

WORKERS VIEWPOINT

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!

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25 CENTS

Long Live the Iranian People's Victory!

On February 11th, with the rout of the Imperial Guards and the collapse of the Bakhtiar government, the Iranian people seized state power, liberating themselves after decades of repression under the fascist Shah. After 48 hours of fierce armed struggle, what was left of the army was beaten, forcing the generals to order a retreat back to the barracks and to declare the military's "neutrality in the present political crisis." With the army's backing gone, the Bakhtiar government collapsed, the former prime minister ran for a place to hide.

Struggle Began With Protesting Air Force Technicians

The armed struggle began when the Imperial Guards moved against Air Force technicians and mechanics at the Farahabad Air Base in Teheran who were chanting slogans in support of the revolutionary movement and Ayatollah

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¡HUELGA! Lettuce Farmworkers Strike For 40% Increase

On January 19th, 3,000 United Farm Workers (UFW) in the Imperial Valley in southeastern California stopped the flow of 1/3 of the country's iceberg lettuce to the supermarkets. In the largest UFW strike since the union won recognition and a contract in 1975, workers struck 10 lettuce growers for a one year contract with a 40%, or \$1.50 an hour increase.

Today, the lettuce workers, most of whom are Mexicanos, are forced to get by on minimum wages and most work piece rate. They are the first minimum wage workers to demand an increase above Carter's 7% wage controls. As the lettuce workers walked out, Cesar Chavez, the president of the UFW, said their victory for wages and benefits comparable to meatpackers and truckers, will be a second milestone for migrant farmworkers. Unable to comprehend the iron unity of the workers, the bourgeois media is whipping up anti-cult hysteria by playing up contradictions

among the top union leadership and insinuating Chavez is forcing his membership to play the "Synanon Game" to squash dissent and maintain his authority. They are painting pictures of either a winter without salad or lettuce at \$2.00 a head.

But in the more than 20 days since the strike started, the farmworkers have escalated their tactics. On February 11, a striker was shot down in cold blood in the lettuce fields as he and fellow strikers went into the fields to halt the scabs from breaking their strike. Tires have been slashed and windshields of the scab buses shattered. Already, dozens of sheriffs have had to tear gas the strikers to try and get them off another ranch. Production of carrots and broccoli have also been hit while the regular planting of cantaloupes and watermelons, sweet corn and wheat hasn't even started. It has cost the growers between \$2 and \$3 million so far. The money hungry grow-

ers are now demanding Governor Brown call in the National Guard to make sure the greens keep flowing.

Jon Vessey, one of the largest Imperial Valley growers, said "California agriculture is uniting against this strike. There's no way we can meet their demands and stay in the lettuce business. If the contract they want were signed, it would put California out of the vegetable business." Seventeen years ago, they said the same thing when the farm workers started organizing. But today, after more than 100 negotiated contracts and over a 100,000 more UFW members, their business is alive and growing. Using Carter's wage controls, the growers have offered wage and benefit increases of 7% for each year of a 3 year contract. For the farmworkers, especially the exploited and oppressed Chicanos and Mexicanos, the strike is a fight to upgrade their miserable standard of living to that of other industrial workers,

like their sister unions in food production. ■

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"Clean Up, Not Cover Up!"

Capitalists Dump Mercury Waste on N.J. Community

For 37 years, a mercury processing plant freely dumped deadly mercury wastes in the Wood-Ridge area of New Jersey. From 1937 to 1974, it dumped over 160 tons of mercury around the site and over 300 tons into the area's streams and grounds. This community now has the *highest* concentration of mercury in the *world!* Just a fraction of an ounce of mercury can attack the nervous system, causing severe brain damage, birth defects, paralysis, and death.

At least one person who worked on tearing down the plant in 1975 had to be hospitalized for mercury poisoning. Workers who once worked inside the plant are now disabled. The 17,000 community residents are wondering how long will it be before they, too, see the crippling results of mercury poisoning.

State More Interested in Covering Up Than Cleaning Up

For 6 years, the state knew of the poisoning. It wasn't until hot community pressure arose that the state admitted the full extent of the contamination. Even so, the story only appeared in a local paper for a few days. Nowhere in the the press does it name the mercury company responsible—letting it off the hook to continue dumping deadly wastes in another place, contaminating another community.

So who will foot the \$4 million it will cost to clean up the mess? The past owners aren't worried because the plant they had is no longer there. The present owners of the site say it's not their business. The state, continuing this song and dance, is suing the six past and present owners, such as the Wood-Ridge Chemical Co., Velsicol Chemical Corp., Ventron Corp., and the U.S. Life Insurance Co. While the state and owners are getting tangled in court, each is trying to dump responsibilities on the other. Nobody is doing anything, and eventually you know it will be the workers who pay for this wretched mess!

"Business as Usual"—No Clean Up Plans

Wastes from the contaminated streams continues to flood cellars of the homes around the site. Children still play stickball around the site. A food distribution center built on the site is still trucking out food—"business as usual."

The government has no plans for relocation or evacuation. It has done no more than order the testing of the residents' blood and hair samples to see if they've been poisoned with mercury. By the time mercury shows up in your hair, you can be sure you've inhaled quite a bit already. To justify their inaction, the Department of Environ-

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Toxic chemical waste are packed in thousands of drums like these, left in dumping sites all over the country. Above is the "Valley of the Drums" where 100,000 of them poison 17 acres of Kentucky soil.

Breaking the Chains!



EAST CHICAGO TEACHERS UNITE WITH PARENTS TO WIN CONTRACT

After a 16-day strike, East Chicago Federation of Teachers, Local 511 won a two year contract. The terms settled on January 17th, 8.75% for the first year and 8% for the second, defeated the School Board's offer of 5.5% and 5%, as well as Carter's 7% wage control guidelines.

Key to the victory was the militant support of parents and students who united on the common fight for quality education. Teachers, parents and students, have long protested against irresponsible school boards, dilapidated, overcrowded classrooms, and the lack of books and materials. A parents committee was formed to organize the multi-national community in the fight to end the strike by pressuring the School Board. Having won the strike, the teachers are now in a much stronger position to fight against school budget cuts and for better programs and materials throughout the school year.

workers' demands and are holding out longer.

OVER 300 CELEBRATE HALE MOHALU DAY

On January 28th over 300 people demonstrated for Hale Mohalu Day in Honolulu, Hawaii in support of Hawaiian leprosy victims who have been battling against the state's efforts to evict them. Mainly native Hawaiians, the patients have refused to move for over a year despite the state cutting off their food, medical services, electricity and water. Hale Mohalu is the name of what once was a state supported leprosy treatment facility in Pearl City (near the U.S. Navy's Seventh Fleet Headquarters at Pearl Harbor). The State has been trying to evict the patients because the land has become too valuable.

TERRANCE JOHNSON'S TRIAL RESCHEDULED

Washington, D.C., Jan. 29th—The trial of 15-year old Terrance Johnson began on January 29th. The state of Maryland has accused this Afro-American youth of murder in the death of two Prince George County cops. His bail was set at one million dollars.

Outraged, the black communities of Maryland, Virginia and D.C. fought to have his bail reduced to \$10,000, which was quickly raised by the people. Area residents came out in force on the first day of the trial. 200 people waited outside the filled courtroom.

The defense lawyer filed a plea of self-defense on the first charge and temporary insanity on the second. The court moved the trial date back to March 19 hoping to ride out the tremendous popular sentiment for Terrance.

GM CAUGHT SPEEDING UP THE LINE

1600 trucks at GM's Flint, Michigan plant were made without workers getting one penny of pay last year. GM was caught secretly speeding up the assembly line. They admitted to having a hidden control box where the line was pushed to move way faster than what was negotiated with the union, United Auto Workers local 598. Now the company is trying to get out of paying compensation.

VIRGINIA PAPER WORKERS STRIKE

2000 workers of the United Paper Workers International Union local 675 in Covington, Virginia, and sister local 676 in Luke, Maryland, have been on strike since November. The principal demand is for the company, Westvaco Paper Company, to improve unsafe working conditions. Also at issue are wages, fringe benefits, and the company's repeated refusal to honor the grievance and arbitration clauses of the previous contract.

The company had offered to settle on the union's terms but wanted a clause that gives them the right to fire any worker accused of a felon during the strike. And there have been some trumped up charges filed by the local police. Workers resoundingly rejected the offer 1750 to 290.

1978—A TREND OF LONGER STRIKES

1978 was a year of less but longer strikes nationwide. According to the Labor Department, 4,300 strikes and work stoppages involving 1.6 million workers took place, the lowest number of strikes and workers involved since 1965. But workers were out for 39 million working days. This compares with 1977, where there were 5,506 strikes with 2 million workers but only 35.8 million working days lost. Also, 1978 was not a year when major contracts expired like 1979 with Teamsters, rubber and auto contracts coming up.

These figures point to the trend of workers determined to stay out longer to gain their demands because the bosses caught in the capitalist crisis, cannot afford to give in to the

FROM THE MASSES TO THE MASSES

Our Readers Speak Out!

Congratulation on Bi-weekly!

Dear WVO,

Congratulations on finally coming out bi-weekly! I know that all my friends and I will be looking forward to a new WV every two weeks instead of having to wait a whole month (or maybe more if the paper was late) before we could read the best news and analysis in the country. It will also be good because now WV can have even more timely articles and also can print more. It's a great way to start out the new year! . . .

I also think it would be a good idea if you ran a series of articles on "Euro-communism". What it is (besides revisionism), and go more into depth about the particularities between the countries. Like, why has Romania been able to stay non-aligned? Or is it? What type of government does it have? What is the role of Yugoslavia and Tito? Why did Chairman Mao refuse to have anything to do with that party? Are the French and Italian revisionists any different from the "C" PUSA type? How is it that they have such a strong base among the working class? Are there genuine communist parties in these countries? Etc.

The parts of the paper that I like the best are the letters from the readers because that is another way you can see what other people all over the nation are thinking and also what they think of the paper. I also enjoy the articles on the international scene, and hope they continue.

What ever happened to the second part of the article on Stalin? I was really looking forward to it, because, to be frank, I didn't get so much out of the first article. Maybe I'm looking for something that isn't there, but I need to know more about what he did and everything, and also why things happened in Russia under him. For example, is it true that he had hundreds and maybe thousands of former party and party members executed? Or is that just a lie spread by the bourgeoisie? Cause that is something that almost every one will tell you about when you start talking about Communism. It's good to be able to draw out how much the capitalists hated him and everything, but you also have to be able to explain what happened, and other good things he did or the people will think you don't know what you are talking about.

I guess I could go on for a lot longer, but there's always time to write more.

In struggle,
A.J.
Washington, D.C.

Special Treatment for Billy Carter

Dear WVO,

Billy Carter's controversial statements were made as an individual person. Billy's brother, Jimmy is in the White House, but Billy gets blamed and harassed by the newspapers and by rich influential Jews for saying that the fact is "There are more Arabs than Jews." Billy has a "gut" feeling that the Arabs haven't been treated fairly by the news media of the U.S. and for expressing his true feelings publically, Billy Carter was "merely harassed" by the ruling class in America. If Billy wasn't the President's brother and even more important if Billy wasn't wealthy himself, then it could have been the police force, not the news media that would have dealt with Billy. And we all know what it means to be harassed by the police force. Arthur Miller had some gut feelings about a parking ticket and he was "accidentally" harassed to death by Police in 1978.

G.L.
Newark, New Jersey

Blame it on the Bourgeoisie

Dear WVO:

During the recent cold spell in the Baltimore area, a "drifter" was found frozen to death. He had apparently been living in a trash dumpster.

Every winter, this scene is repeated hundreds of times. The bourgeois media attributed his death (as they invariably do) to the cold and ended their analysis there. But why stop there? When someone is shot, do you attribute it to the bullet or do you look to see who fired the gun. Who are the people who become "drifters" anyway? They're unemployed workers who are driven to going from town to town in search of work, often drowning their frustrations in a cheap fifth of wine.

More and more, people are seeing through the shallowness of the "cold killed him" and learning to point the finger at the real culprits—the bourgeoisie.

It is the bourgeoisie that consciously keeps unemployment up. It is the bourgeoisie that spends record amounts of money on defense while cutting back on housing for the masses. Don't worry. We're not blaming it on the cold or the bossa nova. We're blaming it on the bourgeoisie.

J.B.
Baltimore, Maryland

No Secret Deals with Kaiser Hospital

Dear WVO,

Friday—at last it was pay day. Along with our paychecks we received a letter from the company—Kaiser Hospital. After many months they were giving us our pay raise! But wait, we hadn't voted on any offer. In the letter the company stated that they had reached an impasse with the union in negotiations. Since we could not reach an agreement they were implementing their last offer—6.5% and no retroactive nor parity. Our demand is for them to stop cheating us, for us to receive the same wages as our fellow Kaiser workers in the rest of the southern California region. We perform the same jobs and the subscribers pay the same premiums. Yet other workers in the region make about \$50-70 a week more than we do.

By implementing the rejected offer, Kaiser management was trying to play on the feeling of some workers who are anti-union. "Why should we pay dues when we can get an increase without the union?" It was also feeding the feelings of those who are for a strong union, but

against this leadership and want to de-certify, "since this bunch isn't going to do anything for us". Up to now, they have not been able to force the membership into accepting their offer. That Kaiser management is attempting to gain some headway by giving people a tangible increase shows that they are desperately seeking to divide the workers and stir up sentiment against the union.

Kaiser is the largest Health Maintenance Organization (pre-paid health plan) in the country providing health care for 3.3 million people. It is the only one in San Diego, and most union members here belong to it. Our hospital and clinics are understaffed and over crowded—some people having to wait three months for a doctor's appointment. Kaiser gets its money from monthly payment of premiums whether or not patients are seen. They are making a lot of money. Yet Kaiser has been fighting this contract all the way. Why?

For one, the San Diego area sends profits to the other regions by keeping

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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

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Lessons of Safeway Strike

The Actual Struggles Are the Starting Point & Foundation, Propaganda is the Leading Factor

From July 18–November 22, 1978, it was hot and heavy for the 1,100 workers of Local 315 (and 9 other Teamster locals as well), engaged in one of the toughest working class battles against four food retailers on the West Coast: Safeway, Ralph's, Alpha Beta and Lucky Stores. The MTM (Minute-Timed Motion) which is the name of Safeway's inhuman productivity program (dubbed "Man Turned Machine" by the workers) has not been defeated. Under this program a computer tells a worker how many boxes he must lift, load or stack per minute. The final settlement left 8 major issues including the MTM productivity plan and the jobs of 26 fired Safeway workers in the hands of arbitrator Sam Kagel.

The Bay Area chapter of the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL) correctly saw the importance of this struggle and took it up wholeheartedly. Through fighting side by side with the striking workers, a strong feeling of comradeship developed. Both strikers and supporters were united on one purpose—to deal a telling blow to Safeway and smash its productivity scheme.

For most TUEL members, this was their first major struggle of this kind. Their scope ballooned beyond their individual workplaces. The learning and training that came out of this was tremendous. Like clockwork, people joined the pickets and helped to organize support through rallies and spreading the word. They were faced with the day to day demands of pushing out support and helping to maintain the

strike for over 100 days, all the time learning something new everyday. But in grappling with how to lead and take up the campaign in a hardhitting way, it gave rise to a situation where the brothers and sisters got caught up with only the immediate struggle and the specific laws of that struggle, and forgot the long-term goal and the general law in achieving that. Taking up the immediate struggles has to be the starting point, but propaganda is the leading factor.

The necessary single-mindedness in trying to win this particular struggle resulted in narrowing the scope because the basic line of winning and training the advanced and active to systematically prepare for the dictatorship of the proletariat was not tightly grasped to guide the work. We have to correctly sum up the gains so we know how to pursue the victories as well as the shortcoming to correct our mistakes. In examining what led up to the economist character of the work, we can see more clearly what the communist character should be.

Strike Brings Forth Core of Organizers For Future Battles

Even before this strike, Local 315 was known as a maverick local within the Teamsters Union—standing up against the company and the International leadership's collaboration with them. Because of their proud history, they were the last local in the West Coast where MTM was put into effect. Other locals in Seattle, Portland, Sacramento, Los Angeles and



TUEL supported strike against food retailer's MTM speed-up program on West Coast, lasting over 100 days.

Denver have struggled against it and were weakened or destroyed. If 315 could beat it back, it would be a good basis to renegotiate MTM at these other Safeway locals.

After going through this school of war, the most advanced and active of the rank and file of 315 are more committed than ever to build up their union and organize rank and file caucuses like the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU). TDU was formed to build an organized resistance to Fitzsimmons and his like, in opposition to the treachery and class collaboration of the International leadership and the lack of democracy within the Teamsters. The local chapter of the TUEL also recruited several new members. This core of organizers will provide leadership in the continuing actual struggles of the rising insurgent rank and file movement. And through winning them over and consolidating them with communist propaganda, raise the level of class consciousness of all the workers.

Raise Level of Advanced to Raise Level Of Movement

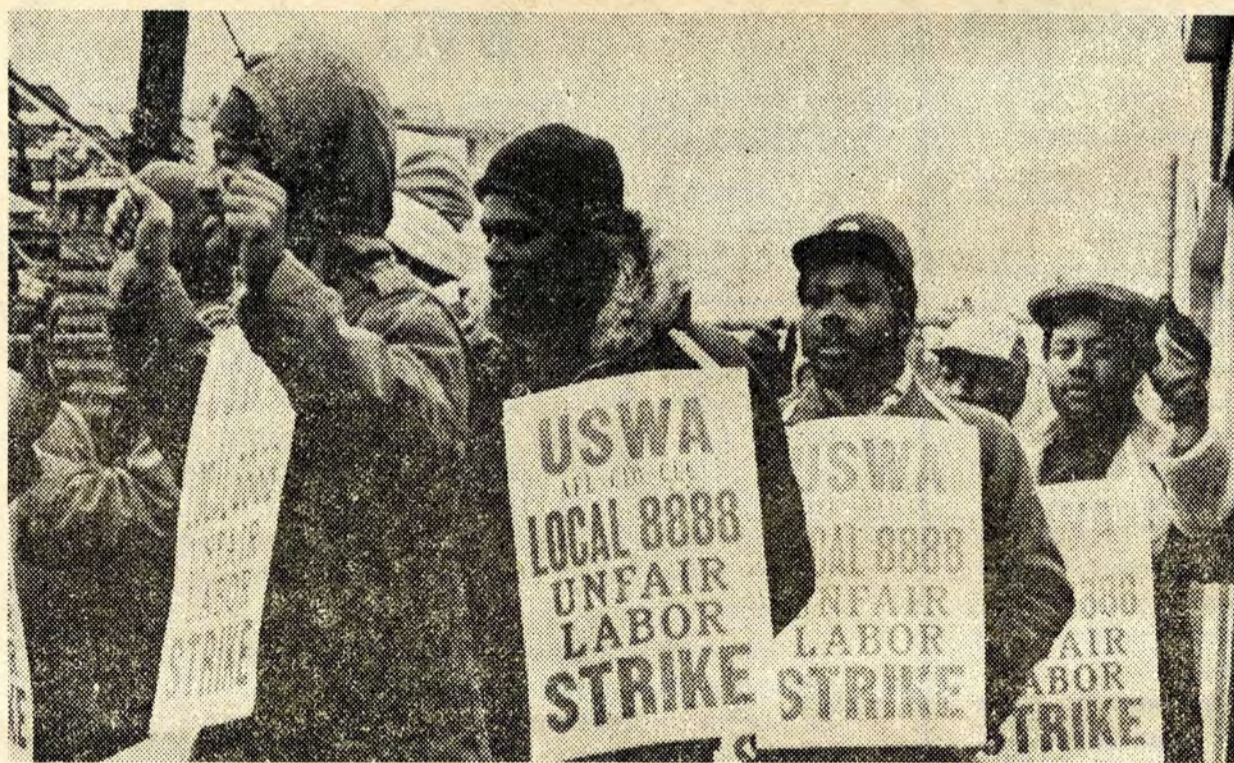
The length of the strike (exceeding the miners' strike of 1977-78 by 18 days) testifies to the increasing determination and rising strength of the rank and file in the face of concerted attacks from Safeway, the largest food retailer in the country. The workers put up a good fight. But it didn't end in a decisive victory. Why is that?

Increasingly, squeezed by the permanent economic crisis, large retailers like the rest of the bourgeoisie, are less able to concede and are forced to hold out or go under, even if it means saying goodbye immediately to \$126 million in profits and some regular customers in one part of the country. In addition, Safeway lost \$75,000 in merchandise and up to \$12 million in property damages. Safeway has to keep its competitive edge in the computerized, speeded-up, mass-produced supermarket industry. Some of the older food retailers' chains, like A&P (the oldest in the country), Waldbaum, Grand Union, etc. (mainly in the Northeastern region of the country) are being closed down or bought up because they can't keep up with the competition. The crisis forces them to raise productivity. For Safeway, this means straight-up speedup, squeezing even more out of the workers.

So today we see the capitalists are forced to hold out more and more like Blue Diamond in Stearns, Kentucky, the Catholic Church in Frances Schervier Nursing Home in New York and Safeway in California. But in all these skirmishes, the length of the strikes show workers have put up a good fight though they didn't win. Organized resistance in these

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NEWPORT NEWS STRIKE CONTINUES!



16,000 shipyard workers, members of United Steelworkers local 8888, are striking into the fourth week against Newport News Shipbuilding and Dry Dock Co., the largest shipyard in the world. Parent company, Tenneco, has refused to recognize the will of the vast majority to organize their own union and to replace the 40 year old company union, Peninsula Shipbuilders Association. They are the largest group of workers to be organized in the last decade.

Tenneco has the full backing of Virginia's Governor, John Dalton. He is the same governor who has maintained near-martial law conditions with state troopers in the Southwest Virginia coalfields for over a year now, trying to smash the United Mine Work-

ers. Since the first day of the strike, Dalton has stationed 100 of the state police's tactical force, complete with attack dogs and armored cars, at the strike site. Using Virginia's "Right-to-work" Law, 20 strikers have been arrested so far for picketing as "interference" with a person's "right-to-work".

On the picket lines and in the strike headquarters, unity is being built between black and white workers, men and women, production and skilled workers. 1200 designers, organized as USWA local 8417 have been on a recognition strike for 32 months at the Yard. USWA is fighting for joint negotiations for both locals. ■

3 Worlds or 2 Worlds of the Superpowers? Teng Hsiao-Ping Urges U.S. Intervention in Iran

On February 7th, abandoning Chairman Mao's line on three worlds and totally betraying the interest of the people of the world, Teng Hsiao Ping urged the U.S. imperialists to intervene in Iran. In his meeting with Japan's Prime Minister Fukuda in Tokyo, he said, "The measures the United States has taken in Iran . . . are no good. The United States should move responsibly. The Soviet Union will never be impressed by half-way positions . . . If chaos continues in Iran it will produce a chain reaction in Saudi Arabia . . ." And earlier, during his visit to the U.S. in an interview with *Time* magazine, the imperialists' "Man of the Year" said, "We see that last year South Yemen was taken over by the Soviet Union, and the Soviet Union gained influence in Ethiopia. If we go farther east there is Afghanistan, and now there is Iran, where there seems to be no end to the troubles."

Iran "Troubles"?

Iran "troubles"? Pushing the view of relying only on the U.S. imperialists to fight the Soviet bloodsuckers instead of Chairman Mao's correct line of mainly relying on the third world as the main force against both superpowers, Teng Hsiao Ping turns reality upside down. The twisted logic of this revisionist view is that it's not the Iranian people who have risen up to overthrow the repressive rule of the Shah and the domination of both superpowers, but the maneuvering of the Soviet social-imperialists.

Tactics Must Follow Strategy

With total disdain for the Iranian masses and mesmerized by trying to

out-manuever the imperialists, Teng's latest statements only ends in disaster.

Tactically using contradictions among the imperialists is a correct and necessary Marxist principle, provided these tactics are subordinate to a larger strategy, provided one has no illusions about who one's enemies and friends are. Lenin used the contradictions among the imperialists to sign the Brest-Litovsk treaty with Germany to buy time for the newly-born socialist Russia to strengthen herself. Stalin signed a peace treaty with Hitler Germany, upsetting the schemes of the Western imperialists to push Germany into attacking the Soviet Union first, so that the Soviet people would have more time

to prepare for the upcoming world war. Chairman Mao also made good use of the differences between the imperialists in the anti-Japanese war by uniting with the Western imperialists against the Japanese invaders, and again when he invited Nixon, top imperialist representative, to China. But Chairman Mao never had any illusion about the vicious nature of these imperialists or about who China's true friends were — the oppressed people of the world, especially the people and nations of the third world.

Teng Out-Maneuvered By U.S. Imperialism

Teng has thrown Chairman Mao's correct three worlds line out the win-

dow and substituted his own pessimistic two worlds of the superpowers view. By relying only on the ability to play one superpower against the other and disarmed by his own illusions on U.S. imperialism, Teng has been out-manuevered. With his statement egging the U.S. imperialists on to intervene in Iran and opposing the Iranian revolution, Teng *disarms* the people of the world on the vicious nature of U.S. imperialism. His disgusting statements on Iran have given the U.S. ammunition to further their strategic policy of trying to incite the Soviet imperialists to attack China, thus safeguarding Europe, the focus of superpower contention, and giving the

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The armed Iranian masses are determined to maintain their independence and defend it against both superpowers.

Bourg. Forced to Push Reform to Higher Level, Appoint Thomas Does the Ford Foundation Have a Better Idea?

What is the significance of choosing Franklin Thomas, a relatively unknown black, to be the head of the Ford Foundation? Picking the head of the Ford Foundation is not a casually made decision. The head of the Ford Foundation is one of the most trusted representatives of the U.S. bourgeoisie. It represents a strategic decision on how to best maintain the rule of the bourgeoisie.

In the division of labor between the think tanks, the Ford Foundation is responsible for the most advanced, the most sinister plans to disintegrate and coopt the revolutionary movements of workers, and oppressed nationalities, split them up and keep themselves off the hook. It specialized in one part of the U.S. imperialists' counter-revolutionary dual-tactics—reform and repression. The U.S. is the most developed bourgeois democracy, and the Ford Foundation's specialty is using reformism—the main form of rule of the bourgeoisie—to serve their masters.

The Ford Foundation Serves U.S. Imperialism

The Ford Foundation, started in

1936, was mainly designed as a tax write-off and to give a window dressing through funding charities and educational institutions. In the '50s, the Ford Foundation focused on penetrating third world countries through loans. Millions and millions of dollars were pumped into India, which was hailed as a model of "democracy" for an underdeveloped country. In the '60s, the Ford Foundation was one of the main factors in the penetration and cooptation of the Black Liberation Movements. In 1963 the Ford Foundation sponsored the youth educational services project which produced misleaders like Jesse Jackson and became the model for the anti-poverty programs that bought off a stratum of activists in the Black Liberation Movement, financed the election of Carl Stokes through CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), spent 10 million to finance black capitalism, and financed organizations like NAACP, CORE and the Urban League to push legalism in opposition to revolutionary struggle.

The bourgeoisie inevitably uses reform and repression to maintain their rule. So while the Ford Founda-

tion used reform to coopt the movement, the best revolutionaries like Malcolm X, Fred Hampton, and George Jackson were killed. And the Black Panther Party was the main target of a ruthless and systematic campaign of murder, provocation, and slander by the FBI and CIA.

Why Thomas?

Franklin Thomas succeeds McGeorge Bundy, one of the most ruthless representatives of imperialism. He served as the director of the National Security Agency from 1966 to 1971 to organize the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and the war of aggression against Vietnam.

Thomas himself is one of the sell-outs of the '60s who was trained under the wing of the bourgeoisie. In 1967 he was chosen by Robert Kennedy to head the Brooklyn Restoration Corporation, one of the biggest anti-poverty agencies. Prior to that, he was deputy police commissioner for the New York Police Department.

But things are much different for the bourgeoisie now than they were in the '60s. They are caught in the midst

of a permanent crisis of imperialism and they will be less able to give concessions than before. They cannot spend the hundreds of millions to coopt the movement and create a strata of poverty pimps as they did ten years ago. They are forced to seek ways to split up and divide the working class and the oppressed nationalities through sham schemes like the Boston forced busing plan.

Choosing Thomas to head the Ford Foundation is similar to choosing Andrew Young to be the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. They are driven by the crisis and by the increased peoples' resistance to find frontmen/mouthpieces who can speak for them and develop policies to improve their "image" domestically and internationally.

The bourgeoisie inevitably combines two tactics to maintain their rule—reformism and repression. Lenin points out that, "The positive, real aim of the liberal policy of the bourgeoisie is to mislead the workers, to cause a split in their ranks, to convert their policy into an impotent adjunct of an impotent, always impotent and ephemeral, sham reformism." (*Differences in the European Labor Movement*) ■

China Punishes USSR/Vietnam Provocations

After months of armed incursions and acts of provocation and sabotage by Vietnamese troops, the Chinese government retaliated, carrying out the principle that China "will not attack unless she is attacked — if attacked, she will certainly counterattack."

China's principled position stands in marked contrast to the policy of armed provocations carried out by Soviet/Vietnamese forces. Especially after signing the notorious military pact with the Soviet Union last November 3, the Vietnamese forces have stepped up deliberate provocations along the 480-mile border with China, murdering over 300 Chinese frontier guards and residents in over 700 incidents of bloodshed and provocation. 22 Chinese soldiers and civilians were killed and 20 wounded by land mines planted secretly on Chinese soil by Vietnamese troops. Vietnamese soldiers, firing into China from the border, riddled several locomotives and cars and wounded many civilians. And last year, as a slap in the face to both Chinese and Vietnamese people, the Vietnamese government expelled 180,000 Chinese and Chinese-Vietnamese from Vietnam, causing immense suffering and hardship.

This is not the first time the superpowers have tried to bully the Chinese into submission, and this is not the first time that China has soundly punished the aggressors. In 1962, both President Kennedy and the revisionist Khrushchev egged on Nehru of India to invade China along the border. But when China's People's Liberation Army counter-attacked, they whipped the invaders bad, teaching them a lesson they've yet to forget and secured China's border.

Soviet Union's Containment Of China Policy

What's behind Vietnam's deliberate provocation along the Vietnamese-Chinese border? And who stands to gain by this gross violation of another nation's sovereignty?

The answer to both questions is *Soviet social imperialism*. The naked aggression of the Vietnamese in trampling over the sovereignty of Kampuchea with Soviet-made tanks and Mig jets and the deliberate armed provocations against China are all part of the Soviet *containment of China policy*. After the U.S.'s crushing defeat in Indochina and its total failure to ring China with a 5,000 mile belt of nuclear-armed military bases stretching from Pakistan to Japan, the Soviet social imperialists have moved in to inherit the imperialist mantle of the containment of China. By stationing 40,000 troops in Laos, 100,000 troops in Kampuchea, and 80,000 troops along the Chinese-Vietnamese border, the Soviet social imperialists are using their puppets in Hanoi to isolate and to militarily "contain" China. And in addition to the Soviet-equipped 220,000 Vietnamese troops deployed in Southeast Asia, although Europe is the strategic focus of contention, the Soviet Union is making a feint to the East, and has stationed more nuclear armed troops along its border with China than in Eastern Europe.

U.S. Inciting S.U. Against China For Strategic Reason

But while the great Russian black bear is lumbering into Southeast Asia,

stationing its naval fleet at Cam Ran Bay, sending billions in missiles, tanks, and heavy artillery to the Vietnamese, the retreating tiger of U.S. imperialism is trying to stir up trouble and fish in troubled waters. U.S. imperialism, which for 30 years tried to contain China and crush revolutionary movements in Southeast Asia, now comes out with a cynical statement last week that "warns" China about invading Vietnam. What hypocrisy! For years, the U.S. propped up reactionary regimes in Southeast Asia, airlifted spies and assassins into China, massacred and tortured hundreds of thousands of liberation fighters, and now it tries to be the "peace-maker" in this conflict and accuse the Chinese of plans to invade Vietnam. But who provoked whom? Which country has planted mines, shot up civilians, stationed tens of thousands of troops, set up barbed-wire, machine gun border stations, etc? Vietnam. China has nothing to gain.

So Carter's remarks are just to inflame the situation. But the tiger's real intentions are clear: to stir up trouble between China and Vietnam/U.S.S.R.. U.S. imperialism, longing for the old days when it was ruthlessly seizing new colonies and brutally crushing liberation struggles, hopes to meddle in these conflicts, to egg the Soviet Union on into attacking China, and then to become top imperialist dog once more.

Expose The Revisionist, Trotskyite Lie Of Chinese "Hegemonism"

And like vicious, baying dogs, the revisionists, Trotskyites and social democrats have raised a howl and scream over socialist China's so-called "hegemonism". But who is encircling whom? Is China ringing the Soviet Union on all sides with hundreds of thousands of troops, bristling with nuclear missiles, tanks and advanced artillery? Is China sending nuclear warships to patrol the seas and intimidate the Soviet Union? Is China propping up puppet states to encircle the Soviet Union? Is China making a grab for Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Angola, etc? Does China hungrily view the Soviet Union as a piece of meat? Is China carving up the world? Certainly not! And who is invading whom? It was the Soviet/Vietnamese forces which unleashed a Nazi-like blitzkrieg to seize Phnom Penh, the capital of Democratic Kampuchea, trampling over its national sovereignty. The just action of the People's Republic of China is no invasion, a lunge to seize Hanoi and subjugate the Vietnamese people. China has every right to defend her people from armed provocation and aggression. And if the Soviet/Vietnamese war machine dares to invade China, they'll face the full fury of the Chinese people!



The Kampuchean people and their people's army led by the Communist Party of Kampuchea has scored significant victories recently against the invading Soviet/Vietnamese aggressors who are now bogged down in a war which will inevitably end up in their total defeat.

WORKERS VIEWPOINT JOURNAL 5

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Carter's Budget BOURGEOISIE AND REVISIONISTS AGREE- 'GUNS VERSUS BUTTER'

In the name of putting out the raging fires of inflation, Carter has just come out with his "lean and austere" federal budget, which gives a whopping record \$122.7 billion to the military and does a hatchet job on welfare and social programs. And already, the Communist Party USA and Senator Kennedy's pro-Soviet bourgeoisie and Fraser's social-democrats have raised a howl and scream in the press over the "guns versus butter" issue and claim that "detente" means less "guns" and therefore more "butter". Is this "guns versus butter" and "detente means jobs" for real, or is it just another swindle from poverty pimps, revisionists and demagogues?

First of all, while waving the tattered banner of "inflation fighter", Carter's budget clearly makes mince-meat out of social programs and gives the military a more than generous, hefty portion of the money. The military is beefed up 9.7% from last year (to start crash programs for the Mobil-X ICBM, cruise missile, and Trident submarines and to strengthen combat readiness for NATO against the Soviet social imperialists), while social programs are brutally whittled down, especially CETA (Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, to be cut from 700,000 workers to 467,000 by Sept. 1980). Carter's budget also deals a crushing blow to youth (one million cut in summer jobs by 1980, one billion cut from school nutrition and hot lunch programs), education (\$400 million cut in the Department of Education, \$300

million cut from "impact" aid to schools), the aged (\$600 million in Social Security cuts in 1980 and \$3 billion a year cuts by 1984), housing (23,000 cut in housing units), the cities (tens of thousands to be laid off as public service, public works and public assistance aid is cut), etc.

So is it a battle between guns and butter, and does detente mean jobs, as the CPUSA and Sen. Kennedy would have us believe?

Detente Means Preparations for War, Not Jobs

No. Detente doesn't mean less guns (and therefore more jobs and more butter). In fact, under "detente", the superpowers have embarked upon the *greatest rearmament drive* in the history of the world. More nuclear warheads (1,000 alone for the Soviet Union in the past year alone) have been built and more new weapons systems built (Mobile-X, neutron bombs, laser can-

nons, satellite killers, etc.) during detente than in any period in world history. Detente, designed to lullaby us to sleep, is a ruse used by the superpowers to cover up their massive arms drive in Europe and in strategic nuclear weapons, a cover for contention and collusion.

So detente doesn't mean less guns and therefore more jobs. Detente is a cover-up for more guns! The real demand of the masses isn't for detente and phoney SALT II talks at all, but for real *disarmament*. We don't want to streamline the arms race, we want to stop superpower preparation for world war altogether. Every Russian family knows

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The Mall, in Washington, D.C., the formal park laid out in front of the nation's capitol, was transformed into a tractor parking lot. Hundreds of tractors and trucks stood in the snow, penned in by scores of city buses, garbage trucks, and police. Men and women with "Dump Carter" patches on

their clothes are seen everywhere. All the vehicles have bumperstickers which read "The Tractors Are Coming!" or "Gasahol" and placards which say "Export Bergland", the current Secretary of Agriculture.

These are members of the American Agricultural Movement (AAM). They

are the same people who drove into the city last year. They are the same people who donated food to the striking UMWA miners in the summer and fall.

They are farmers and they are desperate. Every year more and more of them lose their farms because they can't make ends meet under the steadily worsening crisis of capitalism.

Exposing Bourgeois Democracy Thru Mastering All Forms of Struggle Cone Mill Workers Win Court Battles

GREENSBORO, N.C.—Cone workers in North Carolina have mounted a dogged campaign to rebuild existing locals and to organize the unorganized Cone plants. They are learning through constant battles with Cone's high-paid legal experts that lawyers have no defense against the cold reality of mill conditions and workers' growing demands.

Last summer, at a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) hearing on the firing of two union activists at Cone's Revolution Mill in Greensboro, Cone's fancy lawyers were confronted with witness after witness testifying to the management's open policy of harassment and discrimination. The lawyers' main defense of the firing was that the Revolution Organizing Committee (ROC) was only a small band of radicals, intent solely on disruption. Cone was said to be justified in firing these workers, because they were "radicals!" After hearing the umpteenth tirade of this nature, the judge paused and looked out over the courtroom. He had seen many angry plant workers from Revolution come and go during the course of the hearing—blacks, whites, old, young, men, women, sometimes

whole families with children. People who dared defy Cone's history of threats, blacklisting, firings, and discrimination came out and stood with the ROC. The judge, in response, looked at Brad Johnson, Cone's shyster lawyer,

and said, "These people are clearly involved in concerted labor activity. I'm not interested in hearing any more about radicalism, or communism, or their political beliefs. I will not tolerate it. Get on with the facts in this hear-

ing!" And the more facts that came out, the more ridiculous Cone's lawyers looked!

Because of the persistent, day-to-day struggles of the rank-and-file Cone workers, Cone's lawyers are finding

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Undocumented Farmworkers Win "First of its Kind" Contract

For years, farmworkers of one Arizona citrus farm have been trying to organize, striking for better working conditions and pay. And for years, the owner of Goldmar Inc.'s Arrowhead ranch, a 6,000 acres farm, have called the border patrol on the strikers—sometimes deporting half of them to Mexico.

Then in early February, the Maricopa County Organizing Project, representing the farmworkers, signed a contract with the owner. This contract is the first of its kind, it covers all the workers, undocumented and legal.

Workers from Mexico, seeking to make a better living have crossed

the borders, leaving families and homes to slave in the southern fields of the U.S. The growers hire the workers then use the threat of deportation to keep wages low and conditions poor.

The workers live in tents or orange-crate shacks right in the grove where the trees are. Along with the fruit, their homes get sprayed with insecticides and flooded out when the fields get irrigated. When the strike first started, their demands were basic, advance warnings of spraying or watering. But the company refused even that.

Lupe Sanchez of the Organizing group tells how hard it was in

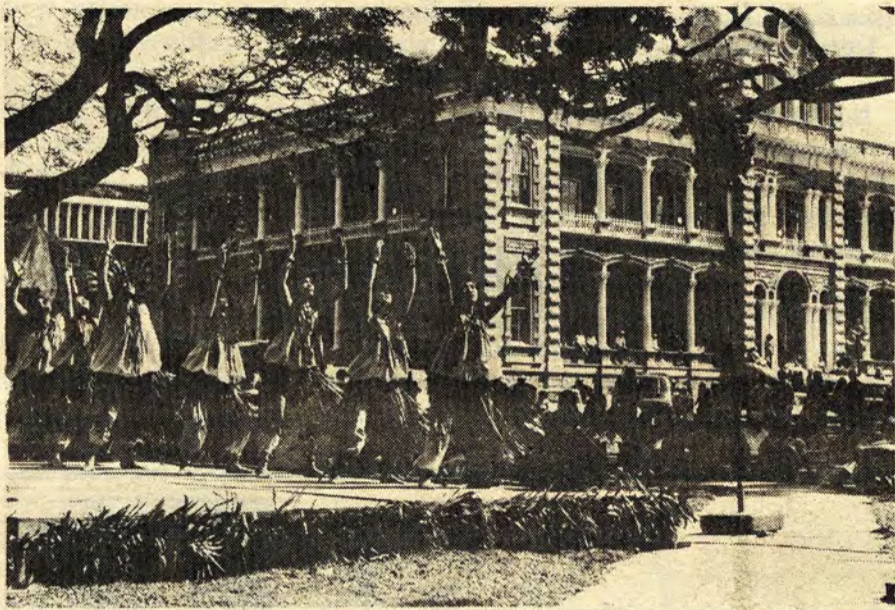
those days. "In October 1977, we put up a picket line of 270 and 300 workers at the Goldmar Ranch, and we lost half the committee when the Border Patrol arrived. So we had to change tactics. We've been having strikes where there have been no pickets. Everyone just stays in the field and doesn't work."

Strike Bears Fruit

The contract they won went much further than the original demands. The 15 hourly workers on the ranch now get a basic pay of \$3.50 an hour. The 300 to 400 pickers on piecework get \$1.13 for each bag of lemons, going up to \$1.35 in September. Before the strike, the going rate was 60 cents a bag.

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Sovereignty Day Proclaimed in Hawaii



Hawaiian Culture is one of the peoples weapons against U.S. imperialism. Here, the Pahula Kawaikapuokalani proudly perform the ancient hulas (dances). (Iolani Palace is in the background.)

On January 14, 1979 over a thousand people of Hawaii gathered on the grounds of the Iolani Palace in Honolulu, Hawaii to commemorate Queen Liliuokalani, the last reigning monarch and to proudly declare their right as a sovereign nation. On this day 86 years ago, a U.S. naval frigate brought several contingents of armed Marines who were lying in wait several miles from the Palace. The U.S. government had plotted a conspiracy with the few U.S. settler capitalists (like Castle and Cooke, the owners of Dole Pineapple), and to-

gether they overthrew the Queen and her sovereign state. A few years later, the greedy U.S. imperialists annexed Hawaii to use as their stepping stone and strategic naval base from which to extend their tentacles to Asia and the western Pacific. Commemorated for the third year in a row, Sovereignty Day is fast becoming a new revolutionary tradition and is significant as a rallying point for the budding Hawaiian movement.

Hawaiians Lashout At U.S. Crimes

Italian Workers End Revisionist/Christian Democrat Honeymoon

Confronted by rising workers' anger and defiant wildcat strikes, the revisionist Italian "Communist" Party (PCI) was forced to pull out of the 10-month old alliance with the ruling Christian Democrats. The split between the revisionists, the second largest party in the country, and the Christian Democrats, the largest has forced Prime Minister Andreotti to resign since by themselves the Christian Democrats don't have a majority in Parliament. Italian president Pertini immediately appointed Andreotti to form a new government. If Andreotti fails, Pertini will be forced to dissolve the present Parliament and call for new elections which would have normally been held in 1981.

Revisionists Demand More for Selling Out Italian Workers

Berlinguer, head of the revisionist PCI, announced the split on January 31st, demanding fuller participation in the government and their own cabinet ministers in exchange for PCI support. In other words, the revisionist scabs want more blood payment for selling out Italian workers.

For the working class, the alliance between the PCI and the Christian Democrats has meant more cutbacks and heavier police repression. In a referendum last May, the PCI told its membership, the largest in Europe, to support law-and-order legislation which three

years earlier the party had denounced as repressive. Under the laws police power was expanded. Police were given a free hand to use wiretaps and were allowed to hold "suspects" for 48 hours without arrest warrants. With the revisionist backing, the Christian Democrat administration was able to appoint an infamous ultra-reactionary as head of police. Then in July, the PCI supported the government's austerity program which put a freeze on hiring and cut back free medicine in some welfare programs. With Italy's 20% inflation rate, Europe's highest, and with 1.5 million of their ranks unemployed, half under 30 years old, the revisionists' actions backing the government meant total betrayal of the Italian masses.

Masses Getting Clear on "Communist" Party

This is why the PCI has lost support in recent local elections and is losing members and influence fast. With the revisionists more exposed, workers have wildcatted in Rome and other cities all over the country in defiance of party trade unions officials. The masses have torn these capitalist agents from speaking platforms and beaten them for their lies. Recently a PCI union bureaucrat was shot because he had spied on fellow workers and had actually turned one in to the police for distributing anti-government leaflets.

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Marking this anniversary of the loss of a nation shows the newly gained level of consciousness of the Hawaiian movement. Many know that the United States committed a terrible crime against Hawaii and her people and everyone agrees that the debts are long overdue. As one speaker, an elderly Hawaiian named Henry Lindsay, said: "the high officials in the U.S. government have forgotten the principles of liberty and justice for all."

Mr. Lindsay's research proves what everyone knows to be true: that a deadly conspiracy existed at the highest levels of the U.S. government against the freedom and sovereignty of the Hawaiian nation. The United States stopped at nothing, including blackmail and assassination, to subvert the rightful government of Hawaii.

Today's U.S. government is no

better. Their attempt to cover up the true facts of the oppression of Hawaii is in Mr. Lindsay's words "far worse than Watergate". "They are speaking with a forked tongue" to Hawaii's people, he summed up.

Many speakers from different organizations gave their input on the road forward for the Hawaiian movement. The most common line that was coming out was the legalist-reformist trend. Those that put forward this approach to the question shared certain basic points: They call for Hawaiians to "get involved politically" and push for reparation. (Reparations means money payments and/or land grants to repay Hawaiians for the rip-off by the United States.) Frenchy DeSoto (the chief sponsor of constitutional amendments to the Hawaii State Constitution meant to benefit

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Northeast Coalition For The Liberation of Southern Africa: RSB's and CYO's Tailism Feeds Trotskyism

The Northeast Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa held its first steering committee meeting since the November Conference (see *WVO*, Jan. 15, 1979) on January 20th. Taking a stand on the trotskyite Young Socialist Alliance/Socialist Workers Party (YSA/SWP), who wrecked the November Conference by opposing any attempt to take a clear stand in support of the liberation movements waging armed struggle in southern Africa and stacked the conference with members and supporters bussed in from all over the country, was the first item on the agenda.

From the start it was clear that the YSA was at it again. But the students were not going to stand for a rerun of the YSA's opportunism and obstructionism. With the full agreement of the anti-YSA forces in NECSLA, the chair announced that because of the blatant continuation of the SWP/YSA disruptive and undemocratic actions, the steering committee would be convened *without* them or their supporters.

This was a direct continuation of the mood of the active and advanced students, who had been for the *expulsion* of SWP/YSA since the November conference. The "independent student caucus" (a group of students in the NECSLA) had voted unanimously in their first meeting to expel the YSA. Yet by the January 20th meeting the proposal of the caucus was to censure instead of expel the YSA/SWP. How did this happen?

On the one hand the political level of the South Africa support movement is still low. Many of the activists are involved in political struggle for the first time and it's clear that the differences with the YSA have not been raised to the level of line.

On the other hand there is the out

and out opportunism of the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB—youth group of the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters) and the Communist Youth Organization (CYO—youth group of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist)). For these two it was tailism pure and simple. When the students vacillated, these opportunists helped them to vacillate even more. Instead of taking a stand on principle, they aided and abetted the trotskyites in the name of popularity. When discussing the question of censure or expulsion, the representative of the RSB said, "The YSA isn't necessarily worse than Jimmy Carter or the KKK". How can you possibly carry out support work when the YSA claims to support the black freedom struggle in southern Africa "in general", but absolutely refuses to support the Patriotic Front, and will oppose any attempt of the Northeast Coalition to take a stand with the Patriotic Front? How can you possibly develop support work with opportunists like these in your midst? If the RSB and the CYO want to work with the trotskyites, then fine, go ahead. But get out of the way of revolutionary students who want to develop real support work without the obstruction of the YSA and the SWP. It is crystal clear that the YSA/SWP will continue to obstruct the work of the Northeast Coalition until they are expelled.

After much discussion and struggle, the steering committee voted to censure instead of expel the YSA/SWP. Despite this the meeting was a big step forward. Once again the counter-revolutionary nature of the trotskyites was exposed. This will help more students understand the need to ruthlessly expel the trotskyites from the support movements. ■

HOW DO WE FIGHT TO SAVE BLACK COLLEGES?

Rely On Courts Or The Masses To Save These Institutions Of The Afro-American Nation?

At A&T State University in Greensboro, North Carolina, over 700 black students were denied registration this past September. These students had pre-registered, packed their bags, and were on their way to school. But their Basic Education Grants were delayed and the University of North Carolina System turned them away cold. Today, several months later, things are getting worse. Walk across the A&T campus towards the out-dated dorms, like Scott Hall, and don't be surprised if a rat runs in your path. Or check out the roaches in the halls. And everyday students living on campus fear they will be scalded in showers because the plumbing and heating is not kept up. Ask any student about the food and they will reply, "Not only is it bad, but you can't even get enough of the stuff to fill up." You have to pass a new proficiency test to get into your second semester at school. And the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) threatens to shut down whole departments if they "duplicate" programs at nearby white schools.

All over the Black Belt South these same conditions exist for the 114 black colleges. The HEW is hiding behind the call of "enhancement of black colleges" and "ending program duplication" and "ending segregation" to launch a campaign meant to destroy black colleges.

But black students are saying "No" to these schemes. On November 16-19, black students from 24 colleges and universities, especially in the Black Belt South, came to Atlanta, Georgia, for a conference sponsored by the National Organization of Black University and College Students (NOBUCS). They came with a single purpose: to save and improve black schools. Students came ready to fight—and some were fresh out of battles on their campuses. Students from Mississippi Valley State had lost their nursing school while the school administration said, "Don't worry—we'll get it back." Many students at NOBUCS were close to graduation but were thinking of their younger black brothers and sisters and their right to an education, to safeguard the institutions that historically were the only place Afro-American youth could get an education and learn the fighting history and culture of the Afro-American people.

NOBUCS is now in its third year of development, made up of the presidents and officials of the student government associations on the campuses of the black colleges, editors of campus newspapers, black graduate students who attended black colleges, and many interested students. This conference represented part of the developing national movement to resist the government attacks on black colleges, part of the sharpening struggle against national oppression, chauvinist attacks, and racial discrimination.

Many workshops were given at the conference by a wide variety of Afro-American professionals—lawyers, editors, and professors. The two main things they proposed were to use HEW policy loopholes to try to get more Title 3 money for black colleges and to file lawsuits against the universities and the government. Both of these methods have great limitations and, more importantly, to rely mainly on these two methods reflects a failure to learn the lessons of the sixties.

If we mainly rely on trying to get Title 3 money (Title 3 is a pool of money controlled by HEW to fund black colleges, programs for other oppressed nationalities, and women) from HEW, we are going up a blind alley. First, Title 3 money is never enough. All you can do with it at best is band-aid solutions. Second, the money always comes with strings attached (like merge with the nearest white school). Third, history proves that this will only lead to infighting between schools and programs.



Afro-American students in the Black Belt South have a long tradition of struggle against national oppression. Here, in North Carolina in 1972, despite snow and rain, Afro-American students rise up to protest political repression.

If we mainly place our faith in the courts, this is nothing but a rehash of the line of the NAACP, which has repeatedly proven to be bankrupt. How can we possibly place our faith in the same court system that just came out with the Bakke decision?

Both methods left students very dissatisfied, and for good reasons.

A&T Students Fight for Heat and Hot Water

Students at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College came back from semester break to find no heat and no hot water in the dorms. With temperatures in the low 30's at night these conditions are intolerable. Shivering in the cold, students at A&T immediately organized to fight these outrageous conditions. ALSC and the newly formed Students for Change called a mass meeting and demanded immediate restoration of heat and hot water. The school's administration, which is given pitifully little funds to maintain the campus, said that the problem was that the equipment in the heat plant was badly in need of repair.

But the angry students leafletted the campus and made plans to hold a rally and to march on the main administration building to demand heat and hot water. Before the demonstration materialized, the faulty equipment was repaired, restoring hot water and heat. It raised the determination of the students to intensify their fight to save black colleges.

Many campus and community organizations have joined ALSC as co-sponsors of a week of activities to "Continue the Revolutionary Tradition of Malcolm X." As part of this week a forum has been planned on the question of black colleges. HEW and William Friday (President of the University of North Carolina system) have been invited to attend. ALSC will present a comprehensive position on the struggle to save and improve black colleges. ALSC sees both the plan of HEW and the state of North Carolina as part of a single plan calculated to destroy black colleges.

HEW's History of Attacking Black Colleges

In 1969, the five black colleges in North Carolina (North Carolina A&T, Fayetteville State, North Carolina Central, Elizabeth City State College, and the University of North Carolina at Greensboro) were being centralized into the University of North Carolina system. This attempt was fought tooth and nail by everybody in the black colleges in North Carolina. On the day before the decision, 5,000 students held a militant rally at the steps of the North Carolina State Legislature. The presidents of the schools had provided the money for the students to mobilize the demonstration. Tiny Elizabeth City sent 18 buses. The effect of the decision was to rename all black colleges as black universities and all presidents of those former colleges as chancellors in the university system, and it became more difficult than ever before to get money for the black colleges.

At the same time, the HEW Office of Civil Rights (under the Nixon administration) began to respond to complaints from civil rights organizations and cited 10 states (mainly in the Black Belt South) for operating "racially dual systems." A long court case started. HEW came out with resolutions and plans to "desegregate" the universities; it was a joke because HEW, under Nixon, consistently blocked the implementation of its own citations.

Now, under the "liberal" Carter, the HEW has begun to carry out what it only talked about under Nixon. On the one hand, in order to improve the image of U.S. imperialism abroad, to fight the Soviet Union, and to split up the working class and oppressed nationalities, here in the U.S. Carter has used his administration to pressure the open reactionaries like Governor Hunt of North Carolina to deal more slickly with the Wilmington 10 case. On the other hand he is carrying out a vicious attack on black people's right to a decent education.

One of HEW's tactics is to merge black colleges into the predominately white universities. Last year HEW ordered mergers in Norfolk, Virginia and at Albany, Georgia.

Merger means death for black colleges. It means that a black college will become an "extension

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Carter's Budget ...

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at least one son, father, or relative who perished heroically to beat back the greatest imperialist war machine of its time, the Nazi juggernaut, which devastated and ravaged their homeland and killed fully 20 million of their people. The Russian people want genuine disarmament, as well as the U.S. people, who also sacrificed during the last world war and who are outraged to see wasteful, bloated military projects and deadly nuclear weapons burn up the tax money squeezed out of our pockets. The U.S. people want to see the real needs of the people met, real programs for housing, healthcare, education, jobs, youth programs, etc., not preparations for another imperialist war.

So the revisionists and demagogues are trying to swindle the masses into believing that "detente" means peace. But they are *also* wrong when they claim that less guns means more butter.

Less guns certainly doesn't mean more butter. After the crushing defeat in Indochina, the enormous \$20 billion a year spent to prop up the corrupt, collapsing Thieu clique did not go into providing for the needs of U.S. people

at all, but was rerouted into beefing up NATO forces stationed in Europe and stepping up the arms race. MIRV's, Trident submarines, cruise missiles, NATO forces, etc., got the billions once spent on the Vietnam war, not social programs for the U.S. people. So the revisionists and others who push "detente" know that monopoly capitalism is not automatically going to shift money from guns into butter, and that's why his statements are pure demagoguery.

Where Did Butter Come From?

The reason why we have Social Security, minority programs, medical care, housing programs, unemployment insurance, etc. in the first place is because millions of workers and minorities for decades took to the streets, shutting down factories, storming government offices, walking out on assembly lines, etc. Every reform had to be literally wrenched from the monopoly capitalists. (And they, in turn, cynically use reform to disintegrate the movement and to protect themselves by pro-

moting layers of labor aristocrats and poverty pimps, which is part of the capitalists' dual tactics of reform and repression).

For example the sixties had a huge war budget because of the billions used to massacre Vietnamese villagers, napalm children, hire assassination squads, support 500,000 troops, and defoliate the vast countryside with lethal chemicals. But the sixties also had a relatively large budget for social programs, precisely because of the thunderous movement of thousands of students, workers, oppressed nationalities and minorities, and women taking to the streets. So the sixties had a relatively large budget for *both* military armaments and social programs.

Imperialists Speculate on Welfare Programs

In fact, the monopoly capitalists would prefer to have large budgets for both military *and* social programs, like they had in the sixties (where at least \$150 billion was wasted in unsuccessfully propping up the crumbling Thieu clique and in "containing China", and where billions were also spent in the ballyhooed "War on Poverty" to hire thousands of poverty pimps and set up programs to disintegrate the mass movement).

Reforms serve the capitalists in yet another way, as a lucrative source of speculation on bonds. Nelson Rockefeller, for example, pioneered the use of selling New York state bonds to the banks he controlled (Chase Manhattan Bank, Chemical Bank, and Citibank) to pay for the state's welfare system. Then workers would end up paying for *both* the original state bonds as well as the profit left over for the banks when the bonds matured. So the capitalists skimmed off millions on state bonds and bragged about being "liberal" and "reformist" while the working class wound up footing the bill for the bonds as well as the interest on these bonds.

Guns Fuel Inflation

Even though the capitalists would prefer to maintain large budgets for both military spending and social programs, this cannot go on forever, because it causes a blistering, double-digit inflation rate and aggravates the crisis of capitalism. In short, guns fuel inflation.

Of course, Carter boasts that his budget, with its increased military spending, will reduce inflation. Exactly the *opposite* is true.

The new feature after World War II is precisely that monopoly capitalism, like a junkie shooting himself up with heroin to get a temporary high, squeezed billions out of workers and plundered the Third World to prop up the economy with massive spending and arms budgets. Desperately trying to fend off another crushing Depression like the 1930's, and fiercely contending with the Soviet Union, the monopoly capitalists pumped billions into armaments and government spending and then paid for them by inflating the

economy, by printing more money, by issuing bonds, by selling treasury notes, by speculation. This tremendous deficit financing, to avoid depressions and prepare for war, has created an unprecedented \$900 billion federal deficit (almost half of the entire worth of the entire country). And this enormous deficit financing has created a searing inflation rate. And who pays for this deficit financing, the inflation, the arms budget? The workers. Every nickel of this cynical policy has been paid for by the *impoverishment of the masses*.

That's why Carter's budget does not fight inflation, but is actually like pouring gasoline on a raging fire. Not only is his \$122.7 billion military budget highly inflationary, so is his projected \$29 billion deficit for the year.

Capitalism Caught in Permanent Crisis

But does Carter really have any choice? Can he squirm his way out of the crisis?

There is no way out of the permanent crisis for the capitalists. The junkie is trapped. If the capitalists stop pumping up the economy with deficit financing, this could spell immediate disaster as bankruptcies, foreclosures, etc. rip through the economy. But if they keep shooting themselves up with heroin, this makes their ultimate "down" and collapse that much more final.

Originally, the capitalists prayed that deficit financing for government programs and arms would "cure" the economy of the devastating cycles of "boom and bust" that wreaked havoc on business, and threw millions of workers out into the cold. But instead of curing the crisis of overproduction, it has only sharpened it: the capitalists are now faced with *both* a stagnating economy and a galloping inflation rate. Furthermore, the cycles are quickening in pace (the sixth economic crisis since World War II was in 1975), and these *overlapping* crises have created a state of permanent crisis.

But you can't cure inflation, any more than you can paper over the very nature of the capitalist system: that a handful of parasites like the Rockefellers and Morgans suck off billions of profits because they control the factories, mills, mines, plants, squeezing dry the tens of millions of workers who slave in these factories to eke out a living.

What does Carter's budget spell? More impoverishment of the masses. It is the masses who pay for the defense budget, who pay for the bankers' interest off the bonds and treasury notes, who are robbed by a bone-crushing inflation rate, who are laid off and suffer speed ups.

But it is the workers and oppressed that are rising up against cuts in CETA, in minority hiring admissions, in Social Security, in steel plants, etc. And it is the workers and oppressed who will one day rise up, like a mighty fist, and smash this capitalist system once and for all. ■

Cone Workers...

Continued from page 7

themselves "outclassed," so to speak, in arbitration hearings, court cases, NLRB suits, and hopefully, in the near future, contract negotiations. Not because these workers are slicker, but because they are united, and they speak the truth.

In another Cone plant, a shop steward was recently suspended, arrested, and dragged to jail for refusing to leave a meeting called by management for workers he was supposed to represent! Though Cone consistently fires shop stewards on the least excuse, they were forced to give this steward his job back. The union local (ACTWU) which is beginning to respond to workers' demands, later won his back pay, and had all disciplinary action removed from his record. Cone's case against the steward for "trespassing" was thrown out by the judge, though poor Brad Johnson did his best to argue violation of Cone's "property rights." Because of the support shown by this steward's fellow workers, the judge could not deny that this was a "labor matter" not a civil one. The steward is now preparing to sue Cone for false arrest, and the union local members see this as another opportunity to engage Cone's "union busters" in battle, expose the company to the hilt, and win a settlement, too!

Workers are learning to utilize all forms of struggle. At the same time, illusions and overconfidence in the Labor Board and courts will lead to defeat. Recently, the Labor Board has tended to be more favorable to workers in the textile industry. Partly because of the exposure of industry conditions through the J. P. Stevens campaign, bigger U.S. capitalists want to "redeem" a more liberal image, and bring southern labor under more control of "organized

labor". This is to forestall more militant labor activity, especially among Afro-Americans. Exploitation of the raw materials and cheap labor in the Black Belt South is an ace-in-the-hole for decaying capitalism. The whole bourgeoisie has a lot at stake in keeping the South in control. The defeat of the Labor Law Reform Bill last year, was partly a reflection of the conflict between the bigger monopoly capitalists, who prefer the dual tactics of "the carrot and the stick." They know when workers are in motion, bourgeois democracy and bureaucratic "bourgeois trade unionism" combined with intimidation is a better weapon to keep the workers down, than the outright repression of the textile bosses. So our government, obedient servant of the monopoly capitalists system as a whole, leans into a "pro-worker" attitude toward textiles, at the same time pursuing a more obvious pro-management course in other parts of the country, or with other industries and sectors in the South.

The dragging and cooling tactics of the bourgeoisie are clear. A worker still waits an average of 5½ years to regain his job through the NLRB, *even if every decision handed down is in his favor*.

As the crisis of monopoly capitalism deepens, and the bourgeoisie tries more desperately to shift the burden to the shoulders of our class, these "liberal" policies will be scarcer. The workers movement must be "well shod on all four feet," able to struggle successfully in every arena, on every battlefield. Most workers still have deep faith in capitalist "democracy". We must be prepared to wage tooth and nail struggle for whatever gains we can, at the same time exposing the nature of the legal system as an arm of bourgeois control. ■

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LONG LIVE THE IRANIAN

Continued from page 1

Khomeini. For weeks the technicians have been agitating and protesting against the Bakhtiar administration. Acts of sabotage were widespread. Elite Guardsmen were brought in to bust a recently organized hunger strike. They murdered 50 protesters and arrested scores of others. The Imperial Guards remained to keep order on the base since the regular Air Force MP's couldn't be counted on (many MP's are draftees from the ranks of Iranian peasants and workers). On Friday night, the 10th, the technicians held a demonstration in the barracks they were confined to.

The next day as they watched a television replay of Khomeini's return to the country, someone shouted a slogan of support and the protest was on. Confronted by the renewed militancy of the protesters, a Guard commander ordered an MP to shoot. When he refused, he was shot on the spot. Fighting immediately broke out and the heroic technicians were quickly joined by Air Force cadets and junior officers, who killed a guard at the base armory to get weapons. The Guardsmen put out a desperate call for reinforcements, including tanks and helicopters.

Myth of Guards' Invincibility Smashed

As word of the fighting spread



throughout the city, thousands of people armed with handguns, machine guns and machetes took to the streets, some rushing to the aid of their military brothers while others barricaded the major avenues of Teheran to cut off further reinforcements to the Imperial Guards.

At the Farahabad base, the Imperial Guards were routed as the masses disabled several tanks and shot down two helicopters. The fascist dogs of the

Javidan (Immortals) Brigade were forced to retreat and the myth of their invincibility smashed.

Military Bases, Police Stations Seized by Armed People

Their ace troops beaten, Bakhtiar and the top generals huddled on the night of February 10th to decide what to do. With army units disintegrating all over the country, with thousands of

armed fighters in the streets, the decision was made to pull back the military. Bakhtiar ran.

Inspired by the big victory at Farahabad and with their triumph in sight, the armed people stormed and took military bases and police stations all over the city. As each fell, more weapons were added to the ones the masses had already seized from arms factories in Teheran.

When the masses marched on the Majlis, the lower house of the Iranian Parliament, soldiers guarding it surrendered, declaring, "we are with the people." The Israeli mission was easily taken and a new sign was promptly hung out front—"PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization) Embassy"!

On February 12th, after a fierce mopping up attack, the Niavaran Palace, home of the Shah and a long-time symbol of his power, fell to the people. Imperial Guards defending it ran out to surrender, crying like babies. Also captured was the nearby Guards headquarters and the U.S. military advisory mission at Saltanatabad in north Teheran.

Excellent Conditions Set For Formation of Genuine Communist Party

Iranian Marxist-Leninists must feel great joy for their country's liberation. They have played an important role in the revolution. Many of them led the way in the assaults on the military bases and police stations and in directing other street actions. Whenever the embassies or banks of the imperialists were attacked, there were usually communists leading the way or giving active support. They've fought hard to maintain and strengthen the unity of the revolutionary movement against their common enemy, and victory would not have been possible without the strong solidarity between the three forces of the Iranian revolution, the religious forces, the nationalist forces, and the Marxist-Leninists.

Most important, excellent conditions have been set for the formation of a genuine communist party. Through their own experience in revolution, the Iranian people have learned deep lessons,

Revisionists Say it's Terrible, We Say it's Fine!

Revolution in Iran is "terrible"! That's the disgusting social-imperialist view of the leadership of the IWK/ATM clique (I Wor Kuen/August 29th Movement, now calling themselves the League of Revolutionary Struggle) and Klonsky and company of the "Communist" Party, ML(CPML). These active counter-revolutionaries are bending over backwards to lick the boots of the imperialists and denying the right of the oppressed people and nations of the world to overthrow their oppressors through revolutionary struggle.

The Iranian revolution has been a big blow to both the U.S. and Soviet imperialists and is the biggest defeat for U.S. imperialism since the Vietnam war, but you usually need a magnifying glass to find any coverage of it in Unity, the rag of the IWK/ATM sect. Check out the February 9-22 issue. They're so ashamed of the Iranian people that they've buried the Iran article way back on page 11, hidden on the bottom of the page. The layout position of the article alone reveals the IWK/ATM leadership's political slant toward the Iranian revolution — revisionist!

"Trouble" For Whom?

"The Iranian economy is still in trouble," say these scabs, "with strikes continuing and many small shops still closed." The political strikes in the country have been a lot of "trouble" for the hated Shah and his appointee, Bakhtiar, for the imperialists, especially the two superpowers, and for South

Africa and Israel who depend on Iran for oil, not for the Iranian masses. Sure strikes have caused some domestic shortages, but this is a small sacrifice the Iranian people are gladly and consciously making in order to liberate themselves from the repression of the Shah and the domination of the imperialists. Under the Shah, the sale of oil owned totally by the imperialists never went to benefit the masses. But the IWK/ATM clique don't care about these facts, all they're worried about is that oil production levels aren't up to normal! According to this revisionist logic, U.S. coal miners shouldn't have struck for 118 days last year since coal production went down.

Three Worlds Or Two Worlds Of The Superpowers?

But that's not the end to their social-imperialist poison, "As the conflict continues within Iran, the threat of interference from the two superpowers, especially the Soviet Union, mounts. The Soviet imperialists are using both the tactics of subversion and military intimidation in their efforts to take advantage of disorder in Iran so as to take over the country." The Iranian revolution is terrible, these revisionist prophets of doom say, because the U.S.S.R. will use it to take control. But the fact is the revolution in Iran is aimed straight at both superpowers and has hurt them bad. The careerist IWK/ATM leadership is blind to the power of the Iranian people because to them the

two superpowers make history not the masses. Instead of relying on the *people of the third world as the main force against the superpowers*, they see the main way to defeat the U.S. and the Soviet imperialists is to rely on one to out-manuever the other. Dropping Chairman Mao's correct three worlds line on the international situation like a hot potato, these slimy scum show they never believed it.

This is the same ATM who in 1976 said, "It is the oppressed nations and peoples of the world in struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet Social-Imperialism which is moving forward the entire struggle against worldwide reaction," (Revolutionary Cause, January) in order to justify their disbelief in the rising danger of world war. But that was the "old" ATM back in '76 and this is the "new" ATM/IWK today, the only similarity between the two being the careerist leadership's *complete lack of any stable political principles*.

IWK/ATM is so afraid of revolution they won't even use the word, preferring to call the Iranian revolution a "conflict", "disorder".

IWK/ATM Clique Turns Reality Upside Down

"This is a critical time for the Iranian people, with the conflict and the threat of superpower interference growing. The immediate future is uncertain, but the long and protracted struggle of the Iranian people for democracy and independence will surely continue," sniffle the IWK/ATM revisionists, turn-

Continued on page 24

PEOPLE'S VICTORY!...



and their political consciousness has been raised to new heights. The revolution has educated and trained thousands of new leaders, wide open to socialism. Marxist-Leninists have also been trained and tempered, achieving greater clarity on the features and specific laws of the Iranian revolution and of revolutions generally. Armed with these new, valuable lessons learned and the rich experience generally. The revolution has fleshed out and made clearer which is the correct line. Armed with these new, valuable lessons learned and the rich experiences gained, the founding of the Marxist-Leninist Party of Iran is surely on the horizon.

Historical Lessons of Chile

As Chairman Mao Summed up, "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries." (Problems of War and Strategy)

The victorious Iranian people must be prepared to fight tooth and nail to hold on to the fruits of their victory. The imperialists and Iranian reactionaries won't take their defeat lying down. By their nature, they make trouble, fail, make trouble again. To hold on to the gains they've made, the Iranian people

must have arms and be prepared. Historical experience has shown that if the masses aren't armed, the overthrown class can easily make a comeback. Take Chile for example.

In 1974, workers and peasants kicked out the U.S.-backed government and brought Salvador Allende to power. Allende promptly nationalized the copper industry, taking it out of the clutches of ITT. He had the support of the masses of Chilean workers and peasants against the imperialists. The masses knew that the overthrown ruling class, with the U.S. imperialists' help, would try to make a comeback, especially

since the Chilean military was still intact. They begged for arms to be prepared to defend their new government. Because of the revisionist line of "peaceful transition to socialism" pushed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the local revisionists, the Chilean people weren't armed and when the counter-revolution began, the streets of Santiago ran red with the blood of heroic but defenseless workers and peasants. With the help of the CIA, the military coup toppled the Allende government, killing Allende and crushing the Chilean masses. The lesson of the Chilean revolution paid for with blood must be learned by revolutionary people all over the world.

Reactionaries Beg For Mercy They Never Showed

When the shooting died down, three generals were dead and scores of former oppressors of the Iranian people were rounded up. Head of the army, General Badri was shot nine times by fellow officers as they holed up in the Imperial Guards barracks at Lavan under mass siege. General Jafarian, military governor of Khuzestan died trying to escape when his helicopter was shot down. The deputy commander of the Imperial Guards, Beglari, was found dead in his home, probably fearing people's justice more than death.

Many agents of SAVAK (the Shah's hated secret police) have been captured and imprisoned. The prize captives were displayed on television, introduced as "some of the honorable thieves who have run this country for the last ten

Continued on page 24



Yasir Arafat, the leader of the PLO came to Tehran to celebrate with the Iranian people and their leader Ayatollah Khomeini, showing the revolutionary unity of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples with the Iranian revolution.

'Who Takes Our Gas? The Soviets!'

The Soviet imperialists are no friends of the Iranian people. They've wined and dined the hated Shah in order to plunder the country's resources. Before the Iranian oil workers cut them off, the new Czars used to suck 30 billion cubic feet of natural gas a day out of the country. Joint operations between the U.S.S.R. and the Pahlavi regime produced 90% of Iran's coal, 90% of its iron ore and 70% of the country's steel.

During the revolutionary upsurge, the Soviet Union has waged a massive propaganda campaign aimed at building up their image in the eyes of the Iranian people.

The U.S.S.R. cynically warned the U.S. that if this country were to intervene in Iran, then the Soviets would see it as a threat to their national security and move in too. So much for the U.S.S.R.'s claim to respect Iran's national sovereignty and the principle of non-interference in its internal affairs. If successful, superpower intervention in Iran would have carved the country into two halves, with the Soviets getting Iran's breadbasket region and a warm-water port on the Indian Ocean, an old Czarist dream, while the U.S. would get the oil-regions to the south and west. Hopes for collusion between the two superpowers against the Iranian people were smashed by the strength of the revolutionary movement in Iran against both superpowers and the fact that the Carter administration's hands were tied by the U.S. people's hatred for U.S. imperialist aggression.

In Iran, the Tudeh Party is notorious for their fifth column activity on behalf of their Soviet masters. So tainted and isolated are these sell-outs that the U.S.S.R. had to go to Arafat, head of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, and beg that he mediate between the Tudeh Party and Ayatollah Khomeini. Arafat turned him down flat, saying "it's none of my business."

The Soviet social-imperialists are so afraid that the revolution in Iran may spread to their own oppressed Moslem minority that they've "evacuated" Soviet Shiites from the U.S.S.R./Iran border to Siberia! Not only does it show their fear of peoples' revolution, but also their deep chauvinism and oppression of nationalities and national minorities under the rule of the New Czars.

REFERENCE MATERIAL**They Said It . . .**

To Our Readers:

"They Said It..." is an idea that came from one of our readers. In it we hope to give our readers a look at the enemy exposing themselves in their own press, and to provide more information on some issues of the day.

While this is new for the Workers Viewpoint Newspaper, it's already done in China. Every day, thousands of copies of a newspaper which contains straight reprints from the bourgeois press around the world are read by cadres in the Communist Party of China. This is in line with the late Chairman Mao's teaching that we shouldn't be afraid of poison, but should vaccinate ourselves against it by engaging it and criticizing it using the tools of Marxism.

We must also do this. But we must take the dangers seriously. For instance,

Proposition 13

When California voters approved Proposition 13 last June, they cut about \$6.4 billion from property-tax collections.

Only about \$2.3 billion of that total went to homeowners. Landlords got a \$1.2 billion break. But the largest cut, \$2.9 billion, went to the owners of commercial and industrial property in the state.

... But now, two months after the first half of the reduced property tax bill was due, it is clear that the savings granted to business have been slower in trickling down to the average citizen than politicians had hoped or some businessmen had promised. The situation has caused a flurry of complaints from consumer groups and politicians.

Benefits for Economy

While many executives say that by reinvesting the savings in their own companies, the entire California economy will benefit, critics claim that much of the money is being used to increase corporate profits. "Greed is epidemic," one social activist charges.

Most businessmen appear to be hunkering down, hoping that the fuss will be relatively brief. Some worry that adverse publicity could help revive last year's shortlived legislative attempt to restore industry's property taxes about to the levels before Proposition 13. . . .

(The Wall Street Journal, February 13, 1979)

Rockefeller and Shah

Nelson Rockefeller was "seriously worried" about his very good friend, the Shah of Iran, and how

the world would be affected by his departure from the throne. So much so that Rocky sent a personal emissary to see the Shah and, right up to the afternoon of the day Rockefeller died, he was eagerly receiving daily memos on Iran and the whereabouts of his pal. We learned this exclusively from Rocky's intimates and it was confirmed by Robert Armao, the Rocky envoy. "It's true, I went to Tehran at (Rockefeller's) request with an aide and a body-guard," Armao, 30 told us. "I went there Jan. 8, spent three days and then delivered a report to the governor. He was very much worried and concerned about his friend and what would happen to America and the rest of the world if he was forced to leave. It weighed heavily on his mind. He was much distressed, especially since Iran is the guardian of the Persian Gulf. We last talked on the day he died." Armao, who served in Rocky's last administration, and Rockefeller's administrative assistant, Joseph Canzeri, arranged the memorial service at Riverside Church, last Friday. "I haven't slept in days," he told us. "I lost my idol."

(New York Daily News, February 5, 1979)

Food Prices

Quick, what was your total food bill in 1978? Although most of us would be hard pressed even to pull a figure from the air, the City of New York Department of Consumer Affairs reports that a typical family of four spent \$4,252.28 on groceries last year. That's 10.8 percent above 1977 costs, with only two items actually going down in price: carrots and coffee.

Every other food in the department's weekly 41-item market basket went up. Comparing average prices between December 1977 and December 1978,

while 99% of the facts presented in any article may be true, the 1% that are lies are usually pivotal to the analysis, and can turn the whole truth upside down. This has happened before, where the CIA has carried out "misinformation campaigns" in a sophisticated way.

So while the column is for your reference, people must make your own judgments about the material in it, as people do every day. We can and must make use of the enemy's media, and train ourselves to do it correctly, and not be afraid to do it because of the dangers involved.

Read it, criticize it and struggle with others over it. Write us your ideas on it. Send in clippings you think we should print and mark off the most important sections. Together we'll turn it into another bullet to use against the class enemy!

products in the meat and fish category were up 21.9 percent, fresh fruits and vegetables, up 15 percent, and processed fruits and vegetables, up 9.7 percent. Smaller price jumps were found in the dairy category, up 8.6 percent, and in grains, up 7.2 percent. The beverage category, which includes coffee, beer, tea and soft drinks, rose the least, up 5.2 percent.

Increased coffee supplies and reduced consumption accounted for the 32.2 percent price drop, from \$3.67 to \$2.49 a pound. Carrots experienced a smaller, 3.2 percent decline.

Consumers can anticipate little good news. The department reports that if food prices rise at the same rate this year, we can expect the market basket to cost almost \$100 by the end of 1979.

Meanwhile, on a week-to-week basis, the market basket rose more than nine-tenths of 1 percent, up 79 cents over the previous week, to \$87.95.

(New York Times, January 24, 1979)

Wage Controls

Washington, Jan. 17—Alfred E. Kahn, chairman of the Council on Wage and Price Stability, said today that he needed 90 more people to handle a work load that has exceeded expectations. Most of the work is handling a flood of inquiries about the Administration's wage-price guidelines.

If Congress concurs, the council's staff would grow to 233 persons from its present 39. Earlier, the council's director, Barry P. Bosworth, had estimated that a staff of 143 would be enough. . . .

Judging by the council's budget estimate of \$6 million for a staff of 143, the 90 extra workers would cost an additional \$3.5 million. . . .

(New York Times, January 17, 1979)



WORLD IN STRUGGLE

COUNTRIES WANT INDEPENDENCE

NATIONS WANT LIBERATION

PEOPLE WANT REVOLUTION!

JAPAN PROTESTS SOVIET MILITARY BUILDUP

Japan recently protested the build up of Soviet troops occupying the islands of Kunashiri and Etorofu. Six thousand Soviet troops are stationed on the two islands, just 12 miles from Hokkaido, the northernmost of the main Japanese islands. By building up their forces on the islands claimed by Japan, the social-imperialists are responding to the recently signed friendship treaty between Japan and China which condemned superpower hegemonism in the area.

INDIA EXPOSES BRITISH CHAUVINISM

The Indian government summoned British commissioner Thomson to protest the treatment of Indian women by immigration authorities in London. Indian women have been forced to submit to gynecological examinations to test their virginity on the grounds that non-virgins could not legally enter England as fiances of men already there.

PALESTINIAN STUDENTS STONE ZIONIST SETTLERS

On February 5th Palestinian high school students on the occupied West Bank stoned two trucks carrying Israeli settlers, members of the ultra-reactionary Gush Emunim. The youth barricaded the highway between Nablus and Ramallah and stoned the trucks as they came to a halt. The Zionist armed escorts were forced to call in reinforcements. The action is part of the Palestinian people's continuing struggle to liberate their homeland. The day before Palestinian youth held big demonstrations in town all over the West Bank in protest against Israeli military occupation. In Halhul, demonstrators broke windows of public buildings, burned tires, barricaded the streets, stoned sight-seeing buses and fought Israeli troops with sticks and rocks. One high school in Ramallah, north of Jerusalem, has been particularly

active and the Zionist authorities have had to impose a curfew.

REACTIONARIES SQUABBLE OVER WHO'LL BE ISOLATED FASTER

On January 20th, the Israeli Olympic Committee decided to cut off sports relations with South Africa. The action came after the Soviet Union hypocritically told Israel that it might be disqualified from the 1980 Olympics for its relations with South Africa. The apartheid regime was kicked out of the International Olympic Committee in 1970. South African ambassador to Israel said he was "exceedingly surprised."

MILL EXPLOSION KILLS GERMAN WORKERS

A flour mill explosion killed 15 West German workers on February 7th in Bremen. The explosion, caused when the boss allowed too high

Continued on page 25

Culture and Class Struggle

SUPERMAN

Armed guards carrying loaded machine guns patrol the lonely corridors of the prison yard at night. Not even the anguish of the broken lives and shattered dreams of the prisoners can disturb the cold, damp silence.

Suddenly, the silence is broken by astonished gasps. A strange, blazing blue and red caped figure is seen soaring through the sky.

"Look! Up in the sky!"

"It's a bird! It's a plane!"

"No, it's the fifties Superman!"

The Caped Crusader lands triumphantly in the prison yard, carrying his reluctant prize, the diabolical mad scientist Lex Luthor.

And as Superman hands over his dejected prisoner and is about to take off once again into the night, he tells a bewildered prison warden: "Relax, I'm on your side."

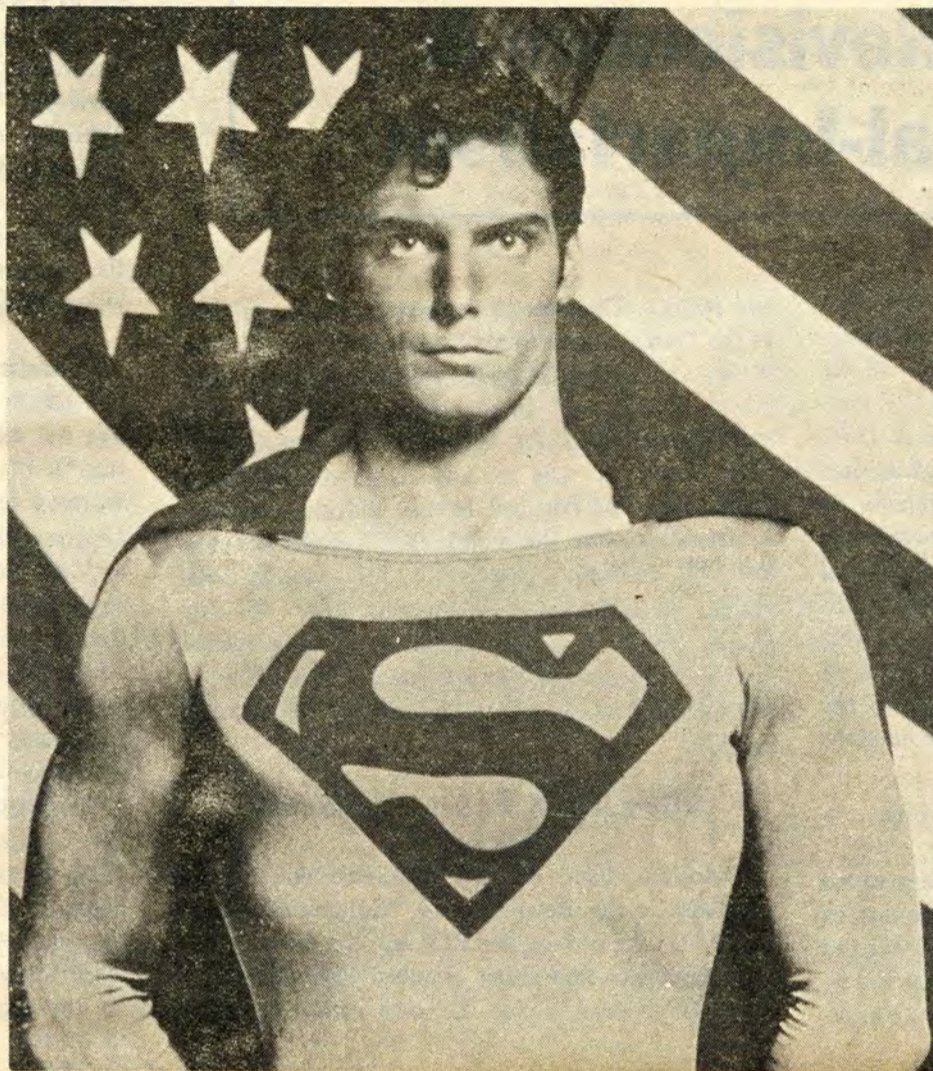
Even Superman Can't Take Us Back to the Fifties

Once again, the Man of Steel proves he can change the course of mighty rivers. Once again, dazzling scenes portray the last hours of the doomed planet Krypton convulsing in cataclysmic agony. Once again, Superman's spectacular Fortress of Solitude rises from the bleak wastelands of the Arctic. And once again, behind breathtaking, death-defying stunts, the fifties Superman shows that he's super clear about where he's at: with the cops and Law and Order. Compared to the comic heroes of the late '60s and early '70s (like the sassy, smart-alecky Spiderman, the outlaw Submariner, the awesome, rampaging Hulk, the hustlin', street-wise Power Man, the anguished, cosmic figure of the Silver Surfer) the new Superman is a cops and robbers throw-back to the fifties, a wooden, two-dimensional goodie goodie, the Pat Boone of superheroes.

It's as if the late '60s and early '70s never happened, as if hundreds of thousands of students never burned their draft cards or stormed college campuses in defiance of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, or as if thousands never marched or fought in the streets for equal rights.

Superman tries to take us twenty years back before the massive, heroic upsurges in the Black Liberation Movement, before the anti-war movement which shook the foundations of imperialism, before the budget cuts and present economic crisis. But no matter how hard the capitalists try to take us back to the fifties, the '70s ain't the fifties.

What's so different about the '70s? Not since the Depression have the U.S. working people been so open to socialism. With a collapsing dollar, a blistering double-digit inflation, plunging standard of living, budget cuts and layoffs, and mammoth unemployment, the U.S. people are searching for ways out of the permanent crisis. Not even a Superman can turn us back to the fifties! The "stable outlook" of the '40s, '50s, and



'60s is crumbling with every wildcat or demonstration against the crisis.

A close history of the comics shows this clearly; the "stable outlook" of the '40s, '50s, and '60s is crumbling, shattered by the permanent crisis which is gripping capitalism. A history of the comics shows this: the relative rise of U.S. imperialism after World War II, the "stable outlook" throughout the '40s, '50s, and '60s, the mass upheavals of the late '60s and early '70s, and the present economic crisis.

Superman was Born in the Depression

Superman wasn't born on Krypton at all, but in the working class slums of New York City during the depths of the Depression, in the thick of the mass upheavals and groundswells that sent more than half a million fist-waving workers pouring into Union Square on May Day. When Batman first swung his Bat rope through Gotham City in *Detective Comics* (May, 1939) and Superman first soared through the skies of Metropolis in *Action Comics* (June, 1938), millions of youth, seeking an escape from the grinding poverty of the Depression grabbed comics off the newsstands as fast as they would arrive.

Comics reflected the times. And times were bad. Billy Batson, when he was first chosen by the wizard Shazam in *Whiz Comics No. 2* (1940) to inherit the awesome mantle of Captain Marvel was like thousands of other youth an orphan sleeping on the streets huddled over warm subway and ventilation vents at night, hawking news-

papers in the freezing snow for a penny. But by uttering the magic word of the ancients, Shazam!, he evoked the mystical power of the gods, and a street urchin, a child of the Depression, became the World's Mightiest Mortal. In the comic world of fantasy and escapism, you weren't supposed to demonstrate on strike lines or storm the factory gates to deal with the wretched life of souplines, Hoovervilles, shanty towns, and dust bowls. Any cripple like Freddy Freeman (Captain Marvel, Jr.) or orphan like Mary Marvel could escape crushing poverty by calling on the mystical lightning bolt of Shazam!

And in those thunderous days of working class upsurge (and before the monopoly capitalists consolidated the comics) both Superman and Batman operated totally outside the law, at times spontaneously fighting in the interests of working people. Batman even carried a gun, executing, like a vigilante, those who preyed on working people. In *Superman No. 1* (1939), Superman, like a populist hero, beats down the door of the governor, humiliates a murderous capitalist who sends scores of coal miners to their deaths, and punishes a munitions maker who reaps millions starting monstrous wars

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INTERNATIONAL SITUATION: Opportunism of All Sorts Covers for Revisionism & Soviet Social-Imperialism

The following are excerpts from the pamphlet entitled "The African People's Struggle Will Surely Triumph—Build the Communist Leadership of the African Liberation Support Committee" published by Workers Viewpoint Organization in 1977. Although certain significant changes have taken place internationally, the line presented still retains its correct thrust. In this period of great disorder in the world, there is a revisionist wind blowing strongly and we must be vigilant about it—especially about belittling the role of Soviet social-imperialism. In doing so, we will arm ourselves with the correct grasp of Chairman Mao's correct and deep sizing up of the balance of forces in the world as reflected in his three worlds theory.

Factors for Both War and Revolution Are on the Rise

The most burning issue of the international situation for the world's people is the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union in the late 1950's and 1960's, its aggressive social-imperialist nature today, and the manifestation of its role in the rising danger of world war.

Since late 1974 and early 1975, the Communist Party of China has been firmly exposing the rising danger of world war. We can sum up some of their main theses which we will focus on:

The factors for both war and revolution are on the rise. Either war will lead to revolution or revolution will prevent the war. The war danger is visibly growing, it exists objectively and any belittling of this danger only worsens the situation.

The two superpowers are the main enemies of the people of the world, and their contention for world hegemony is the root cause of the danger of war. "Detente" is a fake imperialist peace, a smoke-screen to blind the oppressed people of the world to the rising war danger. Of the two superpowers, the Soviet Union is the more dangerous and is the main source of world war.

In the U.S., the main deviation on the estimation of the war danger and how to fight it, and on the role of Soviet social-imperialism, is the belittling of this danger, an explicit or implicit disbelief in the imperialist nature of the Soviet Union and objectively, a denial of the capitalist restoration that occurred there in the 1950's.

"C" PUSA Openly Defends Soviet Social-Imperialism

The stand of the revisionist "Communist" Party USA is obvious, for they openly defend the Soviet Union as a socialist country, they promote its aggression against the oppressed nations and genuine socialist countries and its sham "detente" as real peace.

Guardian Slanders the Communist Party of China

The revisionist *Guardian* newspaper's defense of social-imperialism is almost as brazen. The *Guardian* calls the Soviet Union "imperialist externally" in its foreign policy, but "socialist internally," denying the capitalist restoration that occurred in the late 1950's and denying that a country's foreign policy is the concentrated expression of its internal economy

and politics. The *Guardian* considers U.S. imperialism as the "main danger to the people of the world," belittling and whitewashing the role of the Soviet superpower in this way. In practice, the *Guardian* promotes social-imperialist aggression and interference, from Southeast Asia to Angola, Azania, Palestine, Puerto Rico and Portugal. In tune with their revisionist friends around the world, the *Guardian* slanders the CPC endlessly, charging it, for example, with "failing to fulfill its internationalist duty" for supporting all the liberation fighters of Angola against both superpowers and for exposing the Soviet Union's splitting imperialist role of whipping up the civil war in 1976.

RCP Band on the Same Opportunist Spectrum

Another band on this revisionist and centrist spectrum is the Revolutionary "Communist" Party (RCP). On the surface, the RCP says the Soviet Union is a capitalist, imperialist country, but claims that social-imperialism is not the most dangerous superpower worldwide, but only to China. This is utterly false. Superpower contention extends to every corner of the globe, and the Soviet Union is the more dangerous superpower and the main source of war on a world scale. The RCP helps cover the aggressive nature of social-imperialism. Their line is only slightly different in form from the *Guardian's* view that "U.S. imperialism is the main enemy of the world's people," and it is a first step in the same direction.

RCP's Sleight of Hand Maneuvering

Another sleight-of-hand by the RCP is its attack on the task of exposing "detente":

... what does it mean for U.S. revolutionaries, the working class and people in the U.S. to so-called 'fight appeasement' and fight against a section of the ruling class that carries out so-called 'appeasement' policies, etc., the way it is being raised by some like Hinton and the OL and others today. It means urging our own imperialists to be more vigorous in carrying out their own imperialist aims and intentions and their own imperialist drives, to be more vigorous in their plunder and in their contention for domination, exploitation and oppression.

(*Revolution*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 12/76, p. 10)

U.S. communists must always firmly expose the aggression and war preparations of the U.S. monopoly capitalists and wholeheartedly support the oppressed nations and socialist countries against U.S. imperialism. Any U.S. communist who does not do this is nothing but a hypocrite, a chauvinist who defends U.S. imperialism against other imperialist powers and against the oppressed nations and peoples. However, the Soviet Union objectively is the more dangerous enemy worldwide and the main source of world war, and all communists in every country, including the U.S., must expose the Soviet "detente" scheme and the appeasement tactics of some U.S. monopoly capitalist interests, for these are the fastest route to war.

Revolutionary tactics and propaganda must follow from the alignment of world forces. Even, or

rather, especially, in the U.S. and those countries under U.S. imperialist domination, communists must educate the masses to the danger of Soviet social-imperialism worldwide to prepare the masses for the complex wars and revolutionary struggles of this and upcoming periods.

The RCP's refusal to carry out this exposure of "detente" amounts to saying: We don't run into the Soviet bosses, so we can't deal with them—let the Soviet workers take care of them. This is the same short-sighted empiricism and pragmatism that the RCP is so notorious for!

At the same time, the RCP tries to get over by distorting the CPC's call to "expose detente and appeasement" into "fight appeasement." Through this dishonest sleight-of-hand, the RCP tries to make people believe that exposing "detente" means siding with the U.S. against the Soviet imperialists.

Once again, the RCP reveals their belittling of the danger of Soviet social-imperialism and their whitewashing of its favorite "detente" tactics!

Centrist Waveband of ATM, PRRWO-RWL

Lastly, we have others on the centrist waveband like the August Twenty-Ninth Movement (ATM) or the "left" opportunist Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization and Revolutionary Workers League (PRRWO/RWL). These and other assorted opportunists still hold to the view Chairman Mao expressed in 1970 that "Revolution is still the main trend in the world today." They even claim that situations like Angola, where the superpower contention temporarily split the Angolan people's liberation movement and provoked civil war between the liberation organizations, represents the "main trend" of revolution! Such illusions can do nothing but cover the counterrevolutionary role of social-imperialism. In today's situation where, of the two possible paths to revolution—either war giving rise to revolution or revolution preventing the war—the first is more likely. The ATM and others are actually assuring the masses that the war danger is not great, and that revolution will prevent war!

The common denominator running through this revisionist and centrist spectrum is the downgrading of the danger of world war and the disbelief in and whitewashing of the imperialist and especially the aggressive nature of the Soviet Union. The revisionist "C" PUSA and *Guardian*, the centrist RCP, ATM, PRRWO/RWL, etc. are a continuous wave of petty-bourgeois fear and disbelief in these dangers.

The right deviation and its main representative—OL—is the main danger in the communist movement today. This also applies to deviations on the international situation. The *Guardian*, due to their all-round revisionism, is now flying a separate flag and has fully degenerated ideologically and politically. The October League (OL) only a few months ago laughed and ridiculed WVO's position that the slogan which best describes the *current* world situation is "two contending trends"—either war will give rise to revolution or revolution will prevent war—and *not* the out-of-context "revolution is the main trend." A few months later, they silently changed their position on revolution and war, and came out in bold headlines that read, "Factors for both war and revolution are on the rise" and described the current international situation as two factors fiercely "competing." Again, this change was done without self-criticism.

OL in fact is now, in their typical opportunist fashion, attempting to exploit this slogan to serve their current sham party building campaign. Exposed long ago as spineless and cornered on almost every position they take—whether on the trade union question, strategy and tactics, united front, Watergate, community control, busing, their party building line or the role of theory—they now have to resort to using the objective conditions as the basis for this "emergency situation" party building attempt. "Get into the party now, there will soon be a world war, it's urgent!" they cry.

The objective situation is a factor we must take into account. But the growing danger of world war and the task of turning it into a civil war means that we must redouble our efforts to build our party on the proletarian ideological plane, and grasp the key



World. The socialist countries headed by China and Albania have aligned closer than ever with the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Between the First and Third Worlds are the developed countries of the Second World, which include Europe, Japan, and Canada.

The emergence of Soviet social-imperialism and the entire realignment of the world's contradictions force us to reassess the whole international situation, particularly the problems of the principal contradiction and the main trend in the world today. Failure to grasp these changes correctly will certainly lead to centrism and revisionism.

Today, we hear a hue and cry attacking Chairman Mao's strategic thinking on the Three Worlds. Some of it coming from the "left" Trotskyite angle, some of it coming from the thoroughly right centrist, revisionist angle. At present, many centrist forces such as the Revolutionary "Communist" Party (RCP), Marxist-Leninist Organizing Committee (MLOC), and the League for Proletarian Revolution (LPR) attack Chairman Mao's line, fronting with "left" arguments. The ATM's attacks on the Three Worlds line come from the right, a vulgar "Third Worldism" line, though *at this point* it's not the main form of attack in the U.S. communist movement against the Three Worlds line—it is also a centrist and a revisionist line. (All of them are united around distortions of Chairman Mao's May 20th Statement, belittling the great danger of world war and the need therefore to prepare to turn world war into a civil war here.)

The Principal Contradiction

ATM has said:

... the main contradiction in the world today is the national question. It is the oppressed nations and peoples of the world in struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism which is moving forward the entire struggle against worldwide reaction.

... the principal contradiction in the world today. (*Revolutionary Cause*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Jan. 1976, p. 3)

The struggle of the oppressed nations against imperialism was clearly the principal contradiction in the world from the end of World War II through the early '70's, but we can no longer say this. The present situation is marked by "great disorder under heaven", which means the sharpening of all the fundamental contradictions in the world (particularly two of them: the contradiction between imperialist powers, especially between the two superpowers, and the contradiction between the oppressed nations and imperialism.) The CPC *no longer* says which basic contradiction is the principal one, because of the great disorder and realignment at present.

Since the end of World War II, the oppressed nations have steadily expanded their battle, right up to the present moment. But unlike the '60's, in the last few years we have also seen the rapid rise of the contention between the two superpowers, which changes the international situation immensely.

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link of political line on both the international and national situations so much tighter. It means we must redouble our efforts to win the advanced to communism chiefly through our propaganda, build our factory nuclei and solidly root ourselves in the working class. It does not mean capitulating to opportunism, continuing their liberalism and Menshevism and building a party on a foundation of mud only to have it crumble to pieces in the trying period ahead.

OL's line on the international situation, whether on the question of the Shah of Iran or the "west bank mini-state," discredits the principled Marxist-Leninist position of Socialist China. It discredits the Leninist position on the international situation of correctly viewing the interrelation between the movements for countries' independence, nations' liberation and peoples' revolution, and correctly distinguishing the role of the state-to-state relations in the foreign policy of states which have achieved the dictatorship of the proletariat (such as China), from the role of the proletariat in imperialist countries such as here in the United States. . . .

The proletarian struggle in the U.S. is part of the world-wide people's struggle against the superpowers and all reaction. Our struggle is part of the overall struggle and we must subordinate our strategy and tactics to it. This is a fundamental teaching on proletarian internationalism. An incorrect line on the international situation will direct our line of struggle away from the international class struggle, contradict it and objectively oppose and hinder the overall struggle. The objective international situation affects our domestic struggle tremendously. The Indochinese peoples' struggle against U.S. imperialism and our support for them, and in turn the effect of this victory on our present condition, is only one example of how the international situation is intimately connected to our tasks, strategy and tactics.

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Three Worlds

The Three Worlds and Four Fundamental Contradictions

In using Chairman Mao's strategic concept of the three worlds without speaking of the four fundamental contradictions in the world today, the ATM again sneaks in their view that the "political essence of imperialism is the oppression of nations." They do not understand the strategic thinking of the concept that the three worlds are the objective alignment of the four fundamental contradictions, a concept which promotes struggle to weaken the two superpowers—the main enemy of the people of the world.

The four fundamental contradictions align and periodically realign themselves in *concrete interconnected forms*, and this is what shapes and reshapes the world situation. At any one time, only one of them is the principal contradiction in the world which influences and determines the existence and development of all the rest.

Intermediate Zone

History of Development of Three Worlds Continuation of Intermediate Zone Concept and Camps

In the years following World War II, the socialist camp and unprecedented upsurge of the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America were the great gains of the world's people. The oppressed nations were rising as they never had before, while the growth of the socialist camp of 13 countries headed by the Soviet Union tipped the balance of world forces for the first time in favor of the people of the world against imperialism.

On the other side, the U.S. imperialists extended their criminal rule and domination over all the other imperialists of Western Europe and Japan, as well as their colonies and spheres of influence. The U.S. took the place of the German, Italian, and Japanese fascists as the Number One enemy of the people of the world.

From the late 40's to the early 60's, the U.S.

imperialists carried on their "cold war" propaganda and preparations for a war against the Soviet Union and the whole socialist camp. The imperialist and socialist camps headed by the U.S. and Soviet Union faced each other, with a vast intermediate zone of oppressed nations and lesser capitalist countries lying in between.

Already in 1946, Chairman Mao demonstrated that the immediate target of U.S. imperialist aggression was the countries and peoples in the intermediate zone between the two camps, particularly the oppressed nations and peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, for without first subduing these countries, a war against the Soviet Union was out of the question for the U.S. Facing the fiercest oppression, the oppressed nations returned the fiercest resistance. Following World War II, the battle of these countries against imperialism became the focus of world contradictions, the principal contradiction in the world. From Korea and Algeria to the Dominican Republic, Palestine and Vietnam, these great revolutionary movements changed the face of the earth. It was in summing up this period that the CPC wrote:

The various types of contradictions in the contemporary world are concentrated in the vast areas of Asia, Africa, and Latin America; these are the most vulnerable areas under imperialist rule and the storm centers of world revolution dealing direct blows at imperialism.

The national democratic revolutionary movement in these areas and the international socialist revolutionary movement are the two great historical currents of our time.

The national democratic revolution in these areas is an important component of the contemporary proletarian world revolution.

The anti-imperialist revolutionary struggles of the people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are pounding and undermining the foundations of the rule of imperialism and colonialism, old and new, and are now a mighty force in defence of world peace.

In a sense, therefore, the whole cause of the international proletarian revolution hinges on the outcome of the revolutionary struggles of the people of these areas, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the world's population.

Therefore, the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle of the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America is definitely not merely a matter of regional significance, but one of overall importance for the whole cause of proletarian world revolution. (*The General Line*, p. 13)

In the face of these unprecedented victories of the oppressed nations and the socialist camp, the "American Century" that the U.S. imperialists had dreamt of was already closing by the early 60's. The imperialist camp was seriously divided as the U.S. imperialists faced stiffer and stiffer contention from its junior partners in Western Europe and Japan.

However, in the late 50's and early 60's, a capitalist restoration occurred in the Soviet Union. The first socialist country degenerated into a social-imperialist country, a superpower. The degeneration of this bastion of world socialism took most of the countries of the socialist camp down with it, turning most of the camp into a Soviet social-imperialist bloc.

This change caused a great realignment throughout the world, the biggest realignment since the end of World War II, which has given rise to the three worlds of the present situation. Having become a social-imperialist superpower, the Soviet Union began contending and colluding for world hegemony since the early 60's, and has been doing so ever since. The two superpowers constitute the First

STUDY NOTES

In waging a fierce struggle with the Economists and revisionists in other parties, Lenin made a major breakthrough in Marxism and a historic contribution. This was on the question of communist consciousness and how it must be used to combat spontaneity. For the first time in the history of Marxism, he laid out the ideological basis of revisionism—the bowing to spontaneity and the belittlement of socialist ideology.

Today, we are seeing the same struggle between genuine Marxists and revisionists in power. The revisionists' "significant thesis" that Lenin criticized—"belittling of the significance of the objective or spontaneous element of development"—is coming from the mouths of the revisionists and capitalist roaders in the socialist countries, although in other forms. Today, they talk about "adhere to the laws of economic development" and warn against the "superstitious belief in Marxism" to overthrow Mao's teachings and reverse correct verdicts in all spheres. This is nothing but a rehash of the same old hackneyed phrases that Lenin ruthlessly tore

And as Marx pointed out, "the greatest productive power is the revolutionary class itself!" In the course of struggling against Khrushchev and Liu Shao-chi's "all importance of the productive forces" theory (which puts the cart before the horse and orients the masses only to production and not revolution,) Chairman Mao put forth the slogan "Grasp revolution, to promote production." He has shown why it is crucial for workers and lower and middle peasants to grasp their own historical mission, to remember the past bitterness in order to appreciate the present, that only through grasping the key link of class struggle would the proletariat be able to be "so inspired, so militant and so daring" to go "all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economic results in building socialism."

When we say we are opposed to a subjective approach to problems, we mean that we must oppose ideas which are not based upon or do not correspond to objective facts, because such ideas are fanciful and fallacious and will lead to failure if acted on. But what ever is done has to be done by human beings; protracted war and final victory will not come about without human action. For such action to be effective there must be people who derive ideas, principles or views from the objective facts, and put forward plans, directives, policies, strategies, and tactics. Ideas, etc. are subjective, while deeds or actions are the subjective translated into the objective, but both represent the dynamic role peculiar to human beings. We term this kind of dynamic role 'man's

What Is To Be Done?

Chapter Two: The Spontaneity of the Masses and the Consciousness of the Social-Democrats

apart.

Moreover, this second chapter lays out how if communists were to do their work in a routine way, and don't constantly size up the situation and determine the new tasks that the mass movement puts before us, they will fall into the stages theory and stray from the path of correctly preparing for proletarian revolution. In this period of great disorder, where communists have better conditions to do their work than any time since the 1930's, this would lead to shamelessly tailing the masses and keep us from fulfilling our task to raise the level of the advanced elements to unleash them for proletarian revolution.

Revisionists Turn the Relation Between Economics and Politics Upside Down

In the last year, the capitalist roaders in power have been desperately attacking Mao's teachings of "grasp revolution to promote production" and his overall line of the dynamic role of man's subjective factor in changing the world.

In one speech for instance, a capitalist roader pushed his line on speeding up modernization. His line was "objective laws governing economic affairs must be adhered to" and "economic means and economic organizations must be used fully"! He rattled on about strict cost accounting, drawing up contracts, management, technology, etc.—in fact it sounded exactly like a speech by a U.S. corporate executive. Why? Because like all capitalists and old and new bourgeoisie in the Party, he belittles the role of man and his consciousness as the most important factor in pushing forward production. Instead, he turns things upside down and says material incentives and bureaucratic methods are decisive.

In fact, this is common to all the revisionists' talk about how to develop the productive forces under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In another article they try to answer "how to carry out modernization." Not a word about the role of class struggle and raising the workers' consciousness. Like Teng Hsiao-ping (whom Mao criticized for his eclecticism of not grasping class struggle as the key link), they say the class struggle, scientific experiment and struggle for production must be grasped "simultaneously." And this is not to remind people not to negate any aspect or to state their correct relationship, but precisely to divert people from grasping "class struggle as the key link," as Mao stated.

Perhaps the most fundamental contribution of Chairman Mao on political economy is his teaching showing the link between class struggle and production. As Chairman Mao said, "in the final analysis, it is revolution that releases the productive forces."

And this question is precisely the question of man's subjective factor that through grasping the laws and synthesizing his lessons learned in practice and the study of Marxist theory—the highest synthesis of the practice of millions throughout history can change the world.

An area of Marxism which Chairman Mao developed the fullest—the area of the dynamic role of the subjective factor.

In 1938, in his "On Protracted War," Chairman Mao pointed out that it is men and not weapons that is decisive. In the course of anti-imperialist struggle, he generalized this, that as long as our cause is just, a small nation can defeat a big nation, the weak can defeat the strong, i.e. through "man's dynamic role," where he said:

conscious dynamic role,' and it is a characteristic that distinguishes man from all other beings. . . . We must give full scope to these ideas and actions, to this dynamic role. ("On Protracted War," Mao, *Selected Military Writings*, p. 225)

Of course, this teaching has greater implications outside of the military struggle. And throughout the struggle against the revisionists', dogmatists' and right opportunists' vulgar materialism, he continued to develop this aspect of Marxism. In the early 1950's, in fighting the Khrushchev revisionists' goulash communism, and later on Liu Shao-chi's and Lin Biao's "pork and beans" communism (their all-importance of productive forces theory), Chairman Mao boldly put forth the dialectical materialist truth that "matter



Chairman Mao and Comrade Kang Sheng, one of the leading theoreticians in the Communist Party of China, hated by the revisionists.



can be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter." In responding to the slander against him calling him a "subjective idealist" from the international revisionist movement, Chairman Mao boldly held onto and implemented the correct line that he outlined many years earlier, in 1937, in his world-known thesis "On Contradiction":

True, the productive forces, practice, and the economic base generally play the principal and decisive role; whoever denies this is not a materialist. But it must also be admitted in certain conditions, such aspects as the relations of production, theory, and the superstructure in turn manifest themselves in the principal and decisive role."

A common characteristic of all revisionists is their belittling the role of man's consciousness. Not only do they practice vulgar materialism and deny the dynamic role of the subjective factor of the proletariat, they actually occupy the superstructure in various places, and try to remold the world according to their exploiting class image to restore capitalism, based on the social and material basis.

To prevent that attempt at restoration and to expose China's Khrushchev, Chairman Mao personally initiated and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Even before the Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao waged struggle against the revisionists who usurped and controlled the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the CPC, the Ministry of Culture, and the Peking Municipal Party Committee. The struggle first took form in Chairman Mao's criticism of the reactionary film called, "Inside Story of the Ching Court and Hai Jui Dismissed from Office." He said: "If it (the Ministry of Culture) refuses to change, it should be renamed the Ministry of Emperors, Kings, Generals, and Ministers, the Ministry of Talent and Beauties or the Ministry of Foreign Mummies." When the revisionists, the bourgeoisie in the Party, China's Khrushchevs, refused to change, then Chairman Mao launched the full-scale Cultural Revolution with his famous wall poster "Bombard the Headquarters!"

In the Circular of the Central Committee, Chairman Mao said,

Hold high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose the reactionary bourgeois stand of those so-called academic authorities who oppose the Party and socialism, thoroughly criticize and repudiate reactionary bourgeois ideas in the sphere of academic work, education, journalism, literature and art and publishing, and seize the leadership in these cultural spheres. To achieve this, it is at the same time necessary to criticize and repudiate those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the Party, the government, the army and all spheres of culture, and to clear them out or transfer some of them to other positions."

He laid out for the first time in Marxism that "The working class must exercise leadership in everything." He reaffirmed his line laid out earlier in 1942 in the "Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," which for the first time in the history of Marxism stated that "In the world today all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines." There is no above-class art, literature, and music, as well as no above-class feelings and love.

He reminded the people in China and the world over to "never forget the class struggle," and that the working class should not be numbed by bourgeois illusions but must exercise all-round dictatorship in all spheres and all areas.

To justify their bankrupt revisionist line and reverse correct scientific verdicts proven in practice through the record-breaking leaps in production year after year since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, they preach exactly what Lenin criticized the Economists for: "Politics always obediently follows economics" and "the economic basis for the movement is eclipsed by the effort never to forget the political ideal."

Look at the following quotes from the revisionists, which show that they understand the relation between politics and economics in exactly this way.

"Why should we engage in class struggle, in making revolution? In the last analysis it's to liberate the productive forces." And they continue, "In criticizing what they called the 'theory of the all-importance of the productive forces,' they actually denied the fact that in the last analysis the productive forces are the decisive force in historical development."

In fact, this argument of the modern revisionists in power was refuted by Lenin decades ago in his struggle against the Russian revisionists. He said:

The fact that economic interests play a decisive role does not in the least imply that the economic (i.e., trade union) struggle is of prime importance, for the most essential, the "decisive" interests of classes can be satisfied only by radical political changes in general. In particular the fundamental economic interests of the proletariat can be satisfied only by a political revolution that will replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The argument by the revisionists in power is nothing but the stage theory or "theory of 'timid zigzags' as Lenin put it. It is the theoretical basis for their formulation that development of the productive forces is the most important task under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao clearly saw the importance of the development of the productive forces was a necessary and important part of building socialism and made significant breakthroughs on the question of political economy of socialism. Such contributions as the relation between agriculture as the basis and industry as the leading factor, were problems never before solved under socialism and is of world-wide significance for the entire third world.

But the revisionists make the task of economic development the main task for the dictatorship of the proletariat. In doing this, they float all kinds of metaphysical lies like "production is the base of a society and first there is the struggle for production and then there is class struggle. Productive activity is the most elementary practice of mankind. It decides all other human activities, including class struggle."

This "first" there is production and "then" there is class struggle is how their stage theory jumps out. With it they deny dialectics—that there is a unity of opposites between the two, that they coexist, one being the prerequisite for the existence of the other (and under certain conditions can turn into its opposite.) It's like saying that first man has to breathe and then he can think, so first you get up in the morning and breathe for a while, and then you can start thinking; or in our communist work, first you get involved in immediate struggle for a while and then you do propaganda. And if productive activity decides class struggle in the way they imply—in the immediate sense (as opposed to the parameter of historical law—the generalization of particular societies), then the U.S., with the most productive economy in the world, should have the highest level of class struggle. This is obviously absurd. The U.S. as we all know has satellites crowding the sky and has put men on the moon, but the vast majority of workers are not yet socialist.

This is the same line that is inseparably connected to the outlook of the revisionist Economist trend. That is, "that a kopek added to a ruble was worth more than socialism and politics, and that they must fight, knowing that they are fighting not for some future generation, but for themselves and their children . . ." and this is "one of the favorite weapons of the West-European bourgeoisie." Why is it in a socialist country that the capitalist roaders in the party also grab onto this "favorite weapon?" Because in their hatred of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, they want to turn it into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which serves their

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WHAT IS TO BE DONE?...

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own interests and not the workers and peasants. To restore capitalism, the revisionists have to divert and suppress the political consciousness of the masses and appeal to the same bourgeois arguments, which appeals to the strength of the old world—the outlook of the bourgeoisie. Especially in a poor third world country, where the standard of living is low and the labor necessary to build it up is backbreaking and arduous, these ideas pushed by the capitalist roaders can win over the backward and make some of the middle elements vacillate. Especially when the revisionists usurp state power, they can push them openly with all the means at the disposal of the state.

As Lenin said, “. . . all worship of the spontaneity of the working class movement, all belittling of the role of ‘the conscious element,’ of the role of Social-Democracy, means, quite irrespective of whether the belittler wants to or not, strengthening the influence of the bourgeois ideology over the workers.” That’s why Mao said very seriously that unless the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat is grasped, it will lead to revisionism. And in a socialist country that means the rise of the bourgeoisie and the restoration of the mountain of capitalism on the backs of the people.

This is the reason why Chairman Mao consistently stressed the need to study Marxism and criticize revisionism, grasp major issues, and unleashed mass campaigns to study the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat and criticize revisionists like Liu Shao Chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao Ping. This is why he stressed the constant need to be vigilant about which class controlled the superstructure and to exercise proletarian dictatorship over all aspects of the superstructure, including culture and art.

For socialist countries where socialist ownership has in the main been completed, Chairman Mao pointed out that the principal contradiction is still between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Summing up from the historical experience of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, he placed special emphasis on the role of reaction of the superstructure and productive relations on the economic base and productive forces. Under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is still a difference between the countryside and the city, between manual and mental labor, workers and peasants, and the two aspects of the relations of production — the relations among the people and the form of distribution (the 8-grade wage system), he pointed out that the superstructure can be decisive and therefore, the proletariat must exercise dictatorship over all spheres, including all aspects of the superstructure. For example, he pointed out:

Our country at present practices a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted. Therefore, if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system.” (Chang Chun-chiao, “On Exercising All-round Dictatorship Over the Bourgeoisie”).

Politics is the concentrated expression of economics. There, however, he was talking about the process of the reaction upon the system of ownership exerted by leadership, ideological and political line, which are part of the superstructure. He showed not only that the correctness or incorrectness of ideological and political line decides everything, but that as a special case of it, which class holds the leadership under the dictatorship of the proletariat, also decides which class owns those factories in actuality.

The question of leadership and line is the question — whether representatives of the proletariat or the bourgeoisie shall prevail. The existence of bourgeois right (for example, as Chairman Mao pointed out, like the 8 grade wage system, which is a form of unequal distribution under socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a transitional period to



Under Chairman Mao's correct line on popularizing the study of Marxism among the masses, a whole new wave of worker-theoreticians was trained. The Chinese people broke production records in a number of industries showing the correctness of Mao's line of "Grasp revolution to promote production".

communism where it still goes according to the slogan: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work," rather than under communism, where it goes: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his need") is a material basis for the development of the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao pointed out that the representatives of the bourgeoisie come from not only the bourgeoisie, the landlord classes and petty bourgeois democrats, but also from the ranks of the working class and the communist party who can become bourgeoisified and degenerate.

Because the material basis for capitalism still exists, under socialism, not only is the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie spawned, but the reactionary ideas of those classes still exists. This is the reason why spontaneity must be fought fiercely under the dictatorship of the proletariat (at this point of history, where socialism is still new as compared to the 500 years of capitalist development, and where the working class is still overall not as developed as the bourgeoisie). Therefore, in socialist countries the struggle against spontaneity must also be fierce, if not fiercer precisely because bowing to spontaneity leads to the development of *capitalism*, under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, as Lenin said, "the phrase . . . about the efforts of the most inspired ideologists not being able to divert the working class movement from the path that is determined by the interaction of the material elements and the material environment is absolutely tantamount therefore to the abandonment of Socialism . . ."

This is what the revisionists bank on. They promote the old ideas and give them full play — empiricism, pragmatism, feudal ideas like Confucianism, etc., and attack, slander and suppress socialist new things and especially the most crucial task of popularizing widespread campaigns of studying Marxism and criticizing revisionism. They hated and tried to sabotage the mass campaign of criticizing Lin Piao and Confucius, studying the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat and on criticizing the novel Water Margin, aimed at capitulationists to U.S. imperialism among high party leaders who in reality, are revisionists. So when they say that genuine Marxists "exaggerate the class struggle" and "liquidate the struggle for production" they are in fact exactly preparing the groundwork for a full-scale restoration of capitalism.

The Theory of the All-Importance of the Productive Forces is a Revisionist Stage Theory

The revisionist theory of the "all-importance of productive forces" is a stage theory. It is bowing to spontaneity. The revisionist article "Grasp Well the Law of Economic Development" promotes grasping the specific law of economic development to realize communism and therefore everything has to conform to what can most speedily develop production in the short-term, immediate sense. This is the line of creating the material base for communism as the main task of socialism. It is a stage theory that says first develop the economy and then you can move on the task of consolidating socialism. So the main or the only thing becomes grasping the specific laws of economic development. Revolutionary committees are inexpedient. The one-manager system replaces the collective worker-technician-cadre management. Study is dropped because it takes time away from production. Party leadership should not interfere with economic production because it has its specific laws which only experts can understand. Since production is the main concern, then it follows that profits, as the best accounting criteria to gauge efficiency of production and the quality of leadership, gets used as the sole criteria for determining the success or the failure of the line.

This is the same line that led to the adoption of the Lysenko System in the Soviet Union, typified by the famous poster in which a train with a ruble on it takes the lead in society. This is no longer "grasp revolution to promote production" but rather the revisionist "grasp production to promote revolution" theory of the all-importance of the productive forces. It is the line of gradually "growing" into socialism.

That's how the bourgeois productive relations develop under socialism. The relations between workers and management become worker-boss relations. Since the two systems of ownership still exist in all socialist societies (state ownership and collective ownership), bourgeois right in ownership and in distribution will flourish. So instead of narrowing the class and economic differences, the gap starts to grow in leaps and bounds. That's how the new class of the bourgeoisie, the new ruling class, is developed.

So the grasping of specific laws to command revolution, whether it be preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat, or consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, will turn into their opposite

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?...

and turn into revisionism if they are not used to serve the basic line of the Party.

Does this mean that we shouldn't bother with specific laws of various movements or in socialist countries grasp the laws of economic development? No. On the contrary, it doesn't mean that at all. This point has to be made clear. For without grasping the specific laws, the Party can't command respect. The thing to remember is that we must grasp revolution, to promote the immediate movements which in turn serve the accumulation of experiences to prepare for the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as accumulating the most precious of all things—advanced elements of the proletariat.

Communists Can Bow to Spontaneity, But Do Not Fear It If the Tasks Are Correctly Defined

Do communists sometimes bow to spontaneity? Yes, it does happen on occasion. But this is totally different from the opportunists and revisionists, whose world outlook is totally opposed to Marxism. They not only bow to spontaneity because of their empiricism and their negation of scientifically proven Marxist theory, but worst of all justify it theoretically and try to swindle the masses and inexperienced comrades with it.

When we make economist errors, mainly due to our youth and inexperience (like a stage-theory approach to doing communist education, for instance), we should keep in mind what Lenin said, "The lack of training of the majority of revolutionaries, being quite a natural phenomenon, could not have aroused any particular fears. Since the tasks were correctly defined, since the energy existed for repeated attempts to fulfill these tasks temporary failures were not such a great misfortune. Revolutionary experience and organizational skill are things that can be acquired provided the desire is there to acquire them, provided the shortcomings are recognized — which in revolutionary activity is more than half-way towards removing them!"

The Party has shown through its practice and development from separate circles to the present Party, fighting the bourgeoisie and the opportunists every step of the way, that indeed it has correctly defined the tasks before us. Through the outlook of criticism, self-criticism around concrete political manifestations of spontaneity, we can turn a bad thing into a good thing and learn valuable lessons, and transform in the course of fighting the bourgeoisie.

Routinism Is Inherently A Stage Theory

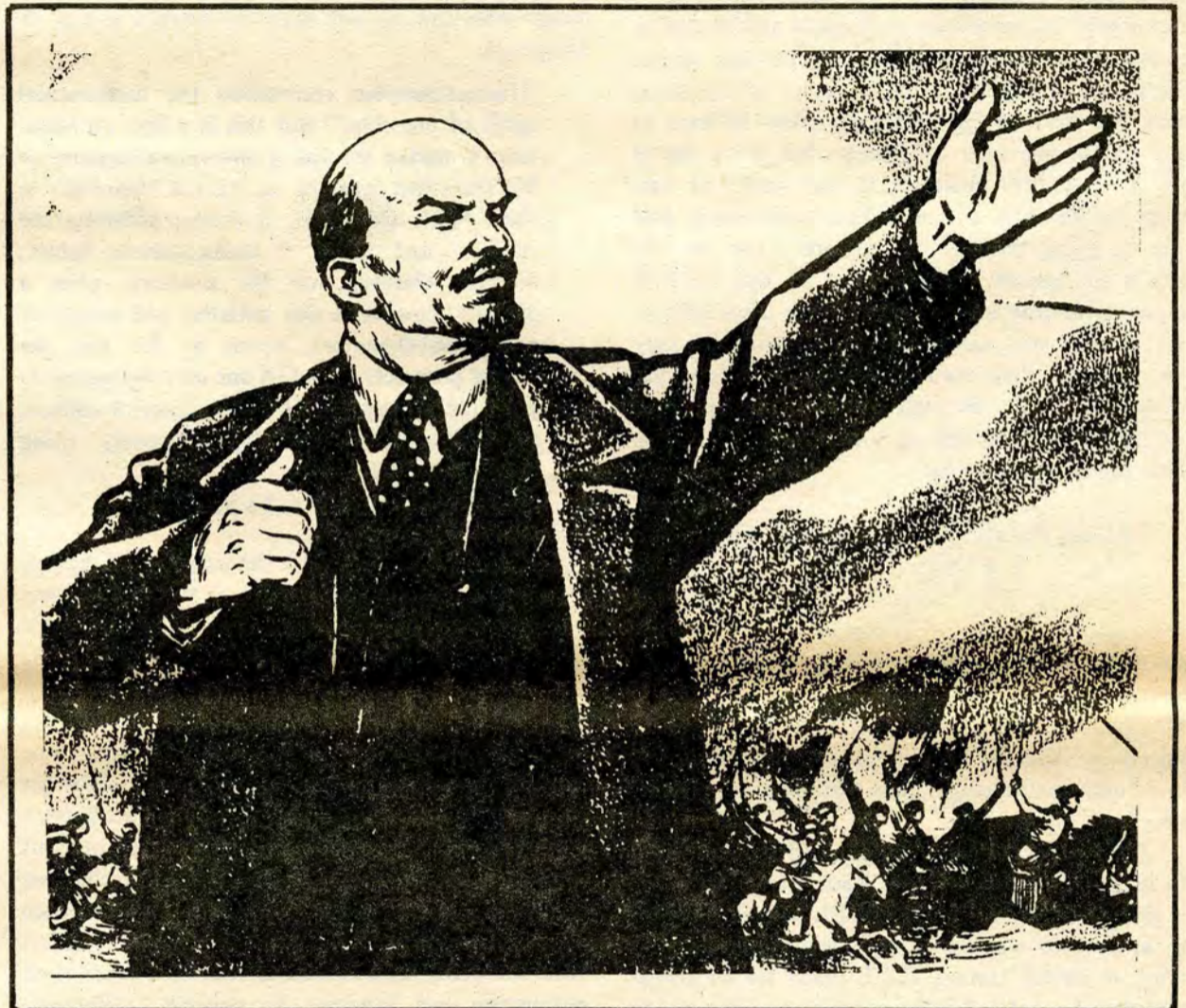
One concrete manifestation of spontaneity is routinism, to continue to "toll the bell like a monk". Regardless of twists and turns and changing conditions those who suffer from routinism keep doing the same day-in and day-out practice, without sizing things up and cutting new angles, redefining new tasks and policies given changing balance of forces, capacities, and most important, the larger perspective of preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat, especially winning and training the advanced workers.

Not sizing up the real situation and the needs of the masses, routinism is inherently a stages theory. As Lenin said:

... the crux of the question is, how is one to understand the statement that the mass working-class movement will determine the tasks? It may be interpreted in one of two ways. Either it means bowing to spontaneity of this movement, i.e., reducing the role of Social-Democracy to mere subservience to the working class movement as such . . . ; or it means that the mass movement puts before us new theoretical, political and organizational tasks, far more complicated than those that might have satisfied us in the period before the rise of the mass movement."

What Lenin is saying here is that there are two ways we can look at our work. One way is to take a routinist view that "this is like every other struggle, and we'll just continue to carry it out like every other struggle we've taken up." This is the path of least resistance. But the correct way is to look at each struggle in terms of how we make it serve the larger line of winning and training the advanced, and figuring out in what capacity, given other political tasks, we will be involved in it, and defining the new tasks and policies — theoretical, political and organizational — that it sets for us.

Not sizing things up because of routinism and coming forward with new tasks and plans to meet the changing conditions is inherently a stage theory. And the stage theory flows from empiricism, the same outlook as, "That struggle is desirable which is possible, and the struggle which is possible is the one that is going on at the given moment. This is precisely the trend of unbounded opportunism, which passively adapts itself to spontaneity."



Empiricists always bow to spontaneity and tail the most immediate struggle and the most pressing task, seeing only what's in front of their nose, narrowing the scope of communist activity. Since only what exists is possible and desirable then crucial tasks, for instance, raising the level of workers through communist agitation and propaganda and study beyond the level where it is already — has to be put back into a "second stage". But because there are always pressing practical tasks and immediate struggles popping up, in fact this second stage is inevitably liquidated by empiricists and stage theorists.

Those who follow the stage theory, because they always see the immediate task or narrow struggle as the only thing or even as the main thing in and of itself, reduce the long-term goal and overall perspective to nothing. Therefore, they can never size up things to see how the immediate has to serve the long-term goal of proletarian revolution. Or put their work in terms of the overall perspective for revolution in this country and the world. Belittling the consciousness and infinite potential of the workers, they are blind to how the workers can be unleashed to fight for socialism or to build it once proletarian revolution is made.

They're blind to how by grasping revolution, production is promoted or how by doing all-rounded and interconnected communist work — theoretical, political and practical-economic — workers are unleashed to fight long-term for socialism. As Lenin said, this outlook "... means belittling the initiative

and energy of class-conscious fighters, whereas Marxism, on the contrary, gives a gigantic impetus to the initiative and energy of the Social-Democrat, opens up for him the widest perspectives and (if one may so express it) places at his disposal the mighty force of millions and millions of workers 'spontaneously' rising for the struggle."

"Tacking" Is Necessary To Firmly Go Against The Tide

Those who suffer from routinism don't uphold the outlook of going against the tide and the need to "tack" left and right in the face of it to gain momentum to move toward the final goal. Like a sailboat travelling into the wind, you must tack left and then right again and again in order to move toward the final goal. The same is true for our revolutionary work of preparing for the dictatorship of the proletariat. We are going against the tide of capitalism for proletarian revolution and must win and train the ad-

vanced to build up the Party. It's an upstream struggle.

In learning Marxism, we assimilate it aspect by aspect. But to grasp any aspect, to train ourselves and the advanced all-roundedly, we must grasp that aspect tightly. As Mao said, "not to grasp tightly is not to grasp at all." At any one time, because of the sum total of objective and subjective conditions, there is a principal contradiction, a key link that we need to grasp. If we are routine and don't size up the situation and grasp the key link we cannot move our work to a higher level, but would be stuck on the same level — which means that we would go backward, because the situation would constantly be changing and be putting new demands on us.

That's why it's necessary to size up the work and know when and in which direction to tack. It's the only way to move toward our goal of proletarian revolution and socialism. If we don't tack and grasp tightly, we won't be well-shod on any foot. We could not put our foot down hard and really be grounded. We would, as Lenin called the stage theory, only be moving in "timid zig-zags" twitching willy-nilly like a thin reed bowing to whatever spontaneous and revisionist wind blows, tailing far behind the struggle and consciousness of the people. ■

Lessons of Safeway Strike ...

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economic struggles is mainly localized, remaining in pockets here and there and rarely spreads very far. This is the nature of the trade union movement today, scattered, mainly economic or on a very low political level (like wage controls, see last issue).

Given what was at stake for Safeway, they would rather that one distribution center remain shut down permanently than reverse the MTM program. Their other centers are running, business assured. Also given the scattered nature and low level of the trade union movement, the strike did not spread to other centers so that all distribution centers could be shut down tight.

How do we overcome these limitations and raise the overall political level of the trade union movement? While engaging the bourgeoisie, we have to consciously do consistent propaganda and education in order to win and train the advanced and active. The advanced determine the character of the movement. We have to fight alongside them to learn to lead and to win their confidence. But if we fail to give a communist character to our work, we submerge ourselves in the immediate movements. And only by giving them perspective and scope on who they're up against, their relation to the different classes in motion and the role of the labor aristocracy, step by step, can we really maximize what they learn through their own experience in fighting the bourgeoisie. Only through communist propaganda training of advanced will the overall level of the trade union movement be raised.

Getting Preoccupied by Tactics Alone Is a Stage Theory

Taking up daily skirmishes of the masses has to be the starting point to win and train advanced and active workers, and to win their confidence, but communist propaganda has to be grasped as the leading factor. Otherwise, it will be a "stage" theory objectively—first use the best tactics to win them over in the immediate struggle, then win them to communism.

During the Safeway struggle, striving to take it up in a hardhitting way and learn the specific laws of this particular movement, TUEL became wrapped up in how to win the immediate struggle. At one point, to switch tactics, TUEL called for an all-out economic boycott of Safeway which would broaden the struggle by pulling in other forces. There was an element of political education. An economic boycott would be a starting point to educate labor and community about retail food capitalists and the trade union movement. There would be exposure of Safeway exploiting other workers like the clerks, butchers and janitors by imposing similar production standards on them. Consumers would see that they had to pay twice as much for half of what they used to get five years ago. Even those who were hired temporarily as scabs would see that they were denied employment by Safeway for years. The active elements from these different sectors could be organized to use the media, rallies, solidarity nights, poster/bumper sticker campaigns to influence public opinion to the side of the working class. People were fast learning the particular laws of strike support and racking their brains and drawing on strikers for correct tactics at every turn to achieve victory. But the whole point of this elaborate plan was how to hurt Safeway economically and not correctly in the context of the basic line, how to win and train the advanced in the course of fighting the bourgeoisie.

Political education was seen more as a by-product of winning the strike which could be achieved through spreading it. But propaganda should be the leading factor throughout any campaign, carried out consistently before, during and after each struggle. To see linking up the different struggles as the way to raise class consciousness is economist. Or even doing a certain amount of political education just to

draw more people into the struggle but doesn't deepen the masses' understanding of the political significance of the immediate struggle in relation to the need for socialist revolution and how to prepare for it.

Tactical leadership is a science in itself and has to be learned if we are to lead and win the confidence of the masses. It is necessary and important but it is subordinate to the strategic task. To rely only or mainly on tactics in immediate struggles to win over workers belittles the consciousness of workers. Sometimes, the masses are more skilled at formulating tactics because they're more experienced. But the best tactics do not guarantee a victory. After several failures, workers will run out of tactics, and disorientation and demoralization sets in. Preoccupation with tactics is vulgar mass line and will stifle the creative energy of the people.

"Tactics-as-a-plan contradicts the fundamental spirit of Marxism!" But this is a libel on Marxism; it means turning it into the caricature of Marxism that was set up by the Narodniks in their fight against us. It means belittling the initiative and energy of class-conscious fighter, whereas Marxism, on the contrary, gives a gigantic impetus to the initiative and energy of the Social-Democrat, opens up for him the widest perspectives and (if one may so express it) places at his disposal the mighty force of millions and millions of workers "spontaneously" rising for the struggle!

(*What Is To Be Done?* p. 58-59.)

The only way to unleash the workers and secondarily to combat demoralization is to provide ideological and political clarity. Advanced search out and active are open to a correct analysis of the concrete situation. So we have to be bold in doing communist propaganda. Workers have to be clear about what the gains and losses of a struggle are and why they advanced or retreated. That's the only way they get trained and better prepared to take on future battles. Giving workers the illusion that TUEL can pull off a big boycott and win the strike that way will feed demoralization by raising unrealistic hopes and then not being able to fulfill them. We should arm workers with the comprehensive world view to unleash their enthusiasm and initiative to struggle consistently and accumulate the lessons from each skirmish. That is an example of real mass line—to develop the consciousness of the masses to grasp their historic mission of making socialist revolution.

Mass Line Means Synthesis, Not Opinion Poll

That's why we have to go beyond the strait-jacketed thinking of just how to win a strike or a contract, and also not impose such a narrow view in our mass line with the workers.

At the final contract meeting, different views and responses were voiced by different workers. A white, middle-aged driver felt strongly that everyone should go back, but go back fighting.

An Afro-American worker in his early thirties felt it would be correct to beat a tactical retreat, reorganize, and establish a substantial strike fund and start an active caucus. A younger Afro-American warehouseman insisted that people should stay out until all the issues were settled. This worker's militant spirit also came out during the course of the strike when he advocated closing down the distribution center.

Stay out, or go back to work? Both sentiments were genuine, but you can't do both. By getting to the essence of what people are saying, it became clear what our positive program had to be—to go back fighting. Go back and build an active caucus to fight against MTM and the firings. Go back and build TDU and TUEL to aid the struggle. By correct-

ly combining the necessity for going back to work with the proven fighting spirit of the workers, this positive program was formulated.

This positive program was the result of certain synthesis of the view of the strikers—appreciating the correct aspects of the two different positions and combining them in a dialectical relationship rather than pitting the two. This is better than one form of vulgar mass line which is conducting an opinion poll without trying to synthesize the different views and to penetrate the appearance to draw out the essence.

Do All-Rounded Political Education

But vulgar mass line is also when we're so preoccupied with the tactics of winning the strike that we can't get into a conversation with some workers who spent several hours at a strike fundraising party discussing World War I and World War II because this discussion has nothing to do with the strike.

As Lenin said in *What Is To Be Done?*, we just can't do political education with the workers on what they already know or only on their contradiction with their individual boss.

Agitation must be conducted over every concrete example of this oppression (in the same way that we have begun to conduct agitation around concrete examples of economic oppression). And inasmuch as this oppression affects the most diverse classes of society, inasmuch as it manifests itself in the most varied spheres of life and activity, industrial, civic, personal, family, religious, scientific, etc., etc., is it not evident that we shall not be fulfilling our task of developing the political consciousness of the workers if we do not undertake the organization of the political exposure of the autocracy in all its aspects? In order to carry on agitation around concrete examples of oppression, these examples must be exposed (just as it was necessary to expose factory abuses in order to carry on economic agitation).

(*What Is To Be Done?* p. 70-71.)

Skirmishes the Starting Point and Foundation Propaganda the Leading Factor

Economic struggle is the main form of struggle in the trade union movement. These are in the main scattered and at a low level. But it is based on the exploitation and oppression, varied and separated though they may be, that we organize the hatred, energy and creativity of the masses. That's why the participation in the actual struggles is the starting point and the foundation of our work. It is based on the masses' role in making history. That's why however low level these individualized and manifold struggles are, they are the foundation on which to prepare for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Because the masses' political and theoretical understanding is low, the fights are scattered and unorganized from the perspective of ending class exploitation. That's why while economic struggle is the main form of struggle in the trade union movement and is our starting point, that cannot be the main way to win over the advanced.

This is precisely what Lenin drew out when he said, "The fact that economic interests play a decisive role does not in the least imply that the economic (i.e., trade union) struggle is of prime importance, for the most essential, the "decisive" interests of classes can be satisfied only by radical political changes in general. In particular the fundamental economic interests of the proletariat can be satisfied only by political revolution that will replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat."

Grasping the laws of the particular movements, taking up actual struggles in a hardhitting way and being able to provide correct leadership, is just a part of the laws of fusion. This allows us to draw the advanced closer to the Party and win their respect and

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Mercury...

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mental Protection still insists, "there is no immediate danger to humans."

Their lies are exposed even by their own ranks. Even the Environmental Protection Agency was forced to admit that air samples showed that the mercury levels "could pose a potential health threat to those people living in the area." Furthermore, "the potential for a major ecological disaster spreading from the Meadowlands to Newark Bay is quite real," concludes another report.

Minamata, Japan—How Mercury Killed a Community

Like the movie *Jaws* where the town mayor refused to do anything about a killer shark until too many people had died, the capitalists who are covering up mercury poisoning will only cause more suffering and disaster.

Who can forget the terrible tragedy in the small fishing village of Minamata, Japan? 52 people died there. The "lucky" ones survived with crippled twisted limbs, blind, retarded, and unable to control their movements. For 20 years, Minamata lived with its affliction, not knowing its name. By 1968 when it was admitted officially, the cause had long been suspected—capitalists who dumped industrial wastes containing mercury into the bay.

When mercury was confirmed, the people of the village rose up to protest the years of damage. The chemical company, Chisso, responded by sending goons into the village to beat up on the

demonstrating villagers. But even the beatings could not crush the people's anger. It was the community's resistance that finally blew the cover off mercury poisoning and stopped further dumpings.

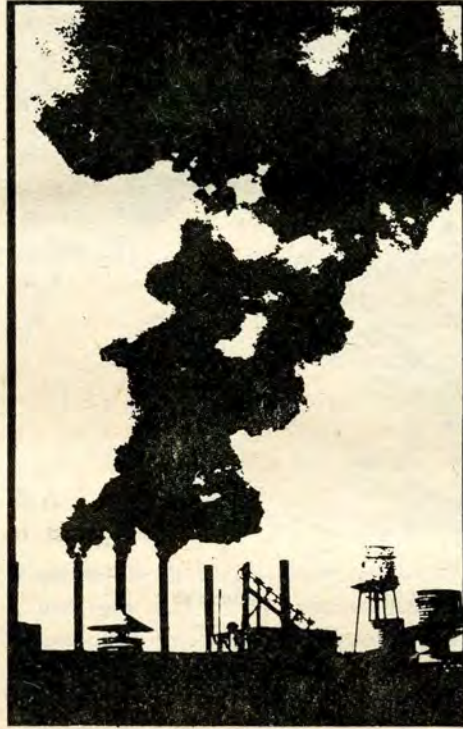
Concern Growing Over Chemical Dumpings, Despite Cover Ups

Today, right here in this country, more and more communities are becoming seriously concerned about chemical dumpings.

Chemicals that 20 or 30 years ago were considered "safe" or their effects were unknown are now known to be crippling the lives of those who work with them or near them. Years of cover ups by the government are crumbling as the harmful effects begin to surface. Chemicals like mercury, buried for decades, are now creeping into the homes and bodies of the people around them, poisoning everything they touch. Materials like asbestos are causing cancer and deaths of workers who were in contact with them over the years.

Driven by the economic crisis, industries, especially chemical companies, seek to increase profits by ignoring safety procedures. The lowering of the health and safety standards and requirements and the loosening of the environmental controls represent how the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) and the Environmental Protection Agency, departments of the government, are arms of the capitalists. OSHA must now get a warrant (giving advance warning to the companies) before they can inspect a plant. The standard for the level of lead

in the air has now been delayed. Whatever standards have been established to check the total disregard of environmental pollution and the lives of workers on the job have been won through pressure from organized rank and file and communities. The last thing the capitalists want the people to know is the dangers involved in the making and disposing of deadly chemicals.



Resistance Increases Consciousness of Chemical Dangers

When communities and workers organize to deal with chemical dumping or unsafe conditions, they bring the spotlight on chemical dangers, sometimes breaking through years of cover ups. From Warren County, North Carolina, where the community is trying to

stop a chemical dump in the area, to New Jersey where chemical workers struck for 2 months over health and safety issues—this increased resistance has served to raise the consciousness of many people. Increased consciousness among the people will further strengthen the movement for health and safety.

Recently the New York/New Jersey chapter of the Trade Union Educational League (TUEL) helped to propagate this consciousness by holding a forum on health and safety. Unlike many environmental groups, which are usually made up of students, homeowners and intellectuals, TUEL's strength is fighting for safe conditions in the workplaces and links them up to the struggle in the communities, campuses, etc. Members fight against safety violations on the shop floor, organizing the rank and file to force the unions to take up safety issues. Yet, aware of the need to forge a link with workers and environmental groups, they are seeking to work together in the common fight for safe conditions.

The mass anti-nuke movement disrupted the construction of a \$400 million nuclear reactor in Seabrook, New Hampshire. Their movement also exposed nuclear dangers and brought the issue into every home. And it is only the mass movement that can force the capitalists to clean up communities like Wood-Ridge. Only organized pressure can force them to clean up the area, provide funds for relocation and stop any other dumping unless it can be shown to be done safely. ■

Black Colleges...

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campus" of a predominately white university. And when it's time for the university to cut back, as the imperialist crisis deepens, that "extension campus" will

be the thing closed down, leaving Afro-American students with nothing to apply to except a predominately white school. And the Bakke decision will be thrown up in the face of Afro-American students who struggle to get into that school.

Right now the focus of HEW attacks is North Carolina. HEW has resorted to blackmail, threatening to cut off 90 million in federal funds if North Carolina doesn't improve its "enhancement and integration plan". That trick of HEW is being opposed by all the black chancellors of the University of North Carolina system, who on their own went to D.C. to struggle with HEW.

Safeway...

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confidence, but it is not enough to win and train them as professional revolutionaries. That's why while taking up the day to day skirmishes with the bourgeoisie is the starting point and the foundation, communist agitation and propaganda has to be the leading factor in winning over and training the advanced. We must give communist character to our work in order to imbue the advanced workers with communist world outlook and train as professional revolutionaries because it is they who determine the character of the movement. It is through the foundation of the masses' experience and knowledge, direct and indirect (the theory of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought) that we raise the level of the struggle leading toward the final onslaught against the bourgeoisie. ■

Why Are All the Black Chancellors Opposed to HEW and Agreeing with William Friday?

It is no accident that *all* the chancellors of the North Carolina black colleges are opposed to the merger scheme of HEW. In the *New York Times* (February 5, 1979) Dr. Marion Thorpe of ECSU said, "We're not interested in anybody's mergers."

But the chancellors in opposition to HEW are siding with William Friday, president, the one in the system who is for maintaining the black colleges, but will not give up the money to meet the immediate needs of the black colleges to improve the physical plant, to raise salaries to bring in better teachers, and develop graduate programs. The black chancellors only see two options—HEW and Friday—and they are choosing the lesser of two evils.

But this misses the whole point. The issue is not to let the state of black colleges continue as is but to *fight* to save and *improve* black colleges.

Uphold the Right of Self-Determination for Afro-Americans in the Black Belt South

Some leading people in NOBUCS think "the 60's failed". They are drawing a totally false conclusion from the great struggle of a decade earlier, and as a result they are repeating the mistakes of the 50's and 60's.

Afro-American people have been given no gifts by the U.S. bourgeoisie. And you better believe they are not about to start giving gifts now. Every step forward black people have made has been the product of bitter, determined struggle.

Afro-American people in the Black Belt South are an oppressed nation. Black colleges are part of the superstructure of the Afro-American nation in the Black Belt South. The rise of Black colleges in the late 1800's is closely linked to the forging of the

Afro-American nation. The fight to save and change black colleges is an integral part in the struggle against national oppression, which is rooted in U.S. monopoly capitalism.

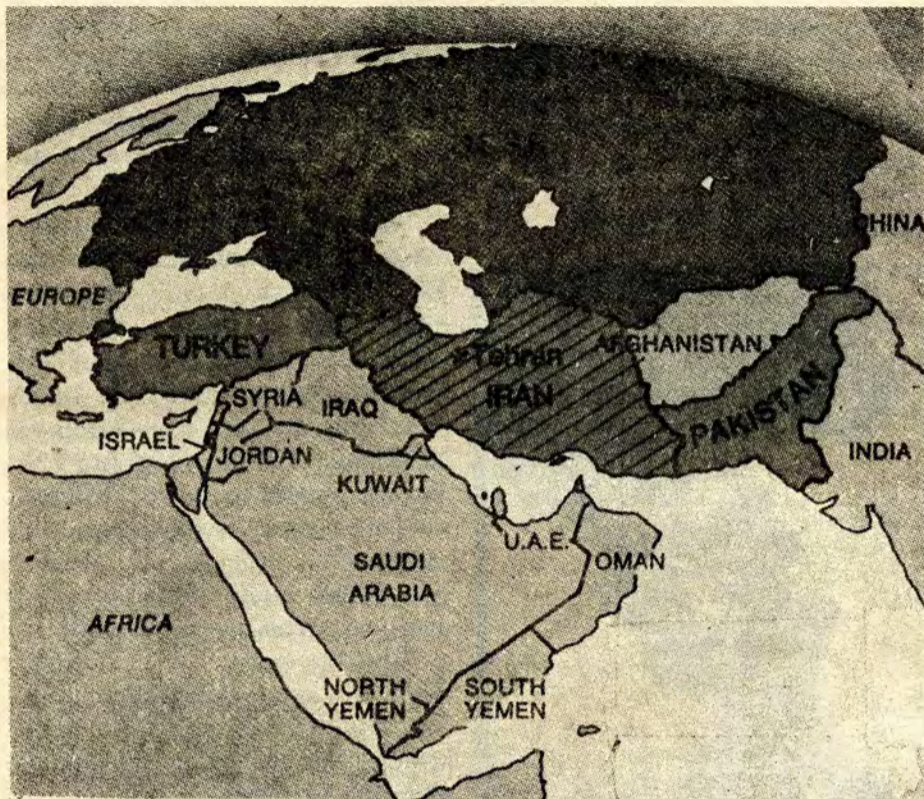
To unite the multinational working class in the U.S. to make socialist revolution, the entire class must uphold the right of self-determination for the Afro-American national in the Black Belt South, up to and including secession. While educating and organizing the class in our day to day fights against the bourgeoisie, we must raise the long term interest—the dictatorship of the proletariat. Part of our integral program for proletarian revolution is fighting for equality of nations—the right of self-determination. Only the dictatorship of the proletariat can eliminate the natural basis for national oppression, monopoly capitalism.

The enemy of black colleges is not white people. The enemy of black colleges is the *system* of monopoly capitalism. Reliance on legalistic maneuvers or HEW loopholes will not save black colleges. Struggle and only struggle will save and improve black colleges. The demands for black colleges must be linked to demands for increased support for public education, against all cuts, including hidden attacks like the competency test.

Our positive program must begin with the interests of the students, and must include taking up the concrete attacks coming down at the campuses. We must mobilize and help organize the students to fight against cutbacks in courses, financial aid, poor housing, faculty cuts, etc. We must use communist propaganda and agitation to unleash the fighting capacity of revolutionary students. We must expose the treachery of HEW while exposing the racist practices of the state university system. We must demand more money for publicly supported black schools. We demand the increase of black enrollment in all schools, and we fight cutbacks in all public education. ■

Iran...

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years," Amir Hoveida, the Shah's prime minister for 13 years, General Rabii, Air Force chief, ex-military governor, General Naji (known as the "butcher of Isfahan") and General Nassiri, the top hangman of SAVAK.

Scared for their wretched lives and pleading for the mercy they never showed for the tens of thousands of Iranians they've had killed, tortured or imprisoned, these fascist animals will find the people's justice swift and sure. Nassiri, bandaged and bloody, from a bayonet wound in his throat, feebly tried to cover for his crimes, saying he didn't know his SAVAK henchmen were torturing anyone. Hoveida echoed his flimsy lie. Others, like the ex-mayor of Teheran, their outlook so twisted and mean after years of maneuvering in corrupt circles of power under the Shah, by force of habit, requested an audience with Ayatollah Khomeini—it was denied.

As news of the Iranian people's victory spread throughout the world, solidarity messages poured in from Iranian embassies as they were seized out of the hands of the Shah's ambassadors—Paris, Copenhagen, Ankara, Athens, London, Hague, Bonn, Moscow, Stockholm, Bern, Manila. And in Washington D.C., 200 revolutionary students, businessmen and diplomats broke into the office of the former ambassador. They replaced the sign in front of the embassy reading, "Imperial Embassy of Iran" with another proudly declaring, "Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran."

Superpowers Send Sham Messages Of Support

Messages of support of another kind came in. The U.S. imperialists, clear that they couldn't prevent the victory of the Iranian revolution, sent their pointman, Andy Young, to try to weasel up to the new government. Khomeini ought to be made a "saint" Young said. He even tried to sum up that the biggest defeat for U.S. imperialism since the Vietnam war was actually a victory for U.S.-style bourgeois democracy, "You can't send 25,000 to 50,000 Iranians a year to this country over the last 10 years, and then let them go back home, without getting some kind of social upheaval." He's talking about the

thousands of patriotic and revolutionary Iranian students in the U.S. who only a few weeks ago, the Carter administration threatened to deport for their revolutionary activities!

But for all of Young's jive talk, he can't hide the fact of the U.S. biggest defeat since the Vietnam War. The Iranian people's victory puts tremendous pressure on South Africa and Israel to find new sources of oil. The victory of the revolution has strengthened the unity of Arab countries and made shambles of U.S. imperialist policy in the area. And the Carter Administration couldn't do anything to stop it all from happening. Gone are the days when the U.S. imperialists were top dog in the world. In the 50's Eisenhower was able to send troops to put out the fire of revolution in Lebanon and in the 60's, Johnson had little problem sending marines to put down the people's struggle in the Dominican Republic. But no more. The U.S. is in a strategic decline and the third world has risen up. When the U.S. wanted to send marines and helicopters into Iran to evacuate key military and government personnel from its base in Turkey, Turkey said no dice. And after Vietnam and Watergate, the U.S. people aren't about to let Carter wage a new war of foreign aggression in Iran. This is how people of the world support each other, totally opposite of the kind of "support" given by the Youngs and Carters.

The Soviet imperialists also came out with their own brand of hypocritical support. Recognizing the new government, TASS, the Soviet news agency, expressed the new Tsars' hope that relations between the two countries would continue in the spirit of "equality, good neighborliness, and respect for national sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs." Besides their greedy plunder of the country, the social-imperialists hope the Iranian people will forget how the Soviets for years honeymooned with the Shah, how they watched and waited for months during the recent revolt to see which way the chips would fall, and only after the Shah's defeat was irreversible did they announce their support



for Khomeini and the revolution, a whole week after the Shah was exiled. These slime who call themselves socialist want the Iranian masses to forget the scab role of the revisionist Tudeh Party, notorious as a fifth-column inside Iran for the Soviet imperialists.

But the Iranian people want nothing to do with either superpower. "Who takes our oil?—the U.S.! Who takes our gas?—The Soviets, our great enemies! Who is their puppet?—the Shah!" That's the message that's appeared on posters in demonstrations all over Iran.

The Iranian people's victory has

already shifted the entire strategic outlook on the Middle East, putting enormous pressure on the Zionists, strengthening Arab unity, and weakening the influence of both superpowers in this important oil-rich area. The people of the world rejoice with the Iranian masses in their hour of victory, because it has lessened the danger of world war, dealt a devastating blow against the superpowers and thrown light on yet another path toward liberation. It is another milestone in the struggle for national liberation and especially for people's revolution. ■

It's Fine...

Continued from page 5

ing reality upside down. The revolutionary masses of Iran have democracy and independence within their grasp *today* and the immediate future is "uncertain" only to the imperialists and reactionaries like the IWK/ATM leadership who don't know what to do about stopping the revolutionary storms shaking the world. These imperialist defenders long for the "order" of the Shah when liberation appeared "long and protracted."

The careerist IWK/ATM leadership aren't the only ones dropping Chairman Mao's three worlds line for their two worlds of the superpowers line. Look at the February 12th issue of the Call, the twisted mouthpiece of the "Communist" Party (ML): "But the possibility of continued unrest and of civil war remains. This presents the danger of heightened U.S.-Soviet contention and involvement in Iran, which would result in increased threats to the country's stability and national independence." To the careerist Klonskyites the revolutionary Iranian masses don't even exist. They're saying the Iranian people shouldn't be making revolution because the big, bad Soviet bear will get angry. Never mind the fact that under the Shah's repressive rule millions of Iranians were murdered, tortured, imprisoned and exiled, the fact that the superpowers bled Iran of its resources, at least there wasn't all this "unrest" that's going on today — that's the logic

of these political con-artists.

But by opposing the revolution aimed at both the U.S. and Soviet imperialists, a revolution that's taken Iran out of the superpowers' sphere of contention and aided oppressed people's struggles all over the world, the ladies and gentlemen of the CPML *serve both superpowers and increase the danger of world war.*

CPML: Apologists For U.S. Imperialism

By throwing out the window Chairman Mao's line that the third world is the main force against the two superpowers and that the masses are the makers of history and pushing the view that superpowers make history, the CPML is forced to *apologize for U.S. imperialism.* Check this out: "The U.S. imperialists, for their part, want to avoid being dragged into an armed conflict in the region. They recognize that if such a civil war were to erupt, they would be in the thick of it and their forces would be in a far weaker position than those of their rival, the Soviet Union." Klonsky must want to be the next Secretary of Foreign Affairs bad.

The only reason the Carter administration doesn't send the marines into Iran is because after Vietnam and Watergate the U.S. people won't let him. The main reason the U.S. imperialists are "in a far weaker position" today than in the 50s when U.S. marines invaded

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Lebanon or the 60s when Johnson crushed revolution in the Dominican Republic is because of the consciousness of the U.S. people and the fact that the third world has stood up and is whipping these bloodsuckers all over the world.

The imperialists by their very nature have to grab out for markets, raw materials and spheres of influence, and they are driven to launch imperialist wars of aggression to redivide the world. The CPML's line is the same smelly line of "ultra-imperialism" pushed by renegade Kautsky long ago. And like their forefather Kautsky, the renegade CPML leadership faction is trying to *disarm* the U.S. people as to the nature of U.S. imperialism and is increasing the danger of world war!

Resorting To Trotskyism To Attack Revolution

There's no bottom line to how low the careerist Klonsky faction will sink in serving their imperialist masters. "But while holding these forward-looking views, Khomeini has at the same time spoken out against technology and the modernization of Iranian society and has argued for severe restrictions on the role of women. His view of an 'Islamic Republic' is based on many of the old feudal customs of Iranian society." The CPML is parroting the cheapest imperialist slander against Khomeini in order to actively oppose the Iranian revolution and undermine U.S. people's support for it. To attack Khomeini for his "view of an Islamic Republic" when he is fighting both superpowers is an out and out Trotskyite line. In the present era anyone or anything which weakens imperialism is revolutionary and must be supported by genuine communists 100%.

To criticize Khomeini today for



his religious views when, in 1975, the CPML (then called the October League) defended Shah for his purchase of U.S. arms with the excuse that he would use them to fight the imperialists, shows the CPML's *instability of principles* typical of all political swindlers!

Swindlers Selling Out Now While They Still Can

Neither the IWK/ATM leadership clique nor the Klonskyite leading faction in the CPML ever believed in Chairman Mao's correct three worlds line. All they ever believed in is their ability to switch their political beliefs whenever it suited their own careers. With their

organizations getting more isolated every day and their memberships dwindling, they know they've got no stake in the U.S. revolution. So they've decided to sell their political "capital" to the highest bidder.

Chairman Mao exposed these same type of political con-artists when he fought against the Krushchev revisionists in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. He said, "Certain persons in the international communist movement are now taking a passive or scornful or negative attitude towards the struggles of the oppressed nations for liberation. They are in fact protecting the interests of monopoly capital, be-

traying those of the proletariat, and degenerating into social democrats. The attitude taken towards the revolutionary struggles of the people in the Asian, African and Latin American countries is an important criterion for differentiating those who want revolution from those who do not and those who are truly defending world peace from those who are abetting the forces of aggression and war." (*A Proposal Concerning The General Line Of The International Communist Movement*)

Long Live The Victory Of The Iranian People's Revolution!

Teng ...

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U.S. the only hope it has of regaining its top-dog position' in the world.

The U.S.S.R. has also made good use of Teng's revisionist statements to discredit China in the eyes of the world's people and build up their own image as the "natural allies of national liberation struggles."

There is a real danger of Soviet intervention in Iran, but Iran today, with the masses highly conscious politically, united and armed, is a tougher piece of meat which both superpowers will have trouble biting into. It's a lot harder for the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to penetrate Iran today because of the awakened revolutionary people. In contrast, Iran under the rule of the Shah was easy for the imperialists to penetrate, which the U.S. made use of and the Soviets tried to also.

Iranian People's Victory Has Reduced Danger Of World War

The actual situation in Iran is far from "troublesome" to the people of the world. The heroic people of Iran have overthrown the hated Shah, kicked out both superpowers, boosted the forces of the people of the world and taken Iran out of the superpowers'

sphere of contention. The revolution has strengthened Arab unity and pressured Saudi Arabia to seek closer ties with the more consistent anti-imperialist Arab states. It's further isolated the Israeli Zionists and the apartheid regimes in southern Africa, cutting off their main supply of oil, and made it harder for the U.S. imperialists to prop up these illegal settler states. The revolution has also strengthened the position of OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) and countries like Mexico with its newly-discovered oil wealth. The Iranian people have reduced the danger of world war, giving the world's people more time to prepare. That's why the oppressed people and nations of the world are inspired by and rejoice with the great victory of the Iranian people.

The Iranian revolution is "troublesome" only to the two superpowers, "troublesome" to reactionaries everywhere. But Teng Hsiao Ping is blind to all this because he can only see the apparent might of the two superpowers, especially the Soviet bear. Like a bourgeois politician, he's got confidence only in maneuvering against the imperialists and holds the masses of the third world in contempt. And as with all bourgeois politicking, Teng's maneuver ends up exploding in his face.

As Chairman Mao summed up, criticizing Krushchev's revisionist line:

"Certain persons in the international communist movement are now taking a passive or scornful or negative attitude towards the interests of monopoly capital, betraying those of the proletariat, and degenerating into social democrats. The attitude taken towards the revolutionary struggles of the people in the Asian, African and Latin Ameri-

can countries is an important criterion for differentiating those who want revolution from those who do not and those who are truly defending world peace from those who are abetting the forces of aggression and war." (*A Proposal Concerning The General Line Of The International Communist Movement*)

World in Struggle ...

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a concentration of flammable flour dust to accumulate, devastated the mill, set fire to nearby buildings, rained debris on ships in the harbor and shattered thousands of windows.

P.R. Fishermen Invade U.S. Vieques Naval Base

Some 300 fishermen, including supporters from the main island of Puerto Rico, invaded the U.S. naval base on Vieques from land and sea protesting the U.S. naval forces invasion of Vieques and using it for their military maneuvers. Under the cover of darkness, 100 Puerto Rican men and women made their way to the military base where they set up tents and caught the U.S. military personnel with their pants down. While this was occurring on land, 37 fishermen

landed on Cayo Yayi in the middle of military operations on land-water, air-land and air-water of the combined armed forces of the U.S. The demonstrations were held and organized by the Association of Fishermen under the leadership of Carlos Zenon and the Crusade for the Recovery of Vieques.

While only spending one night on the base, the U.S. military or the colonial government did not attempt to arrest any of the demonstrators.

The struggle of the people of Vieques to recover their lands and kick out the U.S. military has been a long one. The U.S. people must support our Puerto Rican brothers and sisters in their struggle since Vieques serves as an example of what U.S. imperialism does to its colonies, Puerto Rico in particular.



Before imperialism consolidated the comics, Superman (in *Superman No. 1*, 1939) was a populist superhero. The "stable outlook" of the 40s, 50s and 60s consisted of ringing calls to patriotism in the 40s and then McCarthyism in the 50s, with its emphasis on stability, "the American dream", etc. By the late 60s, comics (like the *Black Widow*) were forced to react to the thunderous student and national movements.

Superman...

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in other countries.

And comics, with huge circulations in the millions, reflected the character of U.S. ideology. Comics were a U.S. phenomenon, like "apple pie" as pragmatism, and belittling of theory. After all, who needs to pour over dusty books when action-packed panels in blazing color and simple thought balloons told the whole story? Who needs theory to solve frustrating, intricate problems when all you had to do was utter Shazam! and blast your way out with your bare knuckles? "Do it!" was the pragmatic philosophy of the superhero.

Imperialist Superhero: Captain America

In 1939, the imperialists unleashed the dogs of war. When the U.S. went to war, so did the comics. Batman and Superman, when they weren't nabbing crooks, sold the virtues of buying U.S. savings bonds. In one issue, Captain Marvel, while riding a cannon shell in the sky, told millions of youth that "bonds buy bullets". But the big monopoly capitalists soon began to seize upon comics' immense potential: comics could do more than divert the energy of youth into harmless fantasy and shape their values. Comics could ideologically prepare and remold literally tens of millions of green youth, many who never ventured beyond their own city limits, to be shipped overseas, to face unknown dangers fighting a world-wide imperialist war, to perish unsung on some nameless hill in Europe.

Comics were tailor-made to suit imperialism's aims. The superhero left the working class ghettos of New York to go to war, led by the greatest imperialist superhero of them all, Captain America. Overnight, a secret serum is discovered by the U.S. Army which can transform a 98-pound, sunken-chested weakling, who for years had sand kicked in his face on Muscle Beach, into a dynamic, unthinking fighting machine, a battling, living American flag, an invincible weapon for the American Way. Dressed head to foot in the old Stars and Stripes, Captain America and his sidekick Bucky would blast their way into foreign countries, pulverizing whole battalions of enemy troops at one time. Captain America

became the symbol of U.S. aggression and intervention abroad.

And to prepare green G.I.s for the war in the Pacific against Imperial Japan, U.S. monopoly capitalism had to ideologically train youth in their role as imperialist stormtroopers in Asia: to degrade and abuse Asian women, to treat Asian men as subhuman, to massacre on orders, and to accept a life of death in the trenches and degeneracy in the brothels. *Terry and the Pirates* and *Male Call* fit the bill. Exotic dragon ladies in slit dresses would at one moment pull out the fingernails of emaciated prisoners and in the next moment melt in the arms of some clean-cut, all-American Kansas farm boy. Asian males were either sadistic Fu Manchu-types lusting after white women and WACs, or submissive coolies wasting away in sordid opium dens. For example, when the fearsome, black-jacketed Blackhawks stormed into battle yelling "Haaaaawkaaaaa!", they would be followed by their ever-faithful side-kick, a two-foot tall, pig-tailed Chinese called Chop Chop, with buck teeth bigger than his whole face, flailing away with a butcher knife yelling "Me kill!"

McCarthyism and the "Stable Outlook" of the '50s and '60s

In the shattering aftermath of World War II, with the old imperialist empires of England and Germany in smoldering ruins, the U.S. imperialists realized that only two organized forces stood in their way of seizing the mantle of global imperialism: the trade unions led by the 80,000-strong Communist Party, USA at home, and the victorious Red Army abroad. To crush the working class and the oppressed abroad, the U.S. started the Cold War and screamed like baying rabid dogs at the bastion of socialism, the Soviet Union. To crush the leadership of the working class at home, the imperialists unleashed the witch-hunting of McCarthyism to deal with the Communist Party (McCarthyism, of course, was only one condition for the collapse of the Communist Party, which mainly degenerated internally due to revisionism.)

Comics, especially EC comics (with its fare of sex and gore), were singled out by the imperialists for being a hot bed for juvenile delinquency and crime. The comics were crushed into submission. Comic sales plummeted. Hundreds of superheroes died like flies. McCarthyism accomplished what

Kryptonite could never do. The repressive Comics Code of America put the final nail in the coffin of the Golden Age of Comics. Little Lulu, Donald Duck, Archie, Mickey Mouse, and the fifties Superman TV series typified the "stable outlook" of the '50s and '60s.

In the 1950s, the movies carried films like *The Red Menace* (1949) and *I Was a Communist for the FBI* (1951), TV carried the lurid stories of double-agent Philbrick in *I Led Three Lives* (playing the part of an FBI stoolie infiltrating the CPUSA), and the comics fell right into line, publishing war stories of the Asian hordes massacring U.S. troops in Korea. For the "silent generation", religion, romance, westerns, etc. were the comic themes typifying the "stable outlook" of the '50s and '60s.

Riding the Revolutionary Tide of the '60s

But in the late '60s and early '70s, this sterile cultural wasteland began to crumble around the ears of the imperialists. The Doris Days, Pat Boones, beach parties and imperialist conventions and taboos of the '50s and early '60s were reeling under the impact of the civil rights and free speech movements, and then buckled against the onslaught of the Black Liberation Movement and the anti-war movement. National Publications, the establishment of comics, began to lose ground to an upstart, Marvel Comics, which rode on this revolutionary tide. Sales of National's Jimmy Olsen, clean-cut side-kick of Superman began to drop through the floor. After two decades of setting the pace for comics, the imperialists had to roll with the punches, shift gears, and recover from this shock wave.

Out went National's *Jimmy Olsen* and *Lois Lane* and in came Marvel's *Spiderman*, the first neurotic superhero. Sassy, smart-alecky, and brash, he would leap across the tenements of Manhattan, striking fear in the hearts of muggers, the mafia, and the cops, while worrying about flunking out of Empire U. or not seeing his sick aunt or feeling kinda stupid about running around in red and blue underwear.

To the comics industry, the Vietnam War was pure poison. With thousands of draft age youth burning their draft cards, choosing jail to military service, defying the National Guard, and taking to the streets on every major university campus, the comics industry knew that a Vietnam War comic would be a real dud. It would fizzle and suffer

the same miserable fate as John Wayne in the *Green Berets*, which was a real bomb. So instead, the comics industry had Sgt. Rock and Sgt. Fury and his Howling Commandos continually relive over and over again the old exploits of World War II.

No one better typified this social and political upheaval than Captain America, who would periodically be gripped by all-consuming identity crises. Marvel Comics brought back the old Captain America, only to have him agonize over the bankruptcy of his crude patriotism. In one story, Captain America is almost paralyzed with doubt, asking himself, "Am I obsolete? Is patriotism dead? Why do I always fight without asking why?"

(Of course, capitalism had to recover from the shock wave of the mass upheavals, but it jumped right back, injecting an even slicker, deadlier poison into the mass movement. Gone, for example, was the lily-white world of Metropolis and Gotham City, where no black ever dared show his face. But in came the black-exploitation Marvel comic, the hustlin' drug-pushing world of Luke Cage, *Power Man*. Gone were the opium dens and dragon ladies. But in came the stereotyped world of *Master of Kung Fu*. Gone were the demure women who faithfully waited for their superheroes to come back from a hard day at crime fighting. But in came the world of the street-wise, hippie girl, "liberated" by mysticism and burn-your-bra, hate-male rhetoric.)

Collapse of the "Stable Outlook" — Permanent Crisis

With capitalism gripped by permanent crisis, with the plunging dollar, a searing inflation rate, budget cuts, lay-offs, unemployment, and a plummeting standard of living, the "stable outlook" of the past three decades is crumbling. Not since the Depression have the U.S. people been so open to socialism.

And that's why the box-office smash *Superman*, as an attempt to take us back to the cops and robbers' '50s, will fail. Metropolis, without slums, without wildcat strikes, without inflation or unemployment, without Afro-Americans, is gone forever. The "stable outlook" of the past few decades is crumbling. Even Superman, who is faster than a speeding bullet, more powerful than a locomotive, and able to leap tall buildings in a single bound, cannot solve the permanent crisis of capitalism. ■

Letters

Continued from page 3

our wages down. More important, Kaiser wants to grow in San Diego, and has to maintain good relations with the other hospitals in town in order to do it. Kaiser bed occupancy rate is 91%, while other hospitals are facing a crisis with only 75% occupancy rate. Because of the overall low level of bed occupancy in the city, Kaiser cannot get approval to build new buildings. So it has been leasing beds and operating rooms from other hospitals.

In return, the other hospitals in the area can depend on Kaiser to keep its wages down. If Kaiser workers made that much more than the other hospitals the workers would be knocking on our union's door begging to be unionized. Kaiser wages are about \$1 more an hour than the other hospitals here. Only two other hospitals are unionized out of about 35 hospitals and nursing homes. Numerous attempts to unionize them have failed due to the slimy tactics of the hospitals and the San Diego Hospital Council. Together, the Council and Kaiser have a lot to gain by taking a hard line on our contract.

Right now, the workers here are not well organized, even though we have a union. We had been in trusteeship two times because of mismanagement by

local union leaders. A local from Los Angeles forced us to merge with them by promising wage parity with Los Angeles workers, after the workers had rejected merger once before, under leadership of an active rank and file group.

Many of these rank and file members became inactive when the new local came in.

Because of this organizing in the past by militant members and the general sentiment of the workers around the demands, the local union leadership has had to take a position of fighting for parity and retroactive. But the local leaders have counted on secret negotiations (meetings recently held in Las Vegas) and backroom deals. One of their main efforts to put pressure on Kaiser was to get letters of support from other unions, whose members are the majority of Kaiser patients. This tactic along with the local taking a hard line in negotiations (due to fear of losing the local members and possible windfall if they can push through a dues increase afterwards to equal Los Angeles dues) has put some pressure on Kaiser. But not enough to really take initiative in negotiations. Our leaders have forgotten to mobilize the strength of the rank and file. At a Labor Council meeting one of the leaders promised that we would not go out on strike, so that services would not be cut back to members of the

unions. This sounds more like an argument that management would use, that providing health services is more important than what we want, that we are "Florence Nightingales" before we are members of our locals and workers. Better services come from a better contract, not more self sacrifice. And that better contract comes from fighting with all the weapons at our disposal, including striking.

And there is a growing mood that we can no longer continue to work without a contract, and that if Kaiser does not meet our demands that we should strike. This feeling and the fact that most members have not been taken in by the 6.5% raise may mean that Kaiser will have to come out with some concessions. Last week, at the first union meeting since August, called in response to growing rank and file discontent, the union did announce that it was going to receive a new offer, the next day. Whether we gain significant grounds or not in this new offer, some members who had been active before are seeing the need to take up the struggle to organize other members, and work within the new local to do it. We think that one way to start organizing and getting people involved is to get more information out to members and to become active stewards.

T.L.
San Diego

Italy

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Scabs Affirm Loyalty to Capitalism

Clearly if the revisionists remained tied to the present government much longer they would become totally isolated among the masses and lose all chance of gaining state power. That's the main reason why Berlinguer pulled his party out of the alliance. Does this mean that the revisionist scabs have changed their spots and abandoned their bankrupt theory of "peaceful transition to socialism"? Not at all. The PCI went out of its way to assure the Italian bourgeoisie that it was still their faithful servant. The party affirmed its support of the Historic Compromise which set the policy of "cooperation with (read sell-out to) bourgeois parties." The PCI reaffirmed their commitment to confine the fight of Italian workers within the boundaries of bourgeois democracy.

The present split between the PCI and the Christian Democrats means only more room for the revisionists to maneuver for more cabinet positions. But the more the revisionists entrench themselves in the government the more locked in with the oppressors of the Italian masses they'll be and the faster the masses will see through these fake communists. ■

INT'L. SITUATION

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In the 1960's, the struggle of the Vietnamese, Cambodian, and Laotian people against the one main enemy, U.S. imperialism, was the front line of the struggle of all oppressed nations and peoples. Other battle fronts against this same main enemy were typical. The Puerto Rican people fought directly against U.S. colonial rule; the people of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Angola fought the Portuguese colonialists who were held up by the same U.S. imperialists, as did oppressed nations and peoples around the world.

But what do we see in the last few years?

October 1973: the Palestinian and other Arab people broke through the "no war—no peace" situation rigged up by the superpowers. They dealt death blows to the Israeli Zionists who were backed by both superpowers, and fought to the end against the superpowers' plan for a "quick settlement" and the "mini-state". The Arab people confirmed in battle that they must fight two enemies, the two superpowers, and that the Soviet Union is the more danger-

ous of the two.

July 1974: the two superpowers instigated a coup in Cyprus, each trying to increase its influence in the Mediterranean, in southern Europe, and the Middle East. The Soviet Union "fished in troubled waters," first supporting one side and then quickly switching its support to the other, and later tried to get its forces into the U.N. military force sent to the area. This was an attempt to break up NATO, since both Greece and Turkey are in NATO; the Soviets planned to weaken and break up NATO through this conflict.

1975: In January, the three liberation organizations (the MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA) negotiated Angola's formal independence from Portugal's colonial rule and jointly formed a transitional government. The two superpowers started stepping up their contention immediately. The Soviet Union stirred up a civil war by July and shipped in thousands of Cuban mercenary troops between September and Octo-

ber, while the U.S.-backed South African racist troops invaded Angola in October.

The hotspots of the Third World have shifted from Indochina, Puerto Rico and Guinea-Bissau, where U.S. imperialism was clearly the main enemy in the '60's, to Palestine, Angola, and Azania, where the Soviet Union is the more dangerous of the two superpowers. Today, there are situations like Vietnam, Korea, Thailand, Angola, Palestine, and Azania, where the people must guard against "letting the tiger in through the back door while repulsing the wolf at the front gate."

This shift of the Third World hotspots reflects the larger change in the international situation. Today, the two superpowers are battling madly from one end of the globe to the other. The strategic area of their contention is in Europe. On the world scale today, the two superpowers are the main enemies of the world's peoples, and the Soviet Union is the more dangerous enemy, and the main source of world war. ■

UNDOC. WORKERS

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For the first time, the workers will also have a health insurance and development fund. Under the contract, management is to pay 10 cents for every hour one worker works. The fund not only pays for insurance but also to be used in helping the workers' families in Mexico or the U.S.

Victory Spurs Trend of Organizing

With one victory won, the group has targeted other farms in the area. They are leading a job action with the Blue Goose Company, another major citrus grower.

This is only the beginning of a trend to organize undocumented workers, not only in the fields but also in the factories. An example is the fight of the Sbicca shoe workers in Los Angeles. When Sbicca called La Migra (immigration, nationalization service) to arrest the workers for trying to organize, the whole community rallied to stop the deportation. Sixty-five of the workers remained to fight La Migra. No longer will undocumented workers be intimidated to remain unorganized under the threat of deportation. It is possible to stay, fight and win. ■



Hawaii

Continued from page 8

Hawaiians) and Healiku Drake from the office of Oahu Mayor Fasi are two examples of this trend. In addition to pushing reparations, these people recommend that Hawaiians "get into the system" by running for office or getting appointed to public service jobs.

Other speakers, from the Native Hawaiian Legal Fund and other groups, pointed out some ways that Hawaiians could score gains through using the legal system. They gave examples of lawsuits that have been won which have benefited Hawaiian families or individuals.

We have no quarrel with using this type of tactics. Hawaiians should definitely get involved politically, including running for office, and no one can argue with the justice of seeking reparation, or fighting for one's rights through the legal system. But we would point out that it would be foolish to pin our hopes on these things alone. No amount of reparations can pay us back for lost freedom and sovereignty, and we can hardly expect the U.S. imperialist government to suddenly change its stripes and start dealing fairly with Hawaii. Only by relying on the people can there be liberation for Hawaii.

Another important line that surfaced at the event was the speech given by the Ohana o Hawaii through its "protem Queen" Peggy Ha'o Ross. Mrs. Ross, an elderly pure-Hawaiian lady with a fiery speaking style, called for Hawaiians to unite with other ethnic groups in Hawaii, and to build the basis of this by seeking out their Hawaiian

pride and genealogical roots to the past sovereign Nation. The Ohana o Hawaii has called for independence from the U.S., and sees itself as a nucleus for the reborn Hawaiian Nation.

Culture Is A Glue Which Binds The Hawaiian Movement

The one thing that all these groups have in common is their pride in the Hawaiian culture. For decades, U.S. imperialism has distorted, deformed, and almost exterminated the true culture and history of Hawaii. They took the traditional militant Hula (dance) and turned it into a cutesy and very profitable tourist show. But in the last few years the people have seized back their culture. Hula schools have spontaneously spread like wildfire and are filled to the brim. The sport of canoe paddling was once the exclusive pastime of the rich capitalist playboys who belonged to the white-only Outrigger Canoe Club. Now, in most high schools, students, with the help of their parents and some teachers, have raised money, organized clubs, set up teams and leagues all over the state. Before, when Hawaiian history was taught, if at all, you learned things like the names of the birds whose feathers made up the royal capes. Nothing was said about how the land was outright stolen. Nothing was taught about how the people resisted and fought to throw off imperialist domination. Today, the people, themselves, have developed special schools and programs that specialize in teaching the arts of old Hawaii. Hawaiian studies is now a required subject in the public high schools. These victories have been won because the people, especially the young people, have been determined to

get it. They have found in the old culture a new pride and identity, an alternative to the lies and distortions that they are taught.

Resistance to imperialist oppression takes many forms. Through the course of struggle, old forms take on new content, as the religious movement of the Shiite Muslims in Iran has shown. The renaissance of Hawaiian culture is another form that resistance to the U.S. imperialists takes.

The Rising Tide Of The Hawaiian Movement Has Just Begun

This cultural resurgence is just the tip of a mighty iceberg. Recently a group of native Hawaiian occupied Hilo Airport to demand just compensation for the land. This forced the state to call out the National Guard, but some of the guardsmen joined the demonstrators. The airport land, located on the island of Hawaii, is leased in the name and the "trust" of the native Hawaiian people by the Hawaiian Homes Commission to the state government for \$1.00 a year.

The power of this growing movement and the desperate attempts of the imperialists to turn the spearhead away from themselves, forced the main representative of the imperialists in Hawaii, Governor George Ariyoshi, to attend the rally. The masses attending the rally were noticeably unmoved by the Governor and his speech, and generally ignored his presence. This was not hard to do as Ariyoshi sat behind a cordoned-off area, completely isolated from the people. He left as soon as possible after his speech.

Sovereignty Day, 1979, is just the starting point in the struggle for land and liberation. Standing shoulder to shoulder with the people of Puerto Rico, Micronesia, and the rest of the third world, they are part of the worldwide battle against the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. It is the duty of active fighters and communists to sum up and put forward the most advanced lessons and theory to lead the people of Hawaii in this struggle. ■



revisiónista estaba aumentando. El Reporte Resumido del 19 Congreso del CPSU hizo un llamado a todo el Partido, "la cosa más importante ahora es garantizar en llevar a cabo la auto-crítica y críticas desde abajo, . . . tratado como enemigos del Partido y cruelmente luchar contra esos que obstaculizan llevar a cabo las críticas de nuestros errores, o suprimir las personas que hicieron las críticas." El proceso del desarrollo de la clase en la Unión Soviética claramente ha demostrado que hay necesidad por una lucha revolucionaria masiva desde abajo en fin de consolidar la dictadura del proletariado. ■

al sistema socialista, para corromper los corazones de las almas, para crear opinión pública para la restauración capitalista. Por ejemplo, "mucho trabajo pesimista y decayente aparecen en el campo cultural." Estos trabajos forzaron la realidad de la Unión Soviética. Ellos pintaron como gris y muerto esos aspectos vivientes de vida bajo el socialismo. Karl Marx dijo, "a cierto punto, el cambio simple de cantidad se transformará en cambio cualitativo." (El Capital) Para ese tiempo, el sistema socialista de la Unión Soviética no a cambiado en calidad todavía. Pero con los serios problemas señalados en el 19 Congreso, el peligro de la Unión Soviética tornarse

opinión pública para la restauración capitalista en una gran manera. El "Reporte Resumido" señaló, "la existencia de los residuos de la ideología burguesa en la Unión Soviética, los remanentes de la moralidad y psicología del egoísmo" estaban creciendo. Mas allá de estas cosas no vinieron exteriormente, de países capitalistas, pero de dentro del país, de los residuos de esas pandillas que han sido erradicado que están opuesto al gobierno soviético." La realidad es tal que estos intelectuales burgueses ocupando los departamentos de cultura, artes y ciencias estaban usando sus hierbas venenosas como armas para atacar

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LA INDIA EXPONE EL CHAUVINISMO BRITÁNICO
El gobierno indio convocó al comisionado británico Thomas para protestar el tratamiento de mujeres indias por las autoridades de inmigración en Londres. Las mujeres indias han sido forzadas a someter a exámenes ginecológicos para probar su virginidad en la base que no ser vírgenes no pueden legalmente entrar en la Gran Bretaña como novias de hombres ya allí.

EXPLOSIÓN EN MOLINO MATA OBREROS ALEMANES
Una explosión en un molino de harina mató a 15 obreros alemanes occidentales el 7 de febrero en Bremen. La explosión causada cuando el patrón permitió que se acumulada una alta concentración de polvo de harina inflamable, devastó el molino, prendió fuego a edificios cercanos, llovó escombros sobre los barcos en el puerto y destrozó miles de ventanas.

El día antes la juventud palestina del pueblo palestino a liberar su patria. La acción es parte de la lucha continua fueron forzados a llamar a refuerzos. El pueblo palestino a liberar su patria. La acción es parte de la lucha continua fueron forzados a llamar a refuerzos.

ESTUDIANTES PALESTINOS APEDREAN A COLONIZADORES SIONISTAS
El 5 de febrero estudiantes palestinos de escuelas superiores en el West Bank ocupado por los sionistas apedrearon a dos camiones llevando a colonizadores israelíes, miembros de los ultraracionarios Gush Emunim. Los jóvenes obstruyeron con barricadas la autopista entre Nablus y Ramallah y apedrearon los camiones según se paraban. Los escoltas armados sionistas ban.

! PAISES QUIEREN INDEPENDENCIA
NACIONES QUIEREN LIBERACION
LOS PUEBLOS QUIEREN REVOLUCION!

EL MUNDO EN LUCHA

El japon recientemente protestó la acumulación progresiva de tropas soviéticas ocupando las islas de Kurashiri y Etorofu. 6,000 tropas soviéticas están estacionadas en las dos islas, al más noroeste de las islas japonesas principales. Por aumentando sus fuerzas en las islas reclamadas por el Japon, los socialimperialistas respondieron al recientemente firmado tratado de amistad entre el Japon y la China que condenó el hegemonismo de los super-poderees en el área.

EL JAPON PROTESTA ACUMULACION PROGRESIVA MILITAR SOVIETICA
El japon recientemente protestó la acumulación progresiva de tropas soviéticas ocupando las islas de Kurashiri y Etorofu. 6,000 tropas soviéticas están estacionadas en las dos islas, al más noroeste de las islas japonesas principales. Por aumentando sus fuerzas en las islas reclamadas por el Japon, los socialimperialistas respondieron al recientemente firmado tratado de amistad entre el Japon y la China que condenó el hegemonismo de los super-poderees en el área.

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De las cuentas de arriba se puede ver que en la Unión Soviética por largo tiempo la cuestión del sistema de propiedad no se resolvió completamente. El derecho burgués en la esfera del sistema de propiedad todavía no se ha abolido totalmente. Al principio de los '50s propiedad privada todavía existía parcialmente en la agricultura y comercio. También la propiedad socialista no consistía totalmente de propiedad de todo el pueblo sino que incluía dos clases de propiedad. Y la propiedad de todo el pueblo todavía era algo débil en la agricultura que venía siendo la fundación de la economía nacional. Así es que bajo la dictadura del proletariado, la cuestión de transformación socialista del sistema de propiedad seguía siendo una tarea enorme y difícil. No sólo hubieran tenido que consolidar y desarrollar la propiedad socialista de todo el pueblo y propiedad colectiva de la gente trabajadora para prevenir la restauración del ya abolido derecho burgués en propiedad, y seguir para terminar la tarea incompleta de la transformación de propiedad, sino que, también sobre los otros dos aspectos de relaciones de producción—o sea, relación entre la gente y forma de distribución—tendrían que restringir el derecho burgués y criticar la ideología del derecho burgués. Si no fuera restringido, reaccionaría inevitablemente contra la propiedad socialista de los modos de producción, y este fenómeno será considerado en el siguiente artículo. Antes de llegar el revisionismo al poder, el carácter de alguna propiedad pública sería transformada y algunos funcionarios de industrias y agricultura serían transformados a nuevos elementos burgueses.

Además, la realización de la colectivización de agricultura, el establecimiento de fincas colectivas y el cambio de campesinos individuales en cuerpos colectivos ha proveído condiciones favorables para el completo remodelo de los campesinos. Sin embargo, hasta que la propiedad colectiva avance al nivel de propiedad por todo el pueblo y hasta que el resto de la economía privada halla desaparecido completamente, los campesinos inevitablemente retendrán algunas de las características inherentes de los pequeños productores. Una parte de los pequeños campesinos inevitablemente retendrán sus espontáneas tendencias capitalistas.

Porque las dos clases de propiedad socialista—propiedad por todo el pueblo y propiedad colectiva—existió por mucho tiempo en la Unión Soviética, esta tiene que practicar el sistema de mercancía, intercambio a través de dinero y distribución de acuerdo al trabajo. Al aspecto del derecho burgués sobre distribución y intercambio, “bajo la dictadura del proletariado, tales cosas sólo pueden ser restringidas.” Si no fuera restringida, engendraría capitalismo y elementos burgueses en gran escala.

Después de la colectivización de la agricultura, la Unión Soviética puso énfasis en desarrollar el comercio soviético con toda fuerza. Esto incluyó expandir las fincas colectivas en la ciudad y el campo. De esta manera, habían tres canales para el comercio—el comercio operado por el estado, comercio cooperativo y el mercado de fincas colectivas cuales coexistían. Una gran parte de los productos en las fincas colectivas pasaron por el comercio operado por el estado y las cooperativas en la arena de la circulación de mercancía. Aquí, el plan nacional todavía tenía la función dominante. Pero dado a la función de las leyes de valor, la cantidad igual del poder laboral no produjo ingreso igual a través de intercambio. Eso fue debido a las diferentes condiciones de producción en las fincas colectivas, diferentes condiciones en el comercio y la variedad de productos, etc. Por ejemplo, 51 por ciento de cada 100 acres de tierra agrícola en las fincas colectivas en el 1953 tenían ingresos bajos de 10,000 rublos, 40 por ciento tenía ingresos entre 10,000 y 15,000 y el 9 por ciento tenía 50,000. Ud. puede ver que su práctica de intercambio del valor igual, las fincas colectivas actualmente siguen el principio del derecho burgués cuando ellos contribuyeron a los niveles más alto y vendieron sus productos. Esto significa que todavía era desigual. Ya que esta brecha existía objetiva-

mente, algunas fincas colectivas que fracasaron en seguir el principio de política proletaria en el comando, se contradicen con el plan nacional por estar preocupado sólo sobre el porcentaje de intercambio de sus productos. Además, después de la producción de los productos víveres de las fincas colectivas fueron bueno, la Unión Soviética no permitió a los miembros de las fincas colectivas a vender los productos de la mercancía de las fincas colectivas ahí. Esto hizo aún más a esos campesinos los cuales siempre soñaron con enriquecerse para usar la oportunidad de la desigualdad actual producida por el sistema de mercancía y intercambio a través de dinero para tomar el camino capitalista, o aún llevar a cabo desfalco, robo y otras actividades especulativas.

Bajo las condiciones del sistema de mercancía, en las industrias de todo el pueblo, hay producción de mercancía e intercambio de mercancía la cual incluye también contradicción entre el valor y el valor usado. La esencia de la propiedad económica por todo el pueblo demandó que las industrias comiencen con la perspectiva de satisfacer la necesidad de toda la sociedad. Que ellos produzcan grandes cantidades de buenos productos de calidad a precios bajos. Sin embargo, la economía mercante también demandó que ellos usen valor como el instrumento de calculación económica, para calcular el precio de los productos, el costo de los productos y las ganancias. De esa manera, es posible desarrollar la producción yendo en contra del propósito de producción socialista, para desarrollar la tendencia capitalista.

Después de los 30's, la Unión Soviética no persistió en restringir el derecho burgués en la distribución de salarios pero absolutizó y solidificó la distribución de acuerdo al trabajo. Práctico un alto sistema de salario hacia cierta estrata, y expandió la apertura entre los cuadros dirigente del Partido y el estado, los intelectuales y la gran mayoría de los trabajadores y campesinos. Como resultado, tal como fue reportado en el “Resumen de Reporte” del 19 Congreso del Partido Comunista de la Unión Soviética (CPSU), apareció “personas que viven de los logros pasados” y “personas que ponen la comodidad y estabilidad individual sobre sus trabajos y tareas.” La expansión y desarrollo del derecho burgués que existió en la distribución vino a ser rico terreno para nutrir al revisionismo.

Peligro del Revisionismo en Aumento

El presidente Mao ha señalado:

Lenín dijo, ‘La pequeña producción engendra capitalismo y la burguesía continuamente, diariamente, a cada hora, espontáneamente y en escala masiva.’ Ellos también son engendrado entre una parte de la clase obrera y la miembresía del Partido. Ambos en los rangos del proletario y entre el personal de las organizaciones del estado, hay personas que siguen el estilo de vida de la burguesía.

En el proceso extenso de la lucha de clase en la Unión Soviética, esos cuadros degenerados en el Partido, órganos del estado y fincas colectivas, así también como los intelectuales burgueses formaron una fuerte fuerza para restauración capitalista. En octubre, 1952, en el 19 Congreso del CPSU, el “Informe Resumidor” del Comité Central había expuesto este serio problema que existió en diferentes áreas y que llamó por una lucha resoluta contra estas desviaciones.

Con las preguntas hechas en este reporte, podemos ver que en los 50's, el peligro de la Unión Soviética en transformarse revisionista estaba aumentando.

Primeramente, dado a la verdad que las organizaciones del Partido estaban descuidadas en el trabajo ideológico y político, el fenómeno de degeneración y corrupción apareció en estas organizaciones. También apareció “el deformado fenómeno de la desintegración de enlaces individual.” El “Informe Resumidor” señaló, “debido a la verdad que algunos cuadros dirigentes cohibido no elevaron su conciencia, para substanciarse con el conocimiento del marxismo-leninismo y asimilar la experiencia histórica del Partido,” el rápido aumento de la miembresía del Partido que “en cierto grado baja el nivel de conciencia política entre los miembros ordinarios del Partido y baja el nivel cualitativo de la miembresía del

Partido.” También debido a las circunstancias de la guerra anti-fascista, muchos de los miembros del Partido debilitaron el trabajo ideológico-político. “Nadie está interesado con esta clase de trabajo ideológico nunca más.” “Algunas organizaciones del Partido están sólo interesados sobre los asuntos económicos y se olvidan sobre las cuestiones ideológicas.” “Esto ha creado cierto grado de peligro.” Esto hizo que las organizaciones del Partido se apartaran de las masas, las organizaciones militantes del Partido, “se transformaron en órganos especiales de comandos administrativos, sin la habilidad de oponerse a toda clase de localismo, departamentalismo y otras dañinas tendencias para el interés del estado.” Esto también se puede ver a través de tal fenómeno como distorsión abierta de las pólizas del Partido en construcción económica y la interrupción del interés nacional. “Esto produjo el irreparable daño a los intereses del Partido y el estado.” Debido al negligente trabajo ideológico, esto “produjo terreno fértil para la resurrección de las perspectivas e ideas del enemigo.” Elementos ajenos de clase y elementos anti-Partido de todos colores “secretamente expandieron sus líneas” las áreas y departamentos débiles en trabajo ideológico-político, “resucitan y expanden toda clase de ‘perspectivas’ e ‘ideas’ no marxistas.” Debido al relajado trabajo ideológico y político, algunos cuadros dirigentes escogen cuadros no a base de carácter político y habilidad de trabajo, “pero a base de amistad y parentesco.” Como resultado, esto tornó las organizaciones del Partido en una pequeña comunidad compuesta exclusivamente de sus mismas gente, y para reclutar al Partido “aún a esas personas dudosas, o que le caen bien a algunos de los cuadros dirigentes.” “Ellos se protegen a si mismo, ponen el interés del pequeño grupo sobre el Partido y el estado. Naturalmente, esta situación fácilmente conducirá a degeneración y corrupción.” En algunos lugares, el personal del Partido y el estado chocaron con el personal en la esfera económica, llevaron a cabo sistemáticos actos criminales uniendo a varios niveles, y malgastando los fondos públicos en gran escala, robando propiedad del estado, y sofocando el pilar socialista del estado.

Segundo, los nuevos elementos burgueses que han tomado algún poder estaban interrumpiendo y desintegrando la base de la economía socialista. El “Reporte Resumidor” señaló que algunos cuadros en liderato de empresas “han hecho daños a los intereses del estado en acción, intentaron pelear con el Partido y el estado, y para engañar al Partido y estado.” Con permiso de las organizaciones del Partido, algunos adquirieron recursos materiales a través de fraude. “Ellos escondieron del gobierno recursos bajo su autoridad.” A ellos no le importó sobre el interés nacional y la necesidad de los consumidores. Ellos odiaron el plan decidido sobre producto de variedad y el nivel de calidad, el cual resultó bastante acumulación y desperdicio. Aún más, algunos ejecutivos de empresas industriales y comercios “trataron de tomar estas empresas en sus propios dominios privados.” Ahí, ellos establecieron sus mismas “leyes y regulaciones” y corrieron “según sus propios deseos” e “hicieron lo que quisieron.” El “Reporte Resumidor” también dijo que algunos de los líderes de órganos del Partido y el estado empujaron la línea de “comité de producción” en los barrios. Ellos querían “desarrollar comités independientes en las fincas colectivas a fin de abolir las brigadas de producción. También “algunos de los personales en los órganos del Partido, el Soviet y agricultura, no protegieron el interés público de las fincas colectivas, al contrario, ellos mismos robaron la propiedad de las fincas colectivas, cruelmente violando la ley Soviética, y tratando a las fincas colectivas en manera agresiva.” Ellos usaron su posición para vigorosamente ocupar el terreno público, forzar a las fincas colectivas a suministrarlos a ellos con granos, carnes, productos de leche y otros productos gratis o a bajos precios. Ellos usaron su ganado mediocre para intercambio por ganado de alta calidad de las fincas colectivas. El “Reporte Resumidor” señaló que estas personas eran “los enemigos de las fincas colectivas” y “deben de ser severamente castigados.”

También, los intelectuales estaban creando

¿COMO SE TRANSFORMÓ LA UNIÓN SOVIÉTICA EN UN PAÍS DE SOCIO-IMPERIALISTA?

Por Kung Liang-Tsou imprimido por Prensa Casa del Pueblo en 1976, traducido del Chino por Punto de Vista Obrero.

Segunda parte del capítulo uno continuado de la última edición.

La Existencia de Clases y Lucha de Clases en la Unión Soviética Después de los '30s

Después de llevarse a cabo la nacionalización de la industria y la colectivización bajo el liderazgo de Lenin y Stalin, la Unión Soviética había completado básicamente la transformación socialista de propiedad de los modos de producción. Sin embargo, clases, contradicción de clases, la lucha entre los dos caminos, socialismo o capitalismo y el peligro de restauración capitalista todavía existe.

La Clase Reaccionaria Derrotada Constantemente Trata de Restaurar el Capitalismo

Lenin indicó "la experiencia de la historia mundial, la experiencia de todas las rebeliones de la clase explotada contra sus explotadores demuestra la larga y desesperada resistencia inevitable de los explotadores en su lucha para retener sus privilegios," ("Programa Apunte del Partido Comunista (Bolshevik) de Rusia") Según el censo de la Unión Soviética en 1928 habían 7 millones que eran miembros de los terratenientes burguesía, campesinos



V.I. Lenin se une con otros obreros en un Subbotnik ruso en el terreno del Kremlin. El 1ero de mayo, 1920. Por M. Sokolov.

Restauración del Capitalismo

ricos, clase acomodada, y oficiales reaccionarios derrotados. Estos contaban el 4.6 por ciento de la población entera. Además según la información de 1921, estos enemigos de clase que escaparon del país llegaban a ser 1.5 a 2 millones. En ese tiempo eran dueños de más de 50 diferentes periódicos y revistas burguesas. Estos enemigos de clase tienen dinero y una red extensiva social lo mismo que apoyo de la burguesía internacional. Su fuerza contrarrotado

Después de los '30s esta clase reaccionaria todavía existía. Allí estaban y jamás se reconciliaron con su derrota. Ellos se manejaban de adentro y fuera del país, intentando de mil maneras de destruir y sabotear, y jamás dejaron por un instante sus actividades de restauración. Durante el proceso de colectivización algunos campesinos ricos, señores acomodados, y ministros se escurrieron en los ranchos colectivos y llevaron a cabo sabotaje. Mataron caballos, quemaron bodegas, destruyeron propiedad pública de los ranchos colectivos y desesperadamente se oponían al estado soviético. Durante el período de la Gran Guerra Patriótica para defender al país contra los fascistas alemanes, algunos tenientes, campesinos ricos, capitalistas con sus hijos salieron abiertamente a recibir a los invasores alemanes. Se entregaron al enemigo convirtiéndose. Abogaban que se les devolviera sus tierras y fábricas. Aquellos que escaparon a otros países formaron varias organizaciones armadas de contrarrevolución. Querían usar la fuerza de los alemanes fascistas para reclamar su posición gobernante. Además de sus actividades abiertas y secretas contrarrevolucionarias, estos enemigos de clase contaban más y más con los capitalistas encaminados dentro del Partido con la esperanza de restauración. Ellos esperaban realizar su fin criminal usurpando la dictadura proletaria por medio de aquellos miembros dirigentes del Partido que elevaban el camino capitalista.

La Base Económica para el Desarrollo de Elementos de la Nueva Burguesía Existe

Todo el período entero histórico del socialismo "no puede ser otra cosa más que un período de lucha entre capitalismo moribundo y el naciente comunismo. . ." (Lenin, "La Economía y Política Durante la Época de la Dictadura del Proletariado"). Aún después de que la propiedad socialista de los modos de producción se hubieran establecido en la Unión Soviética, rasgos y restos del capitalismo todavía existía en los ramos políticos, económicos e ideológicos. Todavía tenía el terreno que engendraba nuevos elementos burgueses. Además de la influencia de la burguesía, imperialismo internacional, y revisionismo, que vienen siendo la fuente ideológica que

engendra los nuevos elementos burgueses, la existencia del derecho burgués es la base económica importante que engendra los nuevos elementos burgueses.

En la era antes de los '30s en la Unión Soviética, diferentes grados de derecho burgués todavía existía en las relaciones de producción. A ese tiempo aunque las dos clases de propiedad socialista, propiedad de todo el pueblo y propiedad colectiva ya estaban establecidas y ocupaban la posición dominante en toda la economía nacional, un pequeño sector de la economía estaba todavía bajo propiedad privada. Al principio de los '50s la proporción comparativa de estos tres sistemas de la economía nacional cambió como se puede ver en las siguientes tablas.

Vea pagina 8

Fuente de información: de acuerdo a "El Libro de la Economía del Pueblo Soviético" y otros recursos.

	% que pertenece al país			% de colectiva			% de individual		
	1937	1940	1950	1937	1940	1950	1937	1940	1950
Producción Total del valor en industria	90.3		91.8	9.5		8.2*	0.2		-
Terreno Total de agricultura		8.8	10.9		78.3	82.7		12.9	6.4
Producción TOTAL del valor en agricultura	9.3			62.9			27.8		
Valor de Producción de la mercancía agricultura		12	14		61	62		27	24
plantaciones		10	11		77	76		13	13
ganaderías		16	21		30	36		54	43
Total de mercancía al Detalle **	57.3	62.7	64	27.1	23	24	15.6	14.3	12

*figuras de 1954

**Columna en % pertenece al cambio individual para el mercado de fincas colectivas

¿Tres Mundos O Dos Mundos de los Superpoderes? Teng Hsiao Ping Urje Intervención de E.U. en Irán

El 7 de febrero, abandonando la línea del Presidente Mao sobre los tres mundos y totalmente engañando el interés de la gente del mundo, Teng Hsiao Ping urje a los imperialistas de E.U. en intervenir en Irán. En su visita con el Primer Ministro Fukuda del Japón, él dijo, "Las medidas que los E.U. han tomado en Irán... no son buenas. Los E.U. deben moverse responsablemente. La Unión Soviética nunca será impresionada con posiciones a mitad de camino... Si el desorden continua en Irán esto producirá una reacción en cadena en Arabia Saudita..." Aún antes, durante su visita a los E.U., en una entrevista con el *Time Magazine*, el "Hombre del año" de los imperialistas dijo, "Vemos que el año pasado Yemen del Sur fue tomada por la Unión Soviética, y la Unión Soviética ganó influencia en Etiopía. Si vamos más al este, ahí esta Afghanistan y ahora esta Iran, donde no se ve el fin a los problemas."

¿Los "Problemas" de Irán?

¿Los "problemas" de Irán? Empujando la perspectiva de depender solo en los imperialistas de los E.U. para luchar contra los sanguijuelas soviéticas en vez de la línea correcta del Presidente Mao de principalmente depender en el tercer mundo como la fuerza mayor contra los dos superpoderes, Teng Hsiao Ping torna la realidad al revés. La lógica torcida de esta perspectiva revisionista es que no es el pueblo iraní el cual se ha levantado para derrocar al gobierno represivo del sha y la dominación de ambos superpoderes, pero la manipulación de los socio-imperialistas soviéticos.

Las Tácticas Deben de Seguir la Estrategia

Con desprecio total para las masas iraníes y hipnotizando, tratando de sobre maniobrar a los imperialistas, la última maniobra de Teng sólo termina en desastre.

Tacticamente usando contradicciones entre los imperialistas es correcto y un necesario principio marxista, sea que estas tácticas sean subordinadas a una larga estrategia, siempre que uno no tenga ilusiones sobre quien es el enemigo o amigo de uno. Lenin usó las contradicciones entre los imperialistas para firmar el tratado Brest-Litovsk con Alemania para obtener o ganar tiempo para que la recién nacida Rusia socialista se fortaleciera. Stalin firmó un tratado de paz con Hitler de Alemania, trastornando las esquemas de los imperialistas occidentales de empujar que Alemania atacara la Unión Soviética primero, para que las masas soviéticas estuvieran más tiempo para prepararse de la cercana guerra mundial. El Presidente Mao también hizo buen uso de las diferencias entre los imperialistas en al guerra contra el Japón uniéndose a los imperialistas occidentales contra los invasores japoneses y otra vez cuando él invitó a Nixon, el alto representante imperialista, a la China. Pero el Presidente Mao nunca tuvo alguna ilusión sobre la viciosa naturaleza de estos imperialistas o sobre quien eran los verdaderos amigos de la China—la gente oprimida del

mundo, especialmente los pueblos y naciones del tercer mundo.

Teng Sobrepujado en Maniobras Por el Imperialismo E.U.

Teng ha tirado la línea correcta del Presidente Mao sobre los tres mundos por la ventana y substituyendo su propia vista pesimista sobre los dos mundos de los superpoderes. Por confiar sólo en la habilidad a sobrepujar en maniobras a los imperialistas y desarmado por sus propias ilusiones sobre el imperialismo yanqui, Teng ha sido sobrepujado en maniobras. Con su declaración incitando a los imperialistas de los E.U. ha inter-

de ser "difícil" al pueblo del mundo. El pueblo heroico iraní ha derrocado al odiado sha, echó a patadas a ambas superpotencias, formentó las fuerzas del pueblo del mundo y ha sacado a Irán afuera de la esfera de contención de las superpotencias. La revolución ha fortalecido la unidad árabe y presionó a Arabia Saudita a buscar enlaces más unidos con los más consistentes estados anti-imperialistas árabes. Ha aislado más a los sionistas israelí y a los regimenes apartheid en Africa del Sur, cortando su abastecimiento principal de petróleo, y lo ha hecho más duro para que los imperialistas de los E.U.

ciego a todo esto porque él sólo puede ver el aparente poder de ambos superpoderes, especialmente el oso soviético. Como un político burgués, él tiene confianza sólo en maniobrar contra los imperialistas y desprecia las masas del tercer mundo. Y como todo politiquero burgués, la última maniobra de Teng termina explotando en su cara.

Como resumió el Presidente Mao, criticando la línea revisionista de Khrushchev:

"Ciertas personas en el movimiento comunista internacional ahora estan tomando una actitud pasiva o negativa hacia los intereses del capital



Las masas iraníes armadas estan determinadas a mantener su independencia y defenderla contra ambos superpoderes.

venir en Irán y oponiéndose a la revolución iraní, Teng *desarma* al pueblo estadounidense sobre la naturaleza perversa del imperialismo yanqui. Sus declaraciones repugnantes sobre Irán le han dado munición para adelantar su póliza estratégica de tratar de incitar a los imperialistas soviéticos a atacar a la China, así salvaguardando a Europa, el foco de contención de las superpotencias y dándole a los E.U. la única esperanza que tiene de reconquistar su posición de mandamás en el mundo.

La Unión Soviética también a hecho buen uso de las declaraciones revisionistas de Teng para desacreditar la China en los ojos del pueblo del mundo y establecer su propio imagen como los "aliados naturales de las luchas de liberación nacional."

Esto es un verdadero peligro de la intervención soviética en Irán, pero Irán hoy, con las masas muy conscientes políticamente, unidas y armadas, es un pedazo de carne más dura que ambas superpotencias tendrán problema en penetrar. Es más duro para los E.U. y la Unión Soviética penetrar Irán hoy a causa de un pueblo revolucionario despertado. En contraste, Irán bajo el gobierno del sha fue fácil para que los imperialistas la penetraran, que los E.U. usó y los soviéticos también.

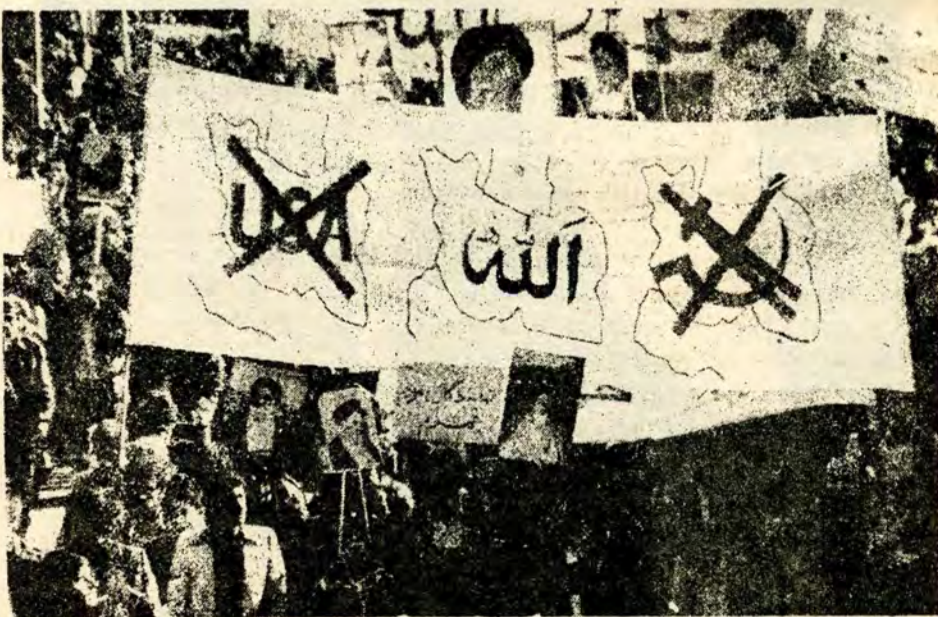
La Victoria del Pueblo Iranio Ha Reducido el Peligro de Guerra Mundial

La situación actual en Irán es lejos

mantengan a estos estados colonizadores ilegales. La revolución también ha fortalecido la posición de la Organización de Países Exportadores de Petróleo (OPEC) y países como México con sus recién descubiertas riquezas de petróleo. El pueblo iraní han reducido el peligro de guerra mundial, dándole al pueblo del mundo más tiempo para prepararse. Por eso es que el pueblo y naciones oprimidas del mundo son inspiradas por y regocijan con la gran victoria del pueblo iraní.

La revolución iraní es "difícil" sólo para ambas superpotencias, "difícil" para los reaccionarios por donde quiera. Pero Teng Hsiao Ping es

monopolista, traicionando los intereses del proletario, y degenerándose a socio-demócratas. La actitud tomado hacia las luchas revolucionarias de la gente de los países asiáticos, africanos y latinoamericanos es una criterio importante para diferenciar a esos que quieren revolución a esos que no quieren revolución y a esos que verdaderamente estan defendiendo la paz mundial a esos que estan incitando las fuerzas de agresión y guerra." (Una Propuesta Sobre la Línea General del Movimiento Comunista Internacional)



Las masas iraníes demuestran su determinación para sacar a toda dominación extranjera, especialmente ambas superpotencias, los E.U. y la Unión Soviética.

del Pueblo Irani!



llegaron. Los imperialistas de los E.U., claros que no podían prevenir la victoria de la revolución irania, mandaron a su guía Andy Young, a tratar de dar el soplo al nuevo gobierno. Khomeini debe de ser hecho un "santo" dijo Young. El hasta trató de resumir que la derrota más grande para los imperialistas yanqui desde la guerra en Vietnam fue actualmente una victoria para la democracia burguesa estilo de E.U., "No puede enviar 25,000 a 50,000 iraníes al año a este país sobre los últimos diez años, y después dejarlos regresar a su país, sin obtener algún tipo de revuelta social." ¡El está hablando de los miles de estudiantes patrióticos y revolucionarios iraníes en los E.U. que sólo unas pocas de semanas antes, la administración de Carter amenazó a deportar por sus actividades revolucionarias!

Pero por toda la habladería de Young, él no puede esconder el hecho que es la derrota más grande de los E.U. desde la guerra en Vietnam. La victoria del pueblo iraní pone presión tremenda en Sur Africa e Israel para encontrar nuevas fuentes de petróleo. La victoria de la revolución ha fortalecido la unidad de los países árabes y ha hecho revoltijo de la póliza imperialista yanqui en el área. Y la administración de Carter no pudo hacer nada para parar que ocurriera. Ido son los días cuando los imperialistas de los E.U. fueron mandados en el mundo. En los 50s Eisenhower pudo mandar tropas para pagar el fuego de revolución en Lebanon y en los 60s, Johnson tuvo poco problema en mandar marinos para aplastar la lucha del pueblo en la República Dominicana. Pero no más. Los E.U. está en una de-

clina estratégica y el tercer mundo se ha levantado. Cuando los E.U. querían mandar los marinos y helicópteros a Irán, para evacuar a personal clave militares y gubernamentales de su base en Turquía, Turquía dijo de ninguna manera. Y después de Vietnam y Watergate, el pueblo estadounidense no van a dejar que Carter logre una nueva guerra de agresión extranjera en Irán. Esto es como el pueblo del mundo se apoyan unos a los otros, totalmente opuesto al tipo de "apoyo" dado por los Carters y los Youngs.

Los imperialistas soviéticos también salieron con su propio tipo de apoyo hipócrita. Reconociendo al nuevo gobierno, TASS, la agencia de noticias soviética, expresó la esperanza de los

nuevos zares que relaciones entre los dos países continuará en el espíritu de "igualdad, buena vecindad, y respeto para la soberanía nacional y no intervención en los asuntos internos de cada uno". A pesar de su ávaro saqueo del país, los social imperialistas esperan que el pueblo iraní se olvide de como los soviéticos por años pasaron la luna de miel con el sha, como velaron y esperaron por meses durante la reciente rebelión para ver de que lado la moneda caería, y sólo después de la derrota del sha fue irrevocable fue que ellos anunciaron su apoyo para Khomeini y la revolución, una semana entera después que el sha fue exilado. Estas lamas que se llaman socialistas quieren que las masas iraníes se olviden el papel canalla del revisionista partido Tudeh, notorios como una columna quinta dentro de Irán para los imperialistas soviéticos.

Pero el pueblo iraní no quieren nada que a ser con ambas superpotencias. ¿Quién coje nuestro petróleo?—¡los E.U.! ¿Quién coje nuestro gas?—¡los soviéticos, nuestros gran enemigos! ¿Quién es su títere? — ¡el sha!" Ese es el mensaje que ha aparecido en letreros en demostraciones por todo Irán.

La victoria del pueblo iraní ya ha cambiado el punto de vista estratégico entero del Medio Oriente, poniendo presión enorme en los sionistas, fortaleciendo la unidad árabe, y debilitando la influencia de ambas superpotencias en esta área importante rica en petróleo. El pueblo del mundo gozan con las masas iraníes en su hora de victoria, porque han disminuido el peligro de guerra mundial, dado un golpe devastador contra las superpotencias y ha echado luz sobre en aún otro camino hacia la liberación. Es otro hito en la lucha por la liberación nacional y especialmente para la revolución del pueblo. ■



"¿Quién Toma Nuestra Gasolina?- ¡Los Soviéticos!"

Los imperialistas soviéticos no son amigos del pueblo iraní. Ellos le dieron vino y comida al odiado sha a fin de saquear los recursos del país. Antes de que los obreros del petróleo cortara el petróleo, los nuevos zares chupaban 30 billones de pies cúbicos en gas natural cada día del país. Operaciones juntas entre la USSR y el régimen de Pahlavi producían 90% del carbón de Irán, 90% de su mineral de hierro y 70% del acero del país.

Durante la usurpa revolucionaria la Unión Soviética ha emprendido una masiva campaña de propaganda señalada a construir su imagen en los ojos del pueblo iraní.

La USSR cínicamente avisó a los E.U. que si este país fuera a intervenir en Irán entonces los soviéticos lo verían como una amenaza a su seguridad nacional y movilizaran. Lo suficiente para el reclamo de la U.S.S.R. de respetar la soberanía nacional de Irán y el principio de no interferir en sus asuntos internos. Si una intervención de los superpoderes en Irán hubiera sido triunfante ellos hubieran dividido el país en dos mitades, con los soviéticos tomando la región granera de Irán y el puerto de aguas en el océano Índico, un viejo sueño zarista, mientras los E.U. tomarían la región petrolera

en el sur y oeste. Esperanzas de colisión entre los dos superpoderes contra el pueblo iraní fue derrotada por las fuerzas del movimiento revolucionario en Irán contra ambos superpoderes y la verdad que la administración de Carter estaba atada por el odio del pueblo de E.U. de la agresión imperialista.

En Irán el Partido Tudeh es notorio por su actividad de quinta columna en favor de los amos soviéticos. Tan corrompidos y aislados están estos engañosos que la USSR estuvo que ir a Arafat, líder de la organización de Liberación Palestina, y rogarle que interviniera entre el Partido Tudeh y Ayatollah Khomeini. Arafat los rechazó diciendo, "No es nada que me concierne."

Los socio-imperialistas soviéticos tienen tanto miedo que la revolución en Irán se despliegue hacia su misma minoría oprimida musulmana que ellos han "evacuado" la secta musulmana, Shiite, de la frontera entre la USSR/ Irán a Siberia! Esto no sólo demuestra su miedo de la revolución del pueblo, pero también su profundo chauvinismo y opresión de nacionalidades y minorías nacional bajo el gobierno de los nuevos czares. ■

¡Que Viva la Victoria

De pagina 1

El próximo día mientras miraban por televisión una cinta del retorno de Khomeini al país, alguien gritó una consigna de apoyo y la protesta comenzó. Confrontados por renovada militancia de protestas, un comandante de la Guardia ordenó a un policía militar a disparar. Cuando este reusó el fue tiroteado instantáneamente. La lucha inmediatamente se comenzó y los heroicos técnicos inmediatamente se unieron a los cadetes de la Fuerza Aérea y oficiales subalternos, los cuales mataron a un guardia en la base de armería para poder obtener armas. La Guardia llamó desesperadamente refuerzos, incluyendo tanques y helicópteros.

La Fábula de Invencibilidad de La Guardia Aplastada

Cuando se dió a conocer la extensión de la lucha a través de la ciudad, miles de personas armadas con revólveres, ametralladoras y machetes tomaron las calles, algunos corriendo para ayudar a sus hermanos militares mientras otros barricaron las avenidas principales de Teheran para impedir los refuerzos de la Guardia Imperial.

En la base de Farahabad la Guardia Imperial fue derrotada cuando las masas destruyeron varios tanques y derribaron a dos helicópteros. Los perros fascistas de la Brigada (Inmortales) Javidan fueron forzado a retroceder y la fábula de su invencibilidad fue aplastada.

Bases Militares, Cuarteles de Policías Tomadas por el Pueblo Armado

Con sus tropas aces derrotadas, Bakhtiar y los altos generales se amontonaron la noche de febrero 1 para decidir que hacer. Con las unidades del ejército desintegrándose a través del país, con miles de combatientes armados en las calles, la decisión fue de retroceder el ejército y Bakhtiar corrió.

Inspirados por la gran victoria en Fahirabad y con su triunfo cerca, el pueblo armado sacudieron y tomaron las bases militares y cuarteles policíacos a través de la ciudad. Mientras cada uno caía, más armas fueron añadidas a las que las masas tenían y se habían apoderado en las armerías de Teheran.

Cuando las masas marcharon a la Majlis, la casa baja del Parlamento iraní, los soldados que la protegían se rindieron, declarando, "estamos con el pueblo". La misión de Israel fue fácilmente tomada y un nuevo rótulo fue rápidamente colgado—"La Embajada del PLO (Organización de Liberación Palestina)."

El 12 de febrero, después del feroz ataque, el Palacio Niavaran, casa del sha, y símbolo por mucho tiempo de su poder, cayó en las manos del pueblo. Las guardias imperiales que los defendían corrieron a rendirse, llorando como niños. También capturado fueron los cuarteles de la Guardia y la misión de consejo militar de los E.U. en Saltanatabad al norte de Teheran.

Condiciones Excelentes Establecidas Para la Formación del Genuino Partido Comunista

Los marxistas-leninistas iraníes



tienen que sentirse gran felicidad por la liberación de su país. Ellos han desempeñado un papel importante en la revolución. Mucho de ellos fueron adelante en los asaltos en las bases militares y cuarteles policiales y en dirigir otras acciones en las calles. Cada vez que las embajadas y los bancos de los imperialistas fueron atacados, habían usualmente comunistas tomando el mando o dando apoyo activo. Ellos han luchado duro para mantener y fortalecer la unidad del movimiento revolucionario contra su enemigo común, y victoria no podía haber sido posible sin la solidaridad fuerte entre las tres fuerzas de la revolución iraní, las fuerzas religiosas, las fuerzas nacionalistas, y los marxistas-leninistas.

Más importante, las condiciones excelentes han sido establecidas para la formación de un genuino partido comunista. Por sus propias experiencias en revolución, el pueblo iraní han aprendido lecciones profundas y su conciencia política ha sido elevada a nuevos horizontes. La revolución ha educado y entrenado a miles de nuevos líderes, abiertos al socialismo. Los marxistas-leninistas también han sido entrenados y templados, adquiriendo claridad más grande amplia sobre aspectos y leyes específicas de la revolución iraní y de revoluciones en general. La revolución ha ganado peso y ha hecho más claro lo que es la línea correcta. Armados con estas nuevas, valiosas lecciones aprendidas y las experiencias ricas ganadas, la fundación del Partido Marxista-Leninista de Irán está seguramente en el horizonte.

Lecciones Históricas de Chile

Como el presidente Mao resumió,

"La toma del poder por la fuerza armada, el arreglo de la cuestión por guerra, es la tarea central y la forma más alta de la revolución. Este principio marxista-leninista de revolución es verdadero universalmente, para China y para todos los otros países." (Problemas de Guerra y Estrategia)

El pueblo iraní victorioso tiene que estar preparado para luchar uña y carne para mantener los frutos de su victoria. Los imperialistas y los reac-

cionarios iraníes no tomarán su derrota sin ofrece resistencia. Por su naturaleza, ellos causan dificultades, fracasan, causan dificultades otra vez. Para mantener las ganancias que ellos han logrado, el pueblo iraní tiene que tener armas y estar preparados. La experiencia histórica ha demostrado que si las masas no están armadas, la clase derrocada puede fácilmente retornar. Coja a Chile como ejemplo.

En 1974, obreros y campesinos sacaron al gobierno respaldado por los E.U. y trayeron a Salvador Allende al poder. Allende rápidamente nacionalizó la industria de cobre, sacándola de las garras de ITT. El tenía el apoyo de las masas de obreros y campesinos chilenos contra los imperialistas. Las masas sabían que la clase gobernante derrocada con la ayuda de los imperialistas yanqui, tratarían de retornar, especialmente desde que las fuerzas armadas chilenas todavía estaban intactas. Ellos rogaron por armas para estar preparados a defender su nuevo gobierno. A causa de esta línea revisionista de la transición pacífica hacia el socialismo empujada por el Partido Comunista de la Unión Soviética y los revisionistas locales, el pueblo chileno no estaba armado y cuando la contrarrevolución las calles de Santiago estaban rojas con la sangre de los heroicos pero indefensos obreros y campesinos. Con la ayuda del CIA, el golpe militar derrocó al gobierno de Allende, asesinando a Allende y aplastando las masas chilenas. La lección de la revolución chilena pagada con la sangre tiene que ser aprendida por pueblos revolucionarios por todo el mundo.

Los Reaccionarios Están Pidiendo Perdón, El Cual Nunca Demostraron

Cuando el tiroteo cesó un poco, tres generales estaban muertos y cientos de opresores anteriores del pueblo iraní fueron arrestados. El dirigente del ejército, el general Budri fue tiroteado nueve veces por sus oficiales según encontraban alojamiento en las barracas de los Guardias Imperiales in Lavisan bajo sitio masivo. El general Jafarian, el gobernador militar de Khuzestan murió tratando de escapar cuando su helicóp-

tero fue derribado. El comandante asistente de los Guardias Imperiales, Beglari, fue encontrado muerto en su casa, probablemente temiendo la justicia del pueblo más que la muerte.

Muchos agentes de SAVAK (la odiada policía secreta del sha) han sido capturados y encarcelados. Los cautivos fueron exhibidos en la televisión, introducidos como "algunos de los ladrones honorables que han dirigido este país por los últimos diez años," Amir Hoveida, el primer ministro del sha por 13 años, el general Rabii, el jefe de las fuerzas aéreas, el ex gobernador militar, el general Najji (conocido como "el carnicero de Isfahan") y el general Nasiri, el verdugo máximo de SAVAK.

Temerosos por sus vidas miserables y rogando por la merced que ellos nunca demostraron para los cientos de miles de iraníes que ellos han asesinados, torturados o encarcelados, estos animales fascistas encontrarán la justicia del pueblo rápida y segura. Nassiri, vendado y sangriento, de una herida de bayoneta en la garganta débilmente trató de cubrir sus crímenes, diciendo que él no sabía que sus secuaces de SAVAK estaban torturando a nadie. Hoveida resonó su mentira débil. Otros como el ex-alcalde de Teheran, su punto de vista tan torcido y malo después de años de maniobrando en círculos corruptos de poder bajo el sha, por costumbre, pidió una audiencia con Ayatollah Khomeini—fue rechazada.

Según las noticias de la victoria del pueblo iraní se extendió por todo el mundo, mensajes de solidaridad entraron de las embajadas iraní según fueron tomadas de las manos de los embajadores del sha—Paris, Copenhagen, Ankara, Athens, London, Hague, Bonn, Moscow, Stockholm, Bern, Manila. Y en Washington, D.C., 200 estudiantes revolucionarios, negociantes y diplomáticos escalaron la oficina del antiguo embajador. Ellos reemplazaron el letrado en frente de la embajada que leía, "Embajador Imperial de Irán" con otro declarando orgullosamente, "Embajada de la República Islámica de Irán."

Los Superpoderes Mandan Mensajes Falsos de Apoyo

Mensajes de apoyo de otro tipo

Controles Salariales Parte de la Crisis Permanente Capitalista

¡No Sufriremos las Penas Por el Limite Salarial de Carter!

"Control de Salarios" Parte de la Crisis Capitalista Permanente

"Control del Salarios" es una forma de los ataques aumentados y más generalizados que la burguesía esta forzada a usar. Hoy en día, la burguesía no puede darse el lujo de darnos algo porque ellos estan metidos en una crisis capitalista permanente. Su crisis económica es muy seria—con inflación incontrollable y el aumento en el desempleo, aspectos permanente de vida bajo el capitalismo en los E.U. desde ahora en adelante. La burguesía no puede depender solamente de la aristocracia laboral, para mantener bajo los tratos de salarios y beneficios de contrato a contrato, de factoría a factoría, de industria a industria. Esto quiere decir "reglas de salario voluntarias" ahora, y en camino seguro a controles mandatorios en tiempo.

Inevitablemente, los capitalistas tienen que cortar (como se puede ver en el nuevo presupuesto de Carter). Los ataques se han vuelto más generalizados y dan duro en cada punto. La crisis permanente del capitalismo quiere decir más ataques en todas formas: incumplimiento en Cleveland y la amenaza del derrumbe de Newark, la posibilidad de 7,000 desempleos en la ciudad de Nueva York (50 por ciento son mujeres) siguiendo el nuevo presupuesto de Carter.

La crisis permanente del capitalismo quiere decir que la decisión sobre Bakke corta las ganancias ganadas por las minorías nacionales de las luchas de los 60's. Esto quiere decir la institución del examen de aptitud en 40 estados. Antes, el pueblo podía por lo menos tratar de convencerse que la situación se pondrá mejor en unos cuantos años, especialmente para sus hijos cuando obtuvieran una educación universitaria buena, pero hoy en día un diploma no garantiza un buen trabajo o cualquier trabajo! No es seguro que uno pueda mantener sus hijos en la escuela. Quiere decir que la derrota de universidades como de la Universidad de la Ciudad de Nueva York y la despedida de miles de maestros. Los cortes afectan más duro a las universidades públicas y negras.

La crisis capitalista permanente quiere decir que el nivel de vivienda de todos esta bajando forzando a más y más amas de casa a trabajar. Con el precio de picadillo subiendo a \$1.69 la libra, la manera de vivir del pueblo esta cambiando mientras que hay días sin carne o de comida de perro y con pollo hasta lo último. Y el poco dinero acumulado en el banco se está desapareciendo delante de nuestros ojos. Los que estan retirados en pensiones fijas constantemente se enfrentan a cortes automáticos en su salarios con la alta inflación. Los ancianos estan forzados a llevarse las latas de tunas en el supermercado.



“¡Obreros Gubernamentales Defiéndanse, Unáanse al Contraataque!”

La Crisis Económica Crea Condiciones Para la Unidad de Clase

Desde el fin de los 1950's, los obreros se estan volviendo más y más pobres. Han habido seis crisis económicas desde la Segunda Guerra mundial con la séptima en el camino. Estas condiciones forzan un cambio en el estado de mente de muchas personas con los cambios en condiciones en los últimos años: envueltos en los levantamientos de movimiento estudiantil y nacional de los 60's y 70's hasta el tumulto de la guerra de Vietnam. Y despues paso Watergate. Las ilusiones con el gobierno y sociedad de los E.U. se han sacudido. La gente se esta sintiendo más y más confundida con muy poca claridad. Un obrero en la industria de química de Bound Brook, N. J. dijo que antes, él ni pensaría en salir a huelga y no tenía compasión cuando otros salían en huelga. Pero ahora encuentra que esta forzado a luchar, salir en huelga por dos meses enteros por 75 centavos de aumento en su salario. Muchas creencias y valores han sido sacudidos y la gente estan buscando respuestas.

Como la crisis afecta a todo el mundo, esto forza la unidad de la clase obrera y las masas oprimidas. La posibilidad de unidad es grande, cortando otra vez de diferentes niveles de la sociedad como escribimos en nuestro periódico de abril, 1978, "Obligados por la crisis económica, la burguesía trata constantemente de poner el peso de la crisis en la espalda de los obreros en una forma general y socialmente obligatoria como la ley Taft-Hartley, control sobre el salario y la decisión Bakke. En cambio esto es la causa por

la resistencia que corta otra vez de las industrias y los trabajos y une a los diferentes sectores de la clase obrera. Esta es la palanca histórica de la crisis económica. Quiere decir que la conciencia política de la clase obrera esta empezando a desarrollar.

Propaganda Comunista es Necesaria Para Desarrollar Conciencia de Clase

En esta luz, la lucha contra los controles capitalistas sobre los salarios es especialmente significativa por que es la lucha del sector más organizado, los obreros organizados. Los controles sobre los salarios no hace distinción entre un obrero de química o un recolector de lechuga en los campos. Mientras que el pasado, lucharan por su contrato contra el patron, la lucha contra el control de salarios los unes. Este ataque general le ha dado a las luchas desparramadas una oportunidad mejor de unirse, cortando otra vez de los diferentes trabajos. Ya que los controles sobre salarios es una posición del gobierno, la lucha en contra tendrá un carácter político. Pero, espontaneamente, por su propia cuenta, este carácter político sera a un nivel muy bajo o se quedará a un nivel muy bajo o hasta entre los límites de la política burguesa, i.e. Democratas contra Republicanos, o hasta un tercer partido. (Vean el artículo sobre Inglaterra en este periódico.)

Solamente a través de propaganda comunista consistente, y educación política se puede alzar la conciencia política de la clase obrera. Los ataques generales, la búsqueda de soluciones entre la

confusión y desorden son condiciones buenas para forjar un nivel alto de unidad entre el Partido y la clase obrera. Pero la única manera que podemos dar claridad a esta confusión y dar respuestas integrales a las preguntas de los obreros, uno por uno, aspecto por aspecto es con propaganda y educación comunista. Es solamente a través de análisis comunista, económica política en particular, mientras la situación desarrolla, maniobra por maniobra, esquemas unas de tras de las otras, demostrando las reacciones y movimientos entre las varias clases y estratas, que podemos demostrar por que la única solución es la preparación sistemática para la revolución proletaria para derrotar este sistema capitalista parasítico y decadente y establecer la dictadura del proletariado. Y en este país, con todos los diferentes políticos y alcahuetes de pobreza, promesas son abundantes y la palabra viene barata, por eso esta educación se tiene que hacer en el curso de meternos en las luchas actuales hombro a hombro con los trabajadores. Solamente disemasacando y el uso de análisis corriente de la crisis capitalista en el curso de la lucha actual contra los controles sobre salarios podrá la clase obrero comprender el papel del gobierno como un instrumento de la burguesía y comprenderan la necesidad de que la clase obrera derrote a la burguesía.

¡Luchen Contra los Controles Sobre Salarios Capitalistas!

¡Trabajo y Dinero Ahora—Hagan Los Patrones Pagar por la Crisis!

Estudien, Propagandizen y Organizen

Pescadores Puertorriqueños Invaden la Base Naval de E.U. en Vieques

Algunos 300 pescadores incluyendo apoyantes de la isla principal Puerto Rico invadieron la base de la Marina de los E.U. en Vieques desde tierra y mar protestando la invasión de las fuerzas navales estadounidense de Vieques y usandola para sus manio- bras militares. Bajo la oscuridad cien hombres y mujeres puertorriqueños llegaron a la base militar donde erigie- ron toldos y cogieron al personal mili- tar de total sorpresa. Mientras esto estaba ocurriendo en la tierra 37 pes- cadores desembarcaron en Cayo Yayi en el medio de las operaciones mili- tares de mar-tierra, aire-tierra, y aire- mar de las fuerzas armadas combina- das de los E.U. Las demostraciones

tuvieron lugar y organizadas por la Asociación de Pescadores bajo el li- derato de Carlos Zenón y por la Cru- zada Pro Rescate de Vieques.

Mientras sólo pasando una noche en la base, las fuerzas armadas de los E.U. o el gobierno colonial no atén- taron a arrestar a ninguno de los demostradores.

La lucha del pueblo de Vieques a recobrar sus tierras y a sacar a las fuerzas armadas yanqui ha sido larga. El pueblo de los E.U. tienen que apo- yar nuestros hermanos y hermanas puertorriqueños en su lucha ya que Vieques sirve como un ejemplo de lo que el imperialismo yanqui hace a sus colonias, Puerto Rico en particular.

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PUNTO DE VISTA OBRERO

AHORA!

WVO SOLICITA CARTAS

Organizaciones y partidos comunistas alrededor del mundo tienen que obtener las gran tradiciones de un partido Marx- ista-Leninista genuino resumidos por el Partido Comunista de China: integrando la teoría con la práctica, manteniendo relaciones con las masas y practicando la critica y auto-critica. Nosotros creemos que una manera en que WVO empie- se ha obtener esta tradiciones es atra- vés de la correspondencia a nuestro periódico.

Le pedimos a camaradas y amigos alre- dedor del país que nos manden cartas, criticas, reportes sobre las luchas, criticas sobre nuestros articulos y ot- ros temas en los movimiento comunistas y el movimiento obrero, la situación in- ternacional y nacional, los movimientos nacionales, el movimiento de las mujeres, etc. Esta correspondencia directamente ayudara a nuestra lucha común de con- struir el partido comunista anti-revi- sionista de los EEUU y a establecer la dictadura de el proletariado.

Punto de Vista Obrero

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¡Rompiendo las Cadenas!



LOS MAESTROS DEL ESTE DE CHICAGO SE UNEN CON LOS PADRES PARA GANAR CONTRATO

Después de 16 días de huelga, La Federación de Maestros del Este de Chicago, Local 511 ganó un con- trato por dos años. Los terminos fueron acordado el 17 de enero, 8.75 por ciento el primer año y 8 por ciento el segundo, derrotando la oferta de la Junta de la Escuela del 5.5 por ciento y 5 por ciento, también el límite del 7 por ciento del control salarial de Carter.

La clave de la victoria fue el apoyo militante de los padres y estu- diantes los cuales se unieron en una lucha comun por educación de calidad. Los maestros, padres y estudiantes por largo tiempo han protestado contra la irresponsable junta de escuelas, arruinadas, salones sobre poblados, y la falta de libros y materiales escolares. Un comité de padre fué formado para organizar la comunidad multinacional en la lucha para terminar la huelga ponien- do presión a la Junta Escolar. Habien- do ganando la huelga, los maestros ahora estan en una posición más fuerte para luchar contra los cortes y por mejores programas y materiales a través del año escolar.

Ahora la compañía está tratando de salir de esto sin pagar compensación. La GM dice que la línea fue acelerada por sólo 6 meses. La unión dice que fue por más de 8 meses. La GM dice que el aceleramiento afectó a solo unos pocos de trabajadores. La unión re- clama que los afectados fueron 3000 obreros.

300 CELEBRAN EL DIA DE HALE MOHALU

El 28 de enero sobre 300 per- sonas manifestaron el Día de Hale Mohalu en Honolulu, Hawaii en apoyo a las victimas Hawaianas con lepra las cuales han estado batallando contra el esfuerzo del estado para deslojarlo. La mayormente Hawaian- os nativos, los pacientes han reusado nudarse por más de un año, a pesar que el estado le ha cortado la comida, servicios medicos, electrici- dad y agua. Hale Mohalu es el nom- bre de lo que una vez fue la facilidad de tratamiento de lepra financiada por el estado en Pearl City (cerca de la Sectima Armada Naval en Pearl Harbor). El estado esta tratando de deslojar a los pacientes porque la tierra ha subido en precio.

EL JUICIO DE TERRANCE JOHNSON HA SIDO A PLAZADO

Washington, D.C., enero 29—El juicio del joven de 15 años Terrance Johnson comenzó el 29 de enero. El estado de Maryland la acusado a este joven afro-americano de asesina- to en la muerte de dos policías de Prince George County. La fianza fue establecida a un millon de dolares.

Enfurecido, la comunidad negra de Maryland, Virginia, y D.C. luchar- on para reducir su fianza a \$10,000 la cual fué rapidamente colectada por la comunidad. Residentes del area salieron en fuerza el primer día del juicio. 200 personas esperaron afuera de la corte la cual estaba repleta de gente.

El abogado defensor hizo argu- mento de defensa propia del primer cargo y lo cura temperanea en el segundo cargo. La corte mudó la fecha del juicio para el 19 de marzo esperando de agotar el tremendo sentimiento popular por Terrance.

LOS OBREROS DEL PAPEL EN VIRGINIA VAN A HUELGA

2000 obreros de la local 675 de la United Paper Workers International Union y la local 676 en Luke, Mary- land han estado en huelga desde nov- iembre. La demanda principal es que la compañía, la Westraco Papel Company, mejores las peligrosas condiciones de trabajo. También, en cuestión estan los salarios, beneficios suplementarios y la repetida de negación de la com- pañía en honrar las cláusula de arbitra- ción y quejas del contrato anterior.

La compañía ha ofrecido de poner en orden los términos de la unión pero quiere una cláusula que les de el derecho a despedir a cualquier obrero acusado de feón durante la huelga. Y hay algunas acusaciones falsas hecha por la policía local. Los obreros reso- nantemente reusaron la oferta 1750 a 290.

GENERAL MOTORS FUE ATRAPADA ACELERANDO LA LINEA

1600 camiones en la planta de General Motors (GM) en Flint, Michi- gan. fueron hechos sin que los obreros obtuvieran ni un centavo el año pasado. La GM fue secretamente sorprendida acelerando la línea de asamblea. Ellos admitieron haber tenido un control escondido donde la línea era empujada para moverse más rápida de lo que se había acordado con la unión, la Local 598 de la United Auto Workers.

PUNTO de VISTA

OBRERO

Fin A La Autoridad Criminal de la Clase
Capitalista Monopolista de Los E.U.,
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¡Que Viva la Victoria del Pueblo Irani!

¡Que viva la victoria de la revolución del pueblo iraní! ¡Que viva Khomeini! El 11 de febrero, con la derrota de la Guardia Imperial y el derrumbe del gobierno de Bakhtiar, el pueblo iraní tomó el poder del estado, liberándose ellos mismo después de décadas de represión bajo el fascista sha. Después de 48 horas de feroz lucha armada, lo que quedaba del ejército fue derrotado, forzando a los generales a ordenar un retiro a las barracas y declarar "neutralidad en la presente crisis política" por los militares. Con el respaldo del ejército terminado, el gobierno de Bakhtiar se derrumbó con el anterior primer ministro corriendo a un sitio para esconderse.

La Lucha Comenzó con Protesta de Técnicos Civiles en la Fuerza Aérea

La lucha de arma comenzó cuando la Guardia Imperial se movió contra los técnicos civiles en la Fuerza Aérea y mecánicos en la base aérea Farahabad en Teheran, los cuales estaban gritando consignas en apoyo del movimiento revolucionario y Ayatollah Khomeini. Por muchas semanas los técnicos han estado agitando y protestando contra la administración de Bakhtiar. Actos de sabotaje fueron propagados. La élite



Guardia fue traída para romper una recientemente organizada huelga de hambre resultando en el asesinato de 50 protestantes y el arresto de cientos otros. La Guardia Imperial se quedó en

la base ya que los policías militares regulares de la Fuerza Aérea no se podía contar con ellos (muchos de los policías militares son reclutados de los rangos de campesinos y trabajadores

iranios. El viernes por la noche, el día 10, los técnicos tuvieron una manifestación en las barracas a que estaban confinados.

Vea pagina 4

¡HUELGA! Los Trabajadores de Finca Van a Huelga por 40% on Aumento

El 19 de enero, 3,000 Trabajadores Unidos de Finca (UFW) en el valle Imperial en el sureste de California pararon el flujo de una 1/3 parte del iceberg de lechuga a los supermercados. En la huelga más larga de la UFW desde que la unión ganó reconocimiento y un contrato en el 1975, los trabajadores hicieron huelga contra 10 cultivadores de lechuga por un contrato de un año con 40 por ciento o \$1.50 la hora de aumento.

Hoy los trabajadores de lechuga, la mayor parte de ellos siendo mejicanos, son forzados a que susistan con salario mínimo y trabajo a velocidad. Ellos son los primeros trabajadores de salario mínimo en demandar un aumento sobre el 17 por ciento, la guía de control salariales de Carter. Mientras los trabajadores de la lechuga salieron en huelga, Cesar Chavez, el presidente de la UFW, dijo la victoria por salarios y beneficios comparable a los de empacadores de carne y los conductores de camión, sería el segundo acontecimiento importante para los trabajadores migrantes de fincas. Incapaces de com-

prender la unidad de acero de los trabajadores, la prensa burguesa esta intensificando la histeria anti-secta cuando juegan con las contradicciones entre el alto liderato de la unión e insinuando que Chavez esta forzando a su membresía a jugar el "Juego sinónimo" para derrotar la discrepancia y mantener su autoridad. Ellos estan pintando retratos de un invierno sin ensalada o lechugas a \$2.00 por cabeza.

Pero en más de 20 días desde que comenzó la huelga, los trabajadores de la lechuga han escalados sus tácticas. El 11 de febrero, un huelguista fue tiroteado a sangre fría en las fincas de lechugas cuando el y los demás huelguistas fueron a las fincas a poner paro a los rompeshuelgas que tratan de romper su huelga. Las gomas y parabrisas de los autos de los rompeshuelgas han sido destruidas. Ya, docenas de aguaciles han tenido que usar gases lagrimógenos contra los huelguistas y los han sacados de otro rancho. La producción de brécol y zanahorias también la sido afectada

mientras la siembra de melones de agua y otros melones, maíz dulce y trigo aún no ha comenzado. Le ha costado a los cultivadores entre \$2 y \$3 millones hasta ahora. Los cultivadores hambriento por dinero ahora estan demandando que el gobernador Brown llame a la Guardia Nacional para que mantenga los vegetales fluyendo.

Jon Vessey, uno de los más grandes cultivadores, dijo "la agricultura en California se esta uniendo contra esta huelga. No hay manera que podamos mantener sus demandas y quedarnos en el negocio de la lechuga. Si el contrato que ellos quieren fuese firmado, pondría a California fuera del negocio de los vegetales." Diecisiete años atrás, ellos dijeron lo mismo cuando los trabajadores de fincas comenzaron a organizarse. Pero hoy, después que más de 100 contratos negociados y con más de 100,000 miembros en la UFW, sus negocios estan vivos y prosperando. Usando el control salarial de Carter, los cultivadores han ofrecido salarios y bene-

ficios del 7 por ciento por cada año en un contrato por 3 años. Para los trabajadores de fincas, especialmente los explotados y chicanos oprimidos, la huelga es una lucha para mejorar su miserable nivel de vida a esa de otros obreros industriales, como sus uniones hermanas en la producción de comida. ■

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