dry our fellow workers for every last cent they're worth. Nor are we interested in just getting a little more money for the work we do -- we are not, in the words of V.I. Lenin, the great Russian revolutionary, interested in bargaining for better terms for the sale of our labor power. We say No bargains! No deals! Put an end to wage slavery altogether! We have no interests aside from this. Break the chains of

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wage slavery and national oppression! The proletariat have nothing to lose but our chains -- we have a world to win!

To carry out our historical mission of overthrowing capitalism and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, we must be organized! Organization is our only weapon in our fight against the ruling class and is what the ruling class fears most. There's nothing they fear more than a genuinely political independent contingent of the working class. And the highest form of class organization is the party of the working class. The single greatest step towards regaining our political independence is the formation of our vanguard Communist Party.

THE WVO IS THE FOUNDATION FOR THE NEW COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE U.S. PROLETARIAT

A genuine Communist Party is the General Staff of the proletariat, the headquarters for the revolution. It is made up of the very finest elements of the working class, the clearest, most far-sighted and the best sons and daughters of our class, who always march at the head of the working class movement. And the party is armed with the most advanced, proletarian theory to guide its thinking, its political lines, and its policies -- Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Only such a party can give leadership to our day-to-day struggles while fighting for the long-term interests of the proletariat.

We once had a vanguard Communist Party in this country, one that gave leadership to the many struggles of the working class

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ALSC

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general call to support African national liberation struggles. In addition, the key link was not grasped tightly as many contacts made at the forum were not meticulously followed up.

DEFEND THE ENTHUSIASM OF THE MASSES FOR REVOLUTION!

A big shortcoming was our failure to successfully defend the enthusiasm of the chapter and the audience. Only with the correct methods of leadership can the initiative and enthusiasm of the masses be unleashed. After members had helped to write the ALSC speech and practice it, plans were changed at the last minute and the speaker was replaced and the speech rewritten. To have collectively worked on the speech with the participation of the masses was definitely a good thing! It was more directly their own product. But having unleashed this initiative, we then squashed it by our poor planning and style of work. This was commandism in our relations with the masses, and reflected our lack of faith in the masses' ability to carry out tasks, their ability to accept criticism, their outlook towards mistakes and ability to correct them quickly as we point them out clearly.

The organization of the program itself also reflected two-line struggle, whether to unleash and defend the enthusiasm of the masses for revolution or to frustrate and dampen it. Though the program was overall good and people left wanting to know and do more, there was one serious shortcoming. The film shown had not been screened beforehand; it was gotten at the last minute. The film was not in English and we had made no arrangements for translation. The masses struggled to understand the message of the film but the language barrier was a real problem. Such incidents turn off the enthusiasm of the masses and turn them away from us and communist ideas rather than drawing them nearer. Lack of planning and attention to detail reflect our outlook toward the masses and our tasks, our lack of concern and responsibility. The program was not carried out in such a way as to apply mass line in its development, and step by step take care of any disorganizing element that arose, and reflected looseness in organization.

Another shortcoming in the program was some unnecessary overlap in many of the speeches. Concretely, we learned that, in coalitions with other mass organizations, meticulous planning can lessen repetition, deepen and sharpen the content, and rouse the spirit! This concrete lesson will help make future forums more lively and to the point, concise and less repetitive. And most important, speeches that are rousing, agitational, sharp, and informative serve to help win over the masses, particularly the advanced, by cutting through right to the burning questions that are on their minds and by giving a clear presentation of the line. Throw out the stale, repetitive style of the petty bourgeoisie, and take up the inexhaustibly rich, lively style of the working class!

On the other hand, the creativity of the masses is boundless! Under the leadership of the WVO, workers eagerly jumped in and took up the task of planning for how the forum could serve and benefit our class and show concern for our needs. For example, in order to serve the needs of working class families with kids, workers joined in to concretely suggest how daycare could be set up. In order to meet the rising cost of food and to care for the well-being of the masses, workers planned the meal carefully, brought their own pot luck, got their kids to help in serving the food, etc. By actively encouraging

participation by everyone, even workers who came out for the first time to such an event contributed to the success of the forum. Workers, through deeds, gained a sense of involvement and contribution to the forum, which was helpful in consolidating them to support the struggle for national liberation and the line of the WVO.

Through criticism and self-criticism and with the outlook of "saving the patient, cure the disease," we are attempting step-by-step to rectify our method of leadership by grasping more tightly how to apply mass line, and these have brought us rich results. We are beginning to understand the deep knowledge the Afro-American masses have of liberation struggles in Africa and of oppression in the U.S., their boundless enthusiasm for revolution, communist ideas and literature, and the ALSC and its traditions. The more we correctly apply mass line and correct our method of leadership, the more confident and enthusiastic the masses become in our ability to lead and in the masses' ability to overthrow the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalists.

By improving our method of leadership and training the advanced around us in correct methods of leadership, all in the course of class struggle, we will certainly succeed in rebuilding the African Liberation Support Committee into a broader and more deeply-rooted mass organization than it has ever been before!

AFRICAN PEOPLES' STRUGGLE WILL SURELY TRIUMPH!

Build Communist Leadership of the African Liberation Support Committee!

Order Now: \$1

ALD '77

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ists and the Soviet Social Imperialists, are the main enemies of the people of the world. They are locked in deadly combat as they madly scramble to redivide the world's resources and intensify the exploitation of the masses of people. This economic rivalry inevitably leads to imperialist wars as the superpowers attempt to maintain old strongholds and steal new ones.

After World War II, the United States emerged as the Number One imperialist power. However, successful national liberation struggles, such as in Indo-China, Korea and the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, and the struggles of the U.S. people, seriously weakened this imperialist power. Chased out of one country after another, the U.S. imperialists are thoroughly exposed in the eyes of the people of the U.S. and the world.

In Africa, the cover has been stripped off its imperialist designs. The U.S.'s role in the assassination of revolutionary Patrice Lumumba in the Congo, the coup overthrowing the progressive government of Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana, support of the reactionary feudal regime in Ethiopia and its open and behind-the-scenes support of the fascist apartheid regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia, have been exposed and aroused the indignation of the world's people against it. U.S. multinational corporations, such as IBM, General Motors, and Gulf Oil, have billion dollar investments in Southern Africa, and directly participate in the oppression of the African masses.

Suffering setbacks around the world, the United States is buckling under the worst economic crisis since the Depression. However, the U.S. is still a major imperialist power and is struggling to regain its imperialist influence by changing its tactics and appearing to support majority rule--like its chief rival, the Soviet Social Imperialists.

The Soviet Social Imperialists, as a rising superpower, are challenging the U.S. Imperialists for top spot on the imperialist dung heap. Pimping off its glorious history as a socialist country, it is a greedy bloodsucker, a super-imperialist power, socialist only in words, and hence social-imperialist.

Within the Soviet Union, the fascists in power ruthlessly suppress the working class. The economy no longer serves the working masses, but rather its imperialist needs. Like all monopoly capitalists, it must expand to survive. So, it has turned its imperialist eyes to other countries of the world.



Like the U.S. Imperialists, the Soviet Social Imperialists use "aid" programs to mask its imperialist expansion and strivings to gain control of the economics of other countries. Instead of upholding the socialist concept of mutual aid and respect and sharing technology while upholding the principle of self-reliance, the USSR loans money to Third World countries at high interest rates, just like any hated loan shark, sells outdated equipment at high prices to get rid of them, sends Soviet technicians but doesn't train the people themselves, thereby making them dependent on outside skills. And, in Angola, the Soviet Union split and wrecked the



The Afro-American people have a rich history of support for the African peoples struggles. In 1960, former President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah spoke to a crowd on 125th and Lenox avenue in NYC. The ALSC had a rich tradition upon which to build, and will continue to carry out support work, despite all attempts to sabotage and wreck by opportunists of all stripes.

unity of national liberation groups, even bringing in Cuban troops to kill African people--pitting Third World people against each other.

Both superpowers stand in the way of the freedom and independence of the world's people. Together, they actively oppose wars of liberation, raising instead sham reforms to maintain their hold and keep nations superexploited. It is the rivalry between the two superpowers which is the root cause of the danger of world war, as each attempts to outmaneuver the other like two bandits for the take, the booty.

We condemn the imperialist aggression of both superpowers and actively oppose the war preparations covered by clamors for world peace.

WORKERS, OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES, AND PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!

Imperialism is the highest and final stage of capitalism. All the contradictions caused by this oppressive system are sharpening and heading for resolution in favor of the people, as it becomes clearer that monopoly capitalism cannot serve our interests.

As monopoly capitalism oppresses the peoples of the world, it ruthlessly

working women and youth. Unemployment among these groups is double and triple the national average. Workers from oppressed nationalities, like Black workers, are locked into the lowest paying, dirtiest jobs with the least job security and are usually the last hired and first fired. Women workers are kept out of jobs reserved for men and are paid less for the same job. Working class youth have little hope of ever holding a job.

Despite the trickery of the so-called liberals, full employment is impossible under capitalism. More than seven million workers are out of work, some of whom will never work again. The capitalists must have a reserve labor force, usually oppressed nationalities and minorities and women, to hold over the heads of militant workers, serve as strike breakers and depress the wages of the entire working class.

But capitalist oppression is being met with resistance. All across the country workers are rising up, in the coal mines, hospitals, auto plants, hotels, in every sector of the workforce. The struggle of the U.S. working class against our own imperialist bourgeoisie aids the just struggle of revolutionary people everywhere.

SUPPORT THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF OPPRESSED NATIONALITIES AND NATIONAL MINORITIES

The ALSC supports the democratic rights struggle of the Afro-American people. The ALSC also supports the democratic rights of Asian Americans, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and all oppressed peoples against imperialist oppression. The revolutionary national movements have been a powerful force against U.S. imperialism, and are bound to merge with the worker's movement.

In response to the revolutionary national movements, the bourgeoisie have used two tactics to break the revolutionary movements. On the one hand, it attempted to integrate the oppressed nationalities and minorities into the system by such sham reforms as community control, Model Cities and token official positions. These reforms attempted to channel our struggle into safe dead-end streets, without changing the fundamental exploitative nature of the capitalist system and, therefore not benefiting the masses of people. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie stepped up its violent repression, passing repressive laws, such as "no-knock laws," training military police units like SWAT, jailing progressive people on trumped up charges and killing revolutionaries.

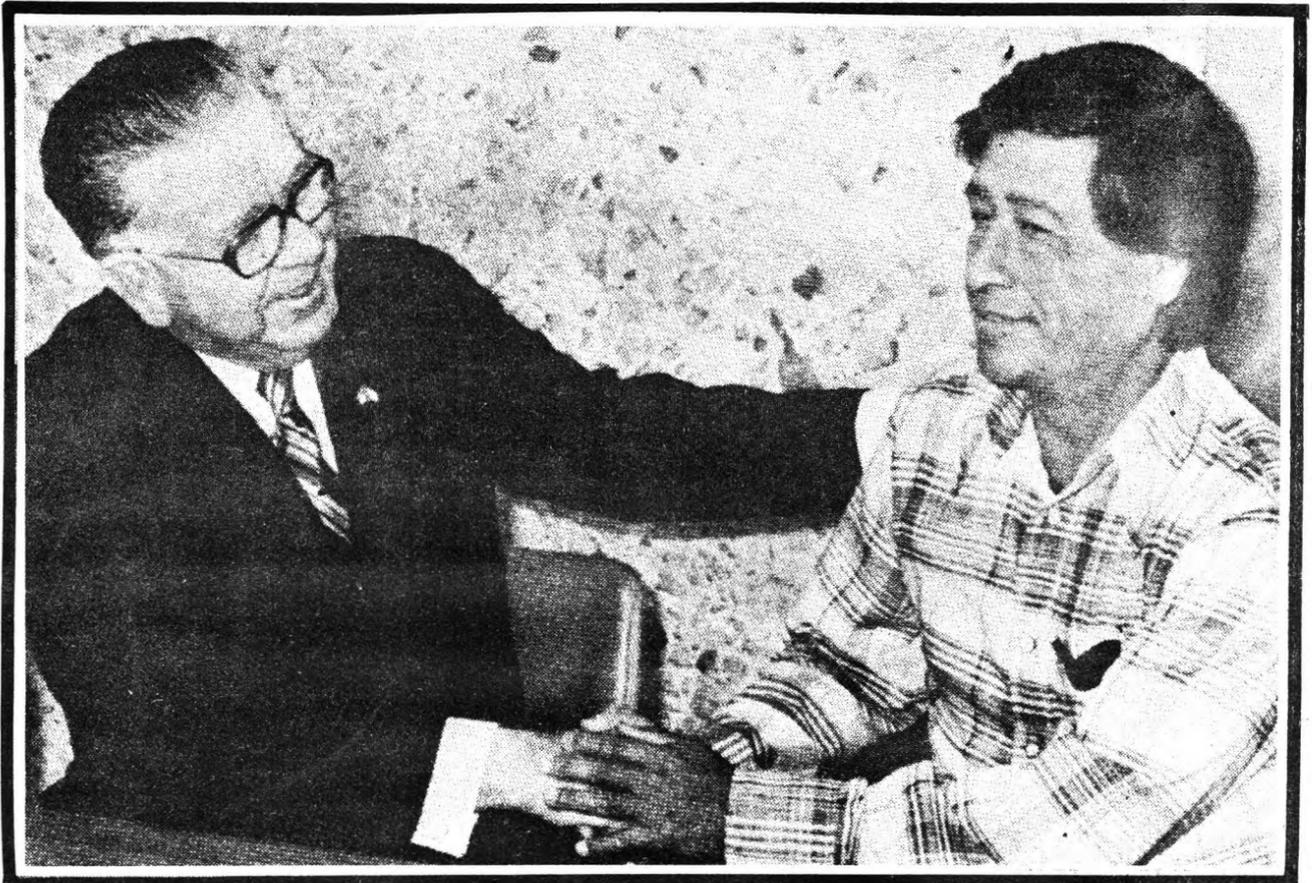
exploits its own working people. The U.S. working class has a rich tradition and legacy of struggle against capitalist oppression. Today, U.S. monopoly capitalism, racked by internal contradictions, is in a severe economic crisis. The "official" unemployment rate hovers at 9 percent, while the real rate is three times higher. Inflation continues to soar, especially for essential items such as food and medical care which is affordable by only the rich, as hospitals turn away sick and injured workers with no money or insurance.

The monopoly capitalists especially prey upon oppressed nationalities,

CHAVEZ AND FITZSIMMONS HONEYMOONING

Through years of long, hard struggle, farmworkers in the Southwest won the right to strike and to organize into trade unions. But increasingly, the treacherous class collaborationist nature of United Farmworkers President Cesar Chavez became clear -- first when he went over the heads of the rank and file and signed the Agricultural Labor Relations Act, thus selling away the workers' right to strike and boycott (see Workers Viewpoint newspaper, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 15) and more recently when he and Teamsters boss Fitzsimmons made official their outright collaboration by dividing up the turf between themselves -- with the UFW having jurisdiction over the fieldworkers, and the Teamsters over the canners, packers over the canners, packers, and drivers.

The Teamsters' misleaders and goons were originally sent into the fields by the bourgeoisie for the sole purpose of contending with the UFW, undercutting their growing influence by signing sweetheart contracts with the growers -- in a word, splitting the ranks of the farmworkers between the two unions. But now that the Teamsters have done their job, Fitzsimmons and Chavez can put aside their differences, shake hands, and turn to the business of how best to sell out the farmworkers and traitorize their struggles, which only underlines how the "militant" trade union misleaders aid the monopoly capitalists.



I.S.A. CELEBRATES MILITANT IRANIAN NEW YEAR!

On March 19, 1977 comrades from WVO joined the Iranian Students Association in celebration of the Persian New Year.

The celebration is just one more example of the people's revolutionary creativity in using all forms to promote the struggle for liberation.

The success of their celebration, with 1,000 people turning out for the event, is yet another political victory for ISA in their tit-for-tat struggle against the reactionary regime of the Shah of Iran and his agents here in the U.S. The lackeys of the Shah also called for a New Year celebration, even offering to pay airfare to New York to anyone willing to come. Even then, only a few hundred were pulled in. This year, the Shah's new year celebration was can-

celled-which demonstrates the rising movement against reaction within the Iranian community itself. The ability to mobilize so many people to join with them to celebrate the Iranian New Year demonstrates the growing movement for a new democratic Iran and an end to the fascist regime of the Shah.

How could a formal dinner at the Statler Hilton at \$15 a ticket promote the struggle for new democratic revolution in Iran? The Iranian Students used the celebration to promote the struggle, using many different forms. The memorial table with flowers in memory of seven members of CISNU who were murdered by the Shah's agents promotes revolutionary martyrs who gave their lives for the people of Iran. The photo exhibit exposed the poverty and suffering of the Iranian people under the fascist regime of the Shah

to a community that has most likely never seen the actual conditions of the people of Iran. Pictures of martyrs and heroes of the Iranian revolution promote and perpetuate the revolutionary tradition of Iranian people. The cultural program itself was filled with political exposures of the Shah and U.S. imperialism and pointed the way clearly to the only road for the Iranian people. This event demonstrates the principle of united front tactics uniting with all who can be united with against the main enemy, ceaselessly endeavoring to win all you can to your cause, maintaining independence and initiative. To do this correctly you must be able to see the tasks of the movement. Our friends in ISA once again show their deep understanding of this question, and their ability to apply it to the practice of the Iranian revolution.

MILLS

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The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat." (Communist Manifesto)

Through the work of the Workers Viewpoint Organization, this is what the textile workers at Revolution Plant are beginning to understand about communists.

BANKRUPT "SORT OF SOCIALIST" RCP IS REJECTED BY MASSES

In organizing the Revolution textile workers, we have had to expose the thoroughly opportunist Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) who is peddling its bankrupt line of demoralization, pessimism, and blind practice. The cowardly RCP struggled unsuccessfully against the workers' organizing a union drive. Taking the stand of the petty bourgeoisie and always stressing how strong the company is and how weak the workers are, the RCP said we were too weak to start an organized drive for a fighting union. They said we should sneak around and secretly put up stickers in the bathrooms and other places in the plant telling the workers to organize. When asked, "Organize what?" they said, "Just organize!"

The RCP's position is that once enough action is stirred up, then we can tell the workers that they need a union. This foolish idea belittles the workers' consciousness and was immediately and overwhelmingly rejected. The RCP's backwardness continues to express itself as they now try to blow up any struggle in a particular department with total disregard for how this struggle can best serve the overall movement to organize the plant and the industry, win the advanced workers to communism, and rally the middle.

The incredibly narrow scope of the RCP has them constantly tailing behind the workers. The workers having totally rejected the RCP's version of how to get started, are now actively taking up the struggle to organize the whole industry while the RCP can see no further than one struggle in one department of the plant and in fact have split the unity among the workers by pitting the struggle in one department against the overall drive to organize the union. The RCP has no faith in the workers and even spread anti-communist ideas. In fact they never even put forth that they are communist, let alone put forth communist politics! When workers ask them if they are communist, they reply, "I believe in some of it" or "No, but I'm sort of Socialist." But the line of the RCP has been exposed as the workers have rejected wholesale the backward line of these opportunists. The correct line and leadership of the WVO has left them scurrying around giving away their newspaper and appealing to the most backward instincts of the workers, but being increasingly seen for what they are -- opportunists.

FUSION WILL DEEPEN UNDER LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKERS VIEWPOINT ORGANIZATION

The fusion of the working class movement and the revolutionary working class science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism-Mao tse-Tung Thought, is growing deeper and deeper each day under the leadership of the Workers Viewpoint Organization. And it is this powerful combination which will lead not only to the organization of the textile workers into a powerful rank-and-file union, but will also lead to the powerful revolutionary movement of the working class, backed up by the movements of the oppressed nationalities and national minorities (like the movements of the Afro-Americans, Native Americans, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian-American peoples). It is this revolutionary movement of the working class which will put an end to the criminal rule of the US monopoly capitalist class, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, build socialism, and carry the revolution through to the noblest goal in all of history, communism!

Fellow textile workers! Take up the struggle for our union! Take up the struggle for a fighting and militant rank-and-file union which will unite all textile and clothing workers, that will be able to resist the exploitation and oppression of the capitalist parasites! Take up the struggle in support of the Revolution workers for just this kind of union! ■

ALD

Continued from page 22

Neither tactic of reform or repression can stem the tide of revolution, as we step up our struggles for democratic rights and the right to determine our own destiny.

ALSC CALLS ON ALL PROGRESSIVE PEOPLE TO SUPPORT THE ANNUAL AFRICAN LIBERATION DAY DEMONSTRATION AND TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ALSC NATIONAL CONFERENCE

The ALSC calls on all progressive and revolutionary peoples to endorse, participate, and help build for the national demonstration and conference, under the leadership of the ALSC, on May 27-29 in Washington, D.C.

The ALSC, since its inception, has had a rich history of supporting liberation movements. This year, the traditional African Liberation Day (ALD) march as a show of solidarity is very significant in the light of the recent activities of the two superpowers in Africa. As U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social imperialism step up contention for influence over the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America, the peoples of these countries heroically fight back through armed struggle. The recent excursions of the Soviet social imperialists and its Cuban "stalking horse" around Africa is a sure sign that in the coming period, contention between the two superpowers will be intensifying as the US imperialists will become more desperate in holding onto what they have. It is this rivalry between bandits which is the root cause of world war, as each attempts to outmaneuver the other. We must educate, arouse, and mobilize the U.S. people to show our solidarity with the liberation movements and oppose superpower war preparations, on this ALD 1977.

Another point that is important is the fact that this year there will

be several demonstrations on ALD being called by revisionists, bourgeois nationalists and Trotskyites all in the name of supporting African liberation. The reason why all honest and progressive forces should support the ALSC demonstration is because ALSC connects the struggle in Africa with the struggles in the other parts of the world and correctly points to the enemies of the world's people! Imperialism, social imperialism, and all reaction.

The notorious bourgeois nationalist - Stokely Carmichael - has organized an ALD demonstration on the same day in Washington, D.C., openly in support of Soviet social imperialism, and retrogressing from the traditions of the positive work of the ALSC. Carmichael, appealing to narrow nationalist sentiments, has called a demonstration for Afro-American people only. In addition, numerous other bourgeois nationalists, Trotskyites, revisionists, and opportunists are calling for demonstrations on the same day in different cities - all to confuse and mislead the Afro-American and U.S. multi-national working class.

Therefore, the ALSC calls on all progressive forces to support the ALSC demonstration, to help draw a sharp line of demarcation with all others, and to use this ALD as a tremendous springboard for pushing forward proletarian internationalist support for the intensifying struggle of liberation movements in southern Africa.

In keeping with the ALSC tradition of promoting comradely line struggle and seeking clarity on the burning issues of our time, our conference this year will be an open national meeting with one of the main discussions being on the current ALSC principles of unity, and another being on how to build ALSC into a mass fighting organization.

Due to internal differences in ALSC on the current ALSC principles of unity, the national meeting, along with workshops on the liberation movements, will focus a debate on the principles of unity concerning "whether or not

Soviet social imperialism is the main danger to the people of the world and the main source of war in the world today." Presentations for and against this principle will be given, and debate will take place, as well as around the question of "how to build ALSC?" Only recognized chapters will have voting privileges in the resolution of these questions, but non-ALSC members will be allowed to participate in the debate and discussion.

Given the importance of the debate in determining the line for ALSC support work, the ALSC calls on all progressive people to take part and to help provide as much clarity as possible to these important questions.

ALL OUT FOR ALD 1977! More details on the exact march route, conference agenda, and location will be forthcoming. For more information on how to help build for ALD 1977, contact preferably:

ALSC
P.O. Box 11223
Atlanta, Georgia 30310
(404) 755-9931

ALSC
P.O. Box 3161
Washington, D.C. 20010
(301) 322-8452

or the local ALSC chapter in your area.

OUR SLOGANS FOR ALD 1977:

THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN PEOPLE WILL SURELY WIN VICTORY THROUGH ARMED STRUGGLE AND SELF-RELIANCE!

KICK THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, U.S. IMPERIALISM AND SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM, OUT OF AFRICA!

DOWN WITH THE FASCIST WHITE MINORITY REGIME, REJECT ALL SHAM INDEPENDENCE SCHEMES!

U.S. PEOPLE, OPPOSE THE SUPERPOWER WAR PREPARATIONS, DEFEAT U.S. IMPERIALISM!

WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

LETTERS

Continued from page 19

The WVO has engaged in fierce polemics with both right and "left" opportunists who continue to distort Chairman Mao's May 20, 1970 statement (who take it out of context of the international situation at that time, before the sharpened inter-imperialist contradiction between the two superpowers arose - the current factors for the trend of world war today - and attempt to make Chairman Mao appear as if he was stating bland generalities) who only talk about the era of imperialism "in general", who refuse to make concrete analyses of the present international situation, and say that revolution will prevent world war is the immediate path towards socialist revolution.

We definitely think and uphold in deeds the necessity to prepare the U.S.

proletariat and oppressed people to be able to turn an imperialist war into a civil war. Our work of building the organizational and political independence of the working class - strengthening its Party and its leadership in all other forms of proletarian and mass organizations, carrying out the necessary ideological and political work to expose the superpower war preparations, and learning from and educating the masses as to the correct tactics that the proletariat must employ, etc. - must be stepped up ten-fold!

Lately, we have seen in our ALSC practical work around support for national liberation movements how an incorrect line on the international situation will lead to treachery. Thus, we pointed out how the RCP's reversal of the verdict on Soviet Social-Imperialism fails to correctly support the national liberation struggles and fails to prepare the U.S. proletariat to carry out its proletarian internationalist tasks.

We think that protracted people's wars, in which military struggle is the main form of struggle, and in which guerrilla

warfare is a particular tactic and stage of struggle, is a military line for revolutionary struggle in semi-feudal, semi-colonial countries. But for advanced capitalist countries, military struggle is not the main form of struggle. This is what Chairman Mao meant when he said that struggles in advanced capitalist countries will go thru a long period of "legal" (i.e. non-military) struggle. As for the correct forms of military struggle, through the application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to concrete struggles, we will grasp the correct forms of military struggle. Grasping Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, learning warfare thru warfare, relying on and learning from the boundless initiative and creativity of the masses, our knowledge will increase and we will certainly surmount all difficulties!

We welcome your comments, and only regret that we did not have more space to go deeper into the significant points you raise.

The WVO

IWWD

Continued from page 6

Some events were exemplary this year in starting and ending on time, with one starting five minutes late and ending fifteen minutes late. Others still showed that this aspect of proletarian organization and discipline has not been grasped, not only did they begin and end late, but they were much too long -- some lasted 5-6 hours! Not only does it make the program tiring rather than enjoyable and inspiring, but it also fails to carry out its purpose of politically educating our comrade workers and others. In some instances, because of petty bourgeois looseness of the program, it turned off some comrades, and especially some newer contacts, which we must now work harder with to win them closer to us.

In one area, the program and spirit of the program was poor, suffering from lack of planning and grasp-

ing seriously the task of carefully organizing the program. Right now, we are working hard to make the May Day Dinner events (taking place before May Day) a concrete show of our rectifying the errors, as well as building on the strength of International Working Women's Day.

SELF-CRITICISM TO SUM UP AND RECTIFY FOR MAY DAY

While overall, the International Working Women's events were overwhelmingly successful, there were still major shortcomings in our work

We had originally written a speech to be used nationally which did not consciously take into account who we were speaking to. Therefore the speech tended to be abstract and long, which overall did not address the concrete questions that advanced workers and friends had on their minds, such as the fundamentals on what is the scientific explanation of capitalism and socialism. We attempted to change it and many comrades took the initiative to do so, greatly improving the speech.

Another self-criticism we would like to make is on the slideshow. It was put together in a hurry, and the quality of the slides and text was poor. We think that sloppy methods of work showed the lack of deep concern for our working class brothers and sisters, and we must deeply criticize the roots of this and concretely improve. We think the work we have done on our May Day slideshow will show a great improvement. We must continue to carry out struggle to grasp more deeply the great styles of work of linking theory with practice; applying mass line, practicing criticism and self-criticism, and rectifying our methods of leadership in the course of winning over and training the advanced workers as professional revolutionaries. This must be raised to the level of line, as a party's definite style of work corresponds to and serves a definite political line.

With this deeper understanding and rectification, our work of building up the party and its leadership over-all in revolutionary struggles will develop step-by-step and push forward fusion on all fronts!

RYL

Continued from page 11

is snatching back our hard won demands for an education. Police are stepping up their attacks particularly on working class and oppressed nationalities youth for so called "youth gang violence". Millions of youth are being prepared to be used as cannon fodder in another imperialist war between the 2 greedy, profit hungry super-powers (United States & Soviet Union). These dogs offer no future for the youth except decadence, wage slavery, national oppression and death. Each day youth around the world see more clearly that the only future we have is with the working class and to follow the leadership of the working class to socialist revolution. This is the essence of their genuine aspiration and struggles.

The monopoly capitalists are aware of this and tries to divert our struggle. They divert us with forced busing to make us fight each other rather than demand quality education. They promote ideological refuse such as "Roots". They promote pornography, drugs, dope etc., anything in short to keep us from coming to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. But no matter how hard they try, the two roads forward is becoming clearer clearer -- the road of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought towards socialist revolution or the road of the bourgeoisie - wage slavery, national oppression, decadence, decay and death.

With the 2 roads becoming clear, it is necessary and timely for revolutionary youth to gather from all parts of the country to lead the youth down the correct path. The conference and RYL clearly declares - THE ROAD IS MARXISM AND SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

With this declaration, the conference established the basis to unite and win revolutionary youth to the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought to make socialist revolution through establishing the RYL. These young fighters for the working class took up their responsibilities to ensure the successful founding of the RYL with revolutionary spirit and optimism.

Comrades prepared for the conference by studying different documents on the youth question prepared by WVO. We studied the role of youth under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party through the writings of Lenin. We studied the youth movement in socialist China and writings of Chairman Mao on how youth correctly serves the people. How to build the RYL, what should its Principles of Unity be, how to provide leadership to the youth movement etc. were questions constantly on our minds and discussions and struggles around them took place at every chance we had. The trip to Chicago itself was used to struggle out these questions and to raise the revolutionary spirit.

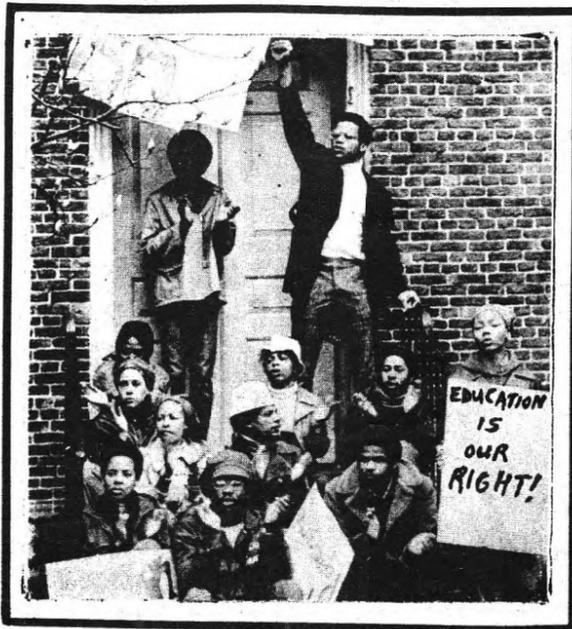
To bring out the revolutionary tradition and stand youth have taken with the working class, many of us did all we could to contribute our share to the conference. Some comrades wrote revolutionary songs dedicated to the conference others painted a mural that reflected our bright future of socialism. Many revolutionary banners were presented with slogans such as "Revolutionary youth will always follow the leadership of the working class and its Party - the WVO", "Build the Communist Leadership of the Revolutionary Youth Movement," and "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought is the Science of the Working Class."

To add to the significance of the conference, comrades from the Iranian Student Association read a message of solidarity and actively participated in the conference. At all times, ISA took a principled and firm stand in clarifying and deepening different questions at the conference. This proletarian internationalist stand by ISA was a model for all comrades to follow, and throughout the conference, the militant unity of the Iranian and American people was further deepened as we struggle against our common enemy.

RYL's Principles of Unity

The discussion around the Principles of Unity for the RYL centered on the necessity to win over and train revolutionary youth under one nation-wide organization, in order to provide

the necessary leadership for day to day struggles. The Principle of Unity of the RYL is not the same as for the conference and does not include socialism. There are some disagreements over this question. The basis for the prevailing line is that at present, the state of fusion between the communist movement and the spontaneous struggles of the working class youth is such that most revolutionary young workers are not communists already. The purpose of the RYL is to train and teach the revolutionary young worker to become a communist through the organizational discipline, the leadership in leading day to day struggles and the study of the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. To demand the Principle of Unity at this point be socialism without a better, more systematic and through investigation into the actual state of fusion itself would exclude many revolutionary youth who are fighting the bourgeoisie and who are willing to follow the lead of communists but do not yet believe in scientific socialism or do not know through lack of contact. The question over whether socialism should be a Principles of Unity will be further deepened through the further summing up of concrete practice with working class youth and youth of different nationalities and taking into account the uneven development of fusion. Youth will be won over and trained to become communists through the course of our fight together against the U.S. bourgeoisie. Revolutionary youth



should strive towards the 5 criterias of communists: 1. Study Marxism and criticize revisionism; 2. Work for the interest of the vast majority 3. Being able to unite with the great majority including those who have wrongly opposed you in the past but is seriously correcting their mistakes but special vigilance on careerists, conspirators and double-dealers; 4. Consult with the masses when matters arise; 5. Bold in making criticism and self-criticism. This is the goal of RYL. to develop and train communists. However, to achieve the goal and the basis of the unity of the revolutionary mass organization are connected but are different. It is for this reason that the Principles of Unity does not include socialism but the purpose of communists organizing the revolutionary youth is for socialism. Through vigorous discussion on these questions, the following set of Principles of Unity were adopted:

1. RYL should be a mass multi-national fighting organization that gives leadership to the struggles of working, oppressed nationality, and minority youth and students.

2. Fight in the interests of working class and oppressed youth as a component part of the struggle of working and oppressed people of the world.

3. The RYL accepts the leadership of the working class as represented by its vanguard Party, the WVO. The RYL will develop its tasks based on the leadership of the WVO.

4. Members of the RYL must study the truths of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought to deepen our understanding of the ideological and political lines of the Party of the working class, as represented by the WVO, in order to guide our revolutionary practice.

5. Support struggles of oppressed nations, countries, and peoples of the world against imperialism, old and new colonialism, hegemonism, Zionism, racism and all reaction. Oppose both superpowers.

6. Fight for the right of self-determination for the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South. Fight for equality of all oppressed nationalities and national minorities!

7. Oppose imperialist arms expansion and the danger of a new world war. Fight against the danger of fascism. Fight militarization, police brutality and other forms of repression. Expose fascist culture; firmly uphold proletarian internationalism.

Due to the lack of time for thorough discussion during the conference, some POU resolutions were not able to be adopted although general unity with them was expressed. These include:

1. Take up the special demands of working women in the fight against the main enemy of monopoly capitalism.

2. Expose Soviet Social-Imperialism as the main danger to the people of the world and the main source of war in the world today.

3. The R.Y.L. adopts democratic centralism as its organizational principle: the individual is subordinate to the organization; the minority is subordinate to the majority; the lower level is subordinate to the higher level; the entire organization is subordinate to the National Steering Committee.

The conference itself was characterized by sharp, comradely struggle. Through these struggles on how to build the RYL and how to lead the revolutionary youth movement, as well as through summing up our revolutionary practice, our strengths and weaknesses were further drawn out. Through recognizing the strengths that we have built through our revolutionary practice in the past and the weaknesses and baggage (old forces of habit) that we have carried along, we can discard that baggage, rectify our weaknesses and move forward ever more vigorously.

The strength of the comrades at the conference was their profound respect for theory to guide our work. The theoretical sharpness of the comrades was reflected in the high level of discussion that occurred. The resolute stand with the working class and tight discipline that comrades exhibited throughout the conference showed that they are the best sons and daughters of the working class. The weakness was shown by a tendency towards intellectualism -- of discussing concepts divorced from concrete situation and concrete implication in practice. This is a particular weakness of comrades coming from a student background which we must combat through the course of our work. Another manifestation of this intellectualism is "constituency politics" deviation. This deviation would have the RYL develop a full position on all issues, to take up all struggles at the same time without taking into account the concrete situation, leading us to jump back and forth from one struggle to another -- raising generalities on each struggle and that we support it. What we must grasp is the key issue that will move everything forward and through the concrete struggle and summing it up, we will gain a deeper grasp of the particularities and develop a line on the struggle that will be much richer and deeper. This intellectualism is an incorrect method of thinking that affect our methods of work.

Train Professional Revolutionaries

Through the unity established with the Principles of Unity and in following the leadership of the working class, comrades grasped the necessity to correctly train ourselves internally within RYL as well as push out externally to win over and train new waves of revolutionary youth that will come to the fore. How we carry out this internal training and externally winning and training the youth is the question of our method of leadership to the youth movement and our method of work within RYL.

The conference discussed the necessity to develop the three great styles of work of:

1. Linking theory with practice;
2. Apply mass line;
3. Do criticism and self-criticism.

These are the fine traditions that we must foster and develop among the youth. Internally within the RYL, the relation

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ZAIRE

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particularly the Soviet Social-Imperialists, with their outright "Tsarist" line of some countries having "limited sovereignty."

Revolutionaries and progressive people uphold and defend the state sovereignty of Third World and Second World countries against superpower hegemony and interference. This objectively weakens the two superpowers, and to that extent it objectively weakens superpower support for reaction in those countries, thereby creating favorable conditions for the revolutionary and progressive people. The imperialists and social-imperialists cannot at all uphold state sovereignty, as the objective laws of their economic base force them to expand, interfere, and attempt to undermine the sovereignty of other countries.

Heads of state such as Mobutu and the Shah of Iran objectively have contradictions with both superpowers because they too are bourgeoisie and attempt to take relatively independent roads and positions in their own interests. In today's world situation, the revolutionary sentiment and upsurge of the people of the Third World also force these bourgeoisie to at times oppose both superpowers. When they oppose the superpowers, they must be supported, as for example the Shah's participation in OPEC, or Mobutu's recognition of the People's Republic of China. Any attempt to strengthen the unity of Third World countries against either or both superpowers must be supported as it helps to build the united front against the two superpowers. This is very important in weakening the grip and influence of the two superpowers on Third World countries, slowing down their war preparations and giving the people of the world more time to prepare. In no way is this in contradiction to support for the people's struggle against all internal reaction, but in fact aids it. That is why the Zairian people must be supported in their attempts to smash the Soviet social-imperialist backed invasion of their country, while they

themselves, depending on self-reliance and armed struggle, will decide the question of "What road for Zaire?"

ZAIRIAN INVASION PART OF LARGER SCHEME TO DOMINATE AFRICA AND PREPARE FOR WORLD WAR

The invasion of Zaire is not an isolated incident. The Soviet social-imperialists are going all out now in central and southern Africa in order to capitalize on the fact that the scheme of the U.S. imperialists (the so-called Kissinger plan) for ending minority rule in Zimbabwe has fallen flat on its face. The present act of aggression was premeditated and came at the same time that Nicolai Podgorny, President of the Soviet Union, and Fidel Castro of Cuba, were themselves paying well-timed visits to Tanzania, Zambia, Mozambique, and Angola, and making offers of aid to the Presidents of the five front line African states, in an obvious effort to gain recognition as the top supporters of national liberation and majority rule in Zimbabwe.

And after signing a treaty of friendship with Mozambique, involving military aid, Podgorny made an unannounced "detour" to Somalia where the Soviet social imperialists maintain major naval bases. They are parading themselves around as friends of the African people who stand opposed to racism and imperialism. They are proclaiming that detente is good for Africa and Zaire, because, as Podgorny said, it will "curb the outrages of imperialism" and is "consistent with the cause of revolution and national liberation." This is all part of their global scheme of contention with the U.S. Imperialists, and digging a deeper foothold in Africa. The more fierce the contention, the louder they blow their horn of detente and "support for national liberation movements." But we have already seen what such sweet words from the mouths of the Soviet social-imperialists meant for the people of Angola. A base in central and southern Africa for the Soviet social-imperialists would strengthen its position for contending with U.S. Imperialism. It would be a grave escalation of the factors for war, and only feed the aggressive, war-mongering activities of the Soviet social imperialists. Only actively

opposing both superpowers, preventing their expansionism and interference, etc. by the people of the entire world would lessen the danger of world war.

The U.S. Imperialists, too, have been pumping in large quantities of aid to Zaire, for this other superpower has high stakes in preventing central and southern Africa from becoming part of the Soviet Union's domain. Soon after the invasion, Zaire requested and the U.S. Imperialists supplied \$2 million of supplies, part of the \$30 million military credit sales earmarked for Zaire for 1977. But it is precisely because the Soviet social-imperialists are the more aggressive, and use "socialist" words so skillfully to try to cover up their imperialist motives and deeds, and try to appear revolutionary and progressive and the U.S. Imperialists are exposed and declining, that they are the more dangerous of the two superpowers, and that their aggression around the world represents the main source of a new world war today.

The Zairian people and freedom-fighters are heroically resisting and counter-attacking the Soviet social imperialists' acts of armed aggression and interference in their internal affairs, and are attempting to beat the Soviet-backed mercenaries back across the Angolan border. The battle will be long and difficult, but history is on the side of the Zairian people, and through the many twists and turns, the Zairian people will carry through to the end their struggle against both old and new colonialism, imperialism, and hegemonism, Zionism and racism to achieve freedom and independence.

AFRICA BELONGS TO THE GREAT AFRICAN PEOPLE!

UPHOLD THE GREAT UNITY OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE AGAINST SUPERPOWER HEGEMONISM!

KICK THE TWO SUPERPOWERS, U.S. IMPERIALISM, AND SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISM, OUT OF AFRICA ONCE AND FOR ALL!

DEFEND THE STATE SOVEREIGNTY OF ZAIRE!

AFRICAN PEOPLE WILL SURELY WIN COMPLETE LIBERATION THROUGH SELF-RELIANCE AND ARMED STRUGGLE!

RYL

Continued from page 25

between leadership and membership, in linking general calls with concrete guidance, in having democracy in order to serve centralism and the importance of sumups and carrying out criticism and self-criticism to rectify our weaknesses and strengthen internal unity. Through these correct styles of work our organization will be further developed and strengthened. These lessons were summed up through the negative experiences of other organizations that comrades had experience in like the RSB and FFM. These organizations by belittling theory and not linking it to practice; by bureaucratic centralism and ultra-democratic styles of work and using justification and mutation of positions instead of serious criticism and self-criticism showed their incorrect styles of work.

In pushing out externally, we must also link our general lines with concrete analysis of concrete conditions to help lead the work forward. To lead the youth movement as a whole forward, we must apply mass line -- to know what is on the hearts and minds of the youth and their fears, questions and aspirations and address those concerns concretely. Through the application of mass line, we can detect emerging trends and developing tendencies among the youth movement as a whole and in leading the mass struggle forward through propaganda and agitation and patient one on one work to sumup our struggles, many revolutionary youth will join the ranks of the RYL to further deepen and enrich and lead the revolutionary youth movement forward.

Carry On the Revolutionary Tradition of Malcolm X

As a result of the conference and the formation of the RYL, the RYL passed a



resolution to build for May Day -- International Workers Day to celebrate the working class holiday with the working class and its Party; to bring back our rich tradition of struggle. Through this campaign, the RYL will foster and deepen ties with the masses and build up the influence of the RYL and WVO in the youth movement. The RYL also plans to come out with a regular newspaper and a journal summing up the history of the youth movement, the program of the RYL and what the RYL stands for and represents. The newspaper will be an essential weapon of class struggle, providing answers to questions on the minds of revolutionary youth, raising their ideological, political level so that they can gain the socialist world outlook and follow the leadership of the working class and its Party.

On the last day of the conference, the RYL commemorated the anniversary

of the death of Malcolm X. All comrades reflected on the deep revolutionary spirit of Malcolm X and vowed to carry forth the struggle Malcolm gave his life for. The RYL carries on the best tradition of struggle and self sacrifice of the youth and is the inheritor and defender of the revolutionary tradition of Malcolm X. Through the formation of the RYL under the leadership of the working class and its Party, we will carry on our revolutionary practice with renewed strength and determination. All other organizations, without the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, without the vanguard of the working class giving it direction, will inevitably degenerate, unable to lead the revolutionary struggle of the youth.

The RYL calls on all revolutionary youth to march forward with us on the road of socialist revolution, behind the banner of the Party of the working class. That is the only road and the RYL is the only youth organization that could provide the leadership to tap the revolutionary sentiment of the youth in a protracted struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie!

WRITE RYL

The RYL would like to maintain ties with revolutionary youth around the country. We ask comrades and friends to send us letters, criticisms, reports on struggles etc. This will greatly contribute to our common struggle. Please send all correspondence to:

Revolutionary Youth League
c/o Workers Viewpoint Organization
GPO BOX 2256
New York, N.Y. 10001

MAY DAY

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and oppressed minorities. This was the old Communist Party, USA, formed back in 1921. In the 1930's, the Communist Party organized May Day campaigns in scores of cities across the country, calling out as many as half a million workers. It led struggles against the brutal oppression of Afro-American and other oppressed nationalities and national minorities. And it led the fight to defend the Soviet Union against imperialist invasion, and to support the liberation struggle in China.

But in the middle and late 1950's, this Party sank into the swamp of reformism. To put cosmetics on capitalism to hide its ugly features, it completely abandoned their tradition of revolutionary leadership and started promoting capitalism under the name of Communism. It became a traitor to the working class. And today, this CPUSA, revisionist to the bone, has completely turned into its opposite and has betrayed communism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Ever since the degeneration of the Communist Party, our class has been without its genuine Party, its headquarters for the revolution. It is a tragic legacy of the betrayal of the CPUSA that the traditions of May Day have faded since the forties. Our children do not know what May Day is about -- in fact, many of our fellow workers do not know. The need for a real vanguard Party, a genuine Communist Party, is our class' greatest need today.

NORMALIZATION

Continued from page 7

between countries with different social systems (socialism and capitalism) as a front in the struggle against imperialism.

State-to-state relations and negotiations like do not imply a surrender of revolutionary principle. Petty bourgeois revolutionaries like the Progressive Labor Party (PL) called the Vietnamese peoples use of negotiations at Paris in 1973 a "sell-out" and called the invitation of Nixon to the Peoples Republic of China "surrendering" to imperialist pressure. The use of negotiations is a necessary form of struggle and should not be confused with capitulationism and compromise of principles. As Chairman Mao has stated, negotiations, like armed struggle, is also tit-for-tat struggle!!

Normalization of relations is part of an overall revolutionary foreign policy. This policy includes: friendship, mutual assistance and co-operation among socialist countries; peaceful co-existence with countries having different social systems on the basis of the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence and opposing the imperialist policies of war and aggression; and support and assistance to revolutionary struggles of all the oppressed peoples and nations. These three aspects are inter-related and indivisible, as not a single one can be omitted.

This correct policy aids in the construction of socialism and in opposing the imperialist policies of war and aggression. Because of the superiority of the socialist system, it is not racked by the antagonistic contradictions inherent in the nature of capitalist systems. Based on the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism serves the interests of the vast majority of the people, while exercising dictatorship over the small exploiting minority. Under the socialist system, production is for meeting the needs of the vast majority, as opposed to serving the interests of an exploiting minority. Under socialism, production is planned, and not the anarchy inherent in the capitalist system caused by the wild competition for profit. Under socialism, there is no need to meddle in the internal affairs of other countries and no need to exploit other peoples. It is for this reason that Chairman Mao said that "...we must

May Day 1977 is very significant for the U.S. proletariat, oppressed nationalities and national minorities, because for the first time since the beginning of the anti-revisionist communist movement in the U.S., the formation of the Party is a settled question! The Workers Viewpoint Organization has emerged as the foundation for the new Communist Party. It represents the great hope for the U.S. multinational proletariat. It is the fruit of years of struggle against opportunists of all shades for the correct orientation and leadership. The Workers Viewpoint Organization is the only organization in the U.S. communist movement capable of leading us through the twists and turns of class struggle. That's why we're going all out for May Day!

SEIZE BACK MAY DAY, OUR DECLARATION OF WAR ON THE MONOPOLY CAPITALIST CLASS!

This year we are reviving our glorious tradition of May Day, seizing May Day and our long history of struggle back from the capitalist class. The capitalists would have us associate May Day with May pole dances and springtime, and instead of May Day they go all out to build up Labor Day instead -- the first Monday in September, when we're supposed to take it easy, take the family on a picnic and forget about the oppression we face every other day of the year. But May Day is no celebration of springtime -- it is a celebration of the strength and unity of the international working class. May Day is a day of struggle -- of class struggle, when we unite for the interests of the entire class. May Day is the time to "review our forces... for the first time mobilized as one army, under one flag, and fighting for one aim" -- the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the

persist in the principle of 'never seek hegemony' and must never be a superpower under any circumstances."

But on the other hand, the imperialist system must resort to war to attempt to stave off its inevitable collapse. The mad drive for profits and spheres of influence, oppression and exploitation of the peoples at home and abroad, is why the ruling classes of the imperialist countries can never uphold the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence, can never keep agreements, can never have normal relations, and can be exposed at every step of their war mongering activities.

Normalization of relations can be used as a tool to expose the imperialists for their aggression and the growing danger of world war due to their contention thereby helping to alert and prepare the people of the world. It can facilitate the ability to make use of contradictions amongst the imperialist themselves, by preventing imperialist schemes to isolate socialist countries. It can help strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat through trade and exchange (as Lenin once said, the "imperialists are eager to sell us the rope that we will use to hang them). Through normalization of relations with Third World countries, and through aid and assistance, the socialist countries can help to weaken the imperialist influence over them, thereby weakening the imperialists themselves. This concretely aids the people

victory of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. May Day is a celebration of the coming of proletarian revolution. The capitalists know this -- Don't they fear it? Don't they want to take it away from us? We say, seize back May Day and uphold our tradition. It belongs to us, the working class around the world!

This May Day, we will take our multinational proletarian army out into the streets, and hold high our banner of political independence, in defiance of the bourgeoisie and all reactionaries. This May Day, we are building a massive political demonstration against the odds of the bourgeoisie's tricks to divide us -- a massive political demonstration aimed straight at the hearts of the monopoly capitalists. This year, May Day, which has historically been celebrated and led by communists, will be organized, disciplined and under the correct leadership of the Workers Viewpoint Organization.

This May Day we are declaring war on the monopoly capitalist class. We will stand together and prepare for the coming class battles with the bourgeoisie, when we ring out our call for socialism, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for the emancipation of all mankind. We can never have class peace under capitalism. Let the ruling class tremble!

ARISE! SMASH THE CHAINS OF WAGE SLAVERY AND NATIONAL OPPRESSION! FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM!

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

PROLETARIAT AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES AND NATIONS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

FORWARD TO THE FOUNDING CONGRESS OF THE VANGUARD PARTY OF THE U.S. PROLETARIAT!

ALL OUT FOR MAY DAY!!!

of the Third World in their struggle against imperialism and all reaction.

SOVIET SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS DISTORT PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE

Totally abandoning and distorting the revolutionary principles-- all inter-related and indivisible -- of socialist foreign policy, the capitalist rulers of the Soviet Union called peaceful co-existence the road to socialism and tried to replace the class struggle with class peace. Compromising with the imperialists to the point of selling out the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of the world, like the Congo and Algeria, the Soviet Social-Imperialists made peaceful co-existence the general line of their foreign policy. And as they are mouthing 'detente', dressed up as peaceful coexistence, the New Tsars are frantically making war preparations and meddling abroad.

But the world's peoples are becoming clearer as to the nature of both imperialist superpowers. Normalization is a step forward in that process. That is why we demand:

UPHOLD THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE!

NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM NOW!

NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC OF CHINA NOW!

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